



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OR
CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
JANUARY, 1886 APRIL, 1886.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CLXIII.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., LONDON.

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK,
EDINBURGH.

1886.

60399
16/6/0



PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

55-933

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1886.

No. CCCXXXIII.

ART. I.—*Parliamentary Papers (Central Asia): Further Correspondence respecting Central Asia.* Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5. 1885.

TWO years have passed since we endeavoured, in this Journal, to present our readers with a general survey of the state of affairs, foreign and domestic, in India, and to trace in outline the position and probable course of our relations with Afghanistan. In this short interval much has happened; there have been changes of scene and of actors, and while the current of internal politics, without losing its direction, has begun to run more smoothly, the dramatic evolution of incidents in Central Asia brought us a few months ago unexpectedly face to face with a situation of critical importance. The effect has been to demonstrate more clearly than ever to the reflective observer the growing solidarity (if we may use the word) of European and Asiatic affairs. The points of contact are multiplying with the different points of view. The political and commercial interests act and react upon each other; the expansion of Europe presses upon Asia by land and by sea, from the Caspian and from the Chinese seaboard, and the antique kingdoms and societies are gradually giving way on all sides before the inroads of European arms and enterprise. The old conquering races of Asia, the Turkish dynasties at Stamboul and Tehran, the Usbeg of Khiva and Bokhara, the Durâni Afghan at Kabul, the princes of Annam and the Golden-foot of Ava are submitting to the predominance of the Western nations. Only the Tartar emperor at Peking still sits firm on his seat, and even he feels the vibration that is shaking all the thrones in Asia. He has fought off the French for the moment, but they have rent the skirts of his empire, and, what is far worse for him,

they have driven him into the European loan market. The experience of all times and countries, from the era of Roman money-lending in Asia Minor down to the days of Ismail Pasha and the Bey of Tunis, proves that a barbarian who deals with the civilised usurer is lost.

Upon this vast stage of action England still plays the leading part, and holds India as the central position ; so that we are greatly concerned in following closely the turns and vicissitudes of a game in which our own country risks the heaviest stakes. The cardinal point of the whole Asiatic situation is now seen to lie, politically as well as geographically (or rather, perhaps, politically because geographically), in Afghanistan. To this country we may apply the observation with which M. Rothan begins one of his remarkable essays :—

‘ Il est des pays qui, par leur situation et par leurs conditions stratégiques, sont appelés à jouer dans les combinaisons de la politique, aux dépens de leur indépendance, un rôle considérable que ne justifie ni le chiffre de leur population ni la superficie de leur territoire.*’

Afghanistan now lies, for its misfortune, between two powerful empires, each of which positively disowns any intention to disturb its integrity, while each is nevertheless impelled by circumstances toward the very interference or encroachment that its government sedulously disavows. Undoubtedly the circumstances and motives differ widely in the two cases. Russia is extending her dominion and filling up the great vacuum of Central Asia. England is an established power, and a force that has almost spent its momentum in Asiatic conquest ; she has fixed her own limits of possession and desires a settled and orderly neighbourhood. The result has been, that while the political system of Asiatic Russia is as yet unformed and indefinite territorially, the English have virtually proclaimed a sort of Monroe doctrine in Asia with regard to all that part of the continent with which India is concerned or with which we have made treaties. The main principles of this doctrine, as applied to America by the United States, were that European powers were not to interfere in any way with the States or territory of the American continent. The American statesmen of 1823 declared that they could not view any interposition on the part of Europe, for the purpose of controlling in any manner the destinies of governments on their

* L’Affaire du Luxembourg. Le prélude de la guerre de 1870. Par G. Rothan. 1884.

side of the Atlantic, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. These words apply with very tolerable precision to the attitude of the English toward any power that might press seriously upon some part of that wide region which extends from the Oxus and the confines of Persia on the north-west of India to the frontiers of China on the north-east. We should allow no substantial interference with Biluchistan or Afghanistan, with Nepaul or Upper Burmah, or with any Asiatic state that is in treaty relation with the Government of India. It is easy to perceive what a large sphere of action and what complicated responsibilities are here involved, especially in Afghanistan, where, indeed, the strain put upon it has more than once been considerable. Similar considerations have led to the recent hostilities in Burmah, where the British Government has been compelled to interfere, not so much by the brutality and insolence of King Theebaw, as by his attempts to introduce a foreign element, hostile to British interests, in his dominions.

Now of this Asiatic version of the Monroe doctrine, which has for its principle the maintenance of exclusive political influence far beyond actual political dominion, the practical outcome is evidently what has been called, by a rough railway metaphor, the Buffer policy. The states within our cordon are placed under more or less strict diplomatic regulations; and it may be necessary to preserve their integrity, whether they like it or not, as if they were estates of a ward in Chancery. The inconveniences of this enforced protectorate are clearly proportionate to the size and character of the country. If the territory is extensive, the protecting state becomes liable for the consequence of troubles on a remote border, and may become entangled in distant operations. If the country is strong by nature, it causes incessant anxiety to those who rely on it as a defence against foreign powers approaching its farther frontier, reconnoitring its weak points, and establishing a good intelligence with the inhabitants. Mountain ranges held by intractable and mercenary barbarians, opening by defiles upon a rich plain, are like lines of important fortifications entrusted to weak or untrustworthy militia; at any moment the whole position may be compromised, and the defensive works turned on the regular army behind them. So at every approach of a foreign and possibly hostile power the protecting state is disturbed by misgivings as to the security of its political outposts. The first impulse is to

strengthen them by distributing arms and money among the defenders; but this is apt to intensify distrust by enhancing the danger of faithlessness, until at last news of foreign intrigue or internal confusion lead us in hasty alarm, and for our own safety, to some temporary occupation of the country. It is because our relations with Afghanistan are peculiarly exposed, by the character and condition of its rulers and its people, to all these risks and inconveniences, that we have already been entangled in two Afghan wars, and in one war with Persia. The people are in just that stage of political society that is most embarrassing to the diplomacy of a civilised neighbour. We cannot deal separately with the principal Afghan tribes, since from the Hindu Kûsh to the Helmund at least they all acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kabul Amir; and yet whenever we come to deal with the Amir as their responsible sovereign, we can never be quite sure as to the real degree of his power or the extent of his effective jurisdiction. Therefore all our policy toward Afghanistan has been steadily directed toward providing it with at least the two elementary characteristics of a responsible state, a settled government and recognisable frontiers. In regard to the former of these two objects we have been only moderately successful; the first two Amirs whom (with an interval of forty years between them) we set up in Kabul were speedily overthrown; the third still holds his place and seems likely to stay. The full accomplishment of the latter object is the business we have at this moment in hand.

It may be worth while here to remind our readers that our present undertaking to fix the north-west frontier of Afghanistan by a joint commission is only the latest in a series of similar consecutive steps. The steady progress of the political settlement of Asia, which will mark the history of this century, is to be traced by successive European commissions that have from time to time proceeded to lay down the frontiers of the chief Asiatic states. Most of these delimitations have been made directly or indirectly in the interests of England and Russia, the two powers into whose hands are falling the overlordship of all Western and Central Asia, and the heritage of so many great historical empires. The first step was in 1829-30, after the war in which Russia wrested from Persia the last remnant of Georgian soil, when an Anglo-Russian commission laid down the new frontier line from Mount Ararat to the Caspian Sea. In the earlier part of this century the British Government had

taken Persia under its protection, by a guarantee not unlike that which we gave in 1880 to the Amir of Afghanistan—that is, we pledged ourselves to assist the Shah in repelling foreign invasion, the invader to be kept off being in both instances Russia. But here, as we may hope, the historic parallel ends, for when war actually broke out between Persia and Russia we disowned our liabilities on the excuse that hostilities might have been prevented by negotiation; and the whole business affords an instructive commentary on the embarrassments of a too extensive protectorate. The next commission, also Anglo-Russian, was sent to determine the common frontier of Turkey and Persia between Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia. The British representative, Colonel Fenwick Williams, was just terminating his work when the Crimean war sent everything back into confusion; Colonel Williams threw himself into Kars, which he defended so gallantly against a Russian army, and the frontier was not finally laid down until 1870. After this the work of settlement moved eastward, and we are approaching the scene of our present complications. In 1870 Sir Frederick Goldsmid headed a commission to adjudicate, on the eastern border of Persia, the dispute between the Shah and the Amir over Seistan; the disappointment of the Amir Sher Ali at a decision adverse to his claims was the beginning of the rapid alienation from the British alliance; and when Sher Ali yielded to the same powerful attraction which had drawn Persia under Russian influence, we attacked him, in 1878, to prevent Afghanistan from following Persia, and to dissolve a treaty between General Kauffman and the Amir. Lastly, as the eastward tide of Russian conquest and predominance flowed still higher and wider from the Caspian, overspreading all the basins of the two great rivers that fill the Aral Sea, and sweeping on toward the western slopes of the Hindu Kûsh, our statesmen were aroused, at an hour somewhat perilously late, to a perception of the urgent need of a breakwater on the confines of Afghanistan.

In the article of January 1884, to which reference has been made already, we prescribed, as the essential preliminary to any durable settlement of affairs in Central Asia, some formal and public convention with Russia in regard to Afghanistan. Our view was then, and still is, that recognised territorial frontiers and definite treaty engagements are as necessary to a clear understanding between civilised nations as landmarks and legal instruments are to prevent

disputes over private rights to property. A public convention, like a private contract, may be broken ; but this is not done hastily or with impunity, for a distinct breach of agreement is of all public acts the most decisive, the most significant, and the hardest to excuse. The Russians had more than once suggested the expediency of negotiating on some such general basis, and had particularly suggested a definition of the boundaries that should permanently mark off Afghanistan from the regions under Russian influence. These overtures were at last accepted, in April 1884, by her Majesty's Government with regard to the boundaries ; and at first nothing seemed left to do beyond appointing the joint commission ; but it soon appeared, on the contrary, that nothing had been done. To mark off the north-west frontier of Afghanistan, upon the basis of our understanding arranged with Russia in 1873, would have been a much more simple business a few years earlier, when the Turcoman tribes of Merv and about the Hari Rud were still independent, and when no one cared how far the Amir's jurisdiction might precisely extend in that quarter. But in 1884 Russian troops were at Sarakhs, had taken the neighbouring tribes under their patronage, and were already selecting their military positions, which turned out, naturally enough, to be precisely those that appeared valuable to the Afghans.

In these circumstances the Russian ministers proposed that, before proceeding to actual demarcation, we should settle with them the general principles and cardinal points upon which the joint commission should work ; and M. de Giers recommended as a basis the line that should be geographically and 'ethnographically' the best. Such a question, for example, as whether the Saryk Turcomans, as a tribe, should be excluded from Afghan jurisdiction, he desired to arrange beforehand by discussion between the two Cabinets. The English Cabinet, on the other hand, held that if the Amir claimed any particular lands, the enquiry into these claims must not be forestalled by instructions of a wider kind. The point which each party had in view was Penjdeh, which upon the Russian principle would go with the Saryk Turcomans, and which the English were inclined to award to the Amir, who had already occupied it.

The history of the diplomatic controversies and misunderstandings that ensued, and of the abortive attempt to bring a Russian commission to meet the English officers on the Hari Rud, the rest of the acts of the two Cabinets, and all that they wrote, are not these things sufficiently chronicled

in the series of Blue Books cited at the heading of this article? We are compelled, after a careful study of them, to record our conclusion that the temporary miscarriage of the project of laying out the north-western frontier of Afghanistan, and the substitution of General Komaroff with his breechloaders for a pacific Russian commission, were results growing out of a fundamental difference between the two Cabinets in their conception of the proper aim and essential character of the proceedings. The paramount interest of the British Government lay, manifestly, in the direction of setting bounds to the advance of Russia upon Afghanistan. We had promised to assist the Amir if his recognised territories should be invaded; we had contracted serious responsibilities; we were, therefore, not concerned in making them more onerous or more intricate than might be absolutely necessary for the purpose of assigning to the Amir (in the words of Lord Granville) 'a good working frontier.' It should, indeed, have been plain enough that hardly any conceivable agreement, in regard to this frontier, between England and Russia would be so damaging to the Amir as a quarrel and a rupture over it. From the beginning of the negotiations, however, the Russian Government took evident exception to the prominent place that we were disposed to give to the Amir's claims and interests. M. de Giers, in a note dated June 1884, 'considered it his duty to remark that the proposed commission cannot be instructed to examine the pretensions of the Amir of Afghanistan;' and the English proposal to attach an Afghan representative to the commission met with objections. M. de Giers argued, with some force, that the Amir's best security for his state lay in a sincere understanding between the two great powers, not in an arrangement that would demarcate the respective spheres of their influence. The English Government admitted generally the full weight of these broad imperial considerations, and agreed that the object of the negotiation should be to reach 'a lasting and satisfactory arrangement on the whole subject. But underneath these large and conciliatory phrases lay a radical disagreement as to their particular application. So early as in May 1884 the Russian Government had taken exception in a formal memorandum to the occupation by Afghan troops of Penjdeh; and M. de Giers had demurred to our ambassador's contention that the place had always been within Afghan territory. In pursuance of the Imperial Cabinet's proposal 'that the two Governments should exchange views upon the general bases of the coming

‘delimitation,’ M. de Giers asked Sir E. Thornton what would be the principles which would form the basis of the instructions to be given to the commission.

‘I answered,’ writes our ambassador, ‘that I presumed the great principle would be to ascertain how far the Amir of Afghanistan had dominion over and controlled the inhabitants of the regions in those parts, and that where that dominion and control ended the boundary should be laid down.’

To this M. de Giers made some objections, and Sir E. Thornton goes on to say:—

‘From observations which he let fall on this occasion and at other times, his opinion seems to be that all the Turcoman tribes should be excluded from Afghanistan, in the hope, of course, that they would ultimately, and even very soon, give their allegiance to Russia. On this ground efforts will, no doubt, be made to place Penjeh outside of Afghanistan.’

These quotations sufficiently illustrate the fundamental difference of views and intentions between the two Cabinets, a difference which grows wider and sharper as the correspondence proceeds. The Russian memorandum, dated July 30, 1884, contains an open declaration of the position which the Russian Cabinet had evidently resolved to take up and maintain.

‘Being resolved to cause the engagements contracted by the Turkomans to be respected, the Imperial Cabinet cannot lose sight of the fact that the success of their efforts could only be assured if the whole tribe of Saryks were placed under the influence of the Russian authorities, and that the action of these authorities would encounter insurmountable difficulties if the projected line of demarcation were to divide this tribe and place a part of it under the dominion of Afghanistan. With respect to this consideration, the Imperial Cabinet must now express their wish that the Amir Abdurrahman Khan should be called upon to renounce all intention of aggrandisement at the expense of districts inhabited by the Saryks, who have never been subjects of Afghanistan. Such an engagement would be in entire conformity with the bases of the arrangement of 1872-73.’

The English Government, on the other hand, both in their instructions to Sir Peter Lumsden and in the note exchanged with St. Petersburg, affirmed with unswerving consistency their view that the Boundary Commission must enquire into and recognise ‘the legitimate rights’ of the Amir. Without his consent, or without enquiry, the Commission was not authorised to surrender any territory to which the Amir might lay claim. The instructions, moreover, make a special reference to Penjeh, and contain the passing remark that

‘ so far as her Majesty’s Government are informed, it appears
‘ that Penjdeh is a district of the Afghan province of Badkhis,
‘ and that it is considered by the Afghans to form part of
‘ Afghanistan.’

With such an irreconcilable dissension in respect to the principle of demarcation, and in the face of a somewhat ominous convergence of the dispute upon one particular point, there is, on retrospect, some reason for regretting that the Russian proposal to settle the basis of operations before the Commission took the field was not more carefully considered. The English Cabinet may have been right in displaying a loyal and almost chivalrous regard for Afghan claims. But seeing that the Russian Government had intimated, not obscurely, a determination to enforce, by arms if necessary, against the Afghans their claim to Penjdeh, it behoved our Government to count very deliberately the cost of refusing to entertain this demand. The Russians had their troops in the neighbourhood; they could not only decree the suit to themselves, but could put in instant execution, while the least effect of declining a preliminary settlement of the point must be to bring the boundary demarcation to a standstill. The resolution with which the English Cabinet nevertheless persisted in upholding the Amir’s possession of Penjdeh, until his claim should have been disproved, was honourable and disinterested; but the consequence was that all the advantages of an amicable and solid arrangement, essential to the peace of Asia, were placed in imminent jeopardy by a futile attempt to preserve for the Amir an outlying Turcoman village with the adjoining pasture lands. For it would have been military pedantry, as is now generally admitted, to argue that the retention of Penjdeh is a matter of great strategic importance to the Afghan state. No superiority of frontier posts or entrenchments will save Afghan troops from defeat whenever the Russians move against them in earnest; and this the Amir knows as well as we do. When we add, what is seen clearly enough now, that our own strategic advantage lies rather in contracting than in extending the line of territory in front of Herat which it may suit us to protect, the inadequacy of the subject-matter of a dispute that nearly brought on a war of the first magnitude will hardly, on cool retrospection, be denied. There is no doubt that our Government was taken unfairly by surprise, and that our ministers were misled by the formal assurances of the Russian Government that their troops would not move forward. But General

Komaroff's movements were significant enough, and, with the material odds so heavily against us on the ground under dispute, we might have trusted less confidently in the impregnability of our moral position.

It is indeed becoming evident to all concerned that the policy of bringing the whole of Afghanistan within military lines of defence, in order that Russia may be kept at a long distance from our real frontier, commits us to a position too loosely extended to be proof against serious challenge. Its weak points are now recognised in Afghanistan and India as well as in England and Russia; the first sound of the enemy's trumpet has shaken the walls. The Amir's situation, between two powers striking at each other through him, is difficult enough when the manoeuvres are only diplomatic; it must become hardly tenable at the first outbreak of hostilities.

When Sher Ali treated with Russia the English drove him out of Kabul, and Russia regretted her inability to assist him at that particular moment. When Abdurrahman resisted the attack of a Russian division upon his outposts, his troops were dispersed; and England agreed, though angrily and reluctantly, to overlook the transaction. To a clear-headed Afghan ruler such incidents must be full of instruction and of warning. It has hitherto been very convenient for both England and Russia to avoid making war on each other by treating the Amir as an enemy whenever the other side treats him as a friend; and the Amir Sher Ali may have been short-sighted enough to fancy that he could make his profit out of an attempt to hold the balance between them. But, now that the two European powers actually touch opposite frontiers of Afghanistan, a quarrel over Afghan affairs must, in default of a pacific settlement, bring two European armies into the field of operations lying between them; and our responsibility for an open frontier line at a point further from India but nearer to Russian garrisons renders some such quarrel always possible. England would undoubtedly face the extremity of war, and would bring all her vast resources to bear upon the defence of the territory she is pledged to protect; but the strain would be great, and the Amir would see his country turned into a battle-field between foreigners. If Russia should move against Herat, the English could scarcely avoid reoccupying Kandahar; if Russian troops crossed the Oxus into Afghan Turkistan, the English might be forced to march upon Kabul to save the Bamian Pass and to hold the all-important line of the Hindu

Kûsh mountains. The difficulty, on either side, of withdrawing from the main positions thus taken up would probably be so great that something like permanent occupation of the cardinal strategic points might follow; and thus the scientific frontier of which we have been so long in quest would at last mark itself out, like other natural frontiers, along some dividing line indicated by the physical configuration of the country.

There is at any rate one personage on whose adherence to the views we have above expressed as to the situation of affairs, and their prospect, in Afghanistan we may, without too much presumption, venture to reckon. The Amir Abdurrahman, whose capacity for practical politics is undeniable, and who knows the Russians better than he does Englishmen, is understood to have taken a very shrewd and hard-headed measure of the importance of the Penjdeh incident, when considered as a possible *casus belli* on behalf of his state. To one who has been a man of war from his youth up, who has won and lost many fights, and has been tried by various fortunes, the rout of a detachment on his frontier may probably have seemed no sufficient reason for plunging headlong into a contest that would certainly bring upon him Russian troops across the Hari Rud and the Oxus, and would probably recall Ayub Khan into the field, backed this time by formidable support. The province of Herat and the Turcoman districts of the north-west are the most vulnerable parts of his kingdom; the country is inhabited by tribes held under very loose subordination to the Afghan Government; it is naturally open to the west, and it is so far removed from the chief centres of Afghan population that the Kabul Amir cannot rapidly bring the real fighting strength of his nation to bear upon invaders. In these circumstances the chances of making a good stand on that frontier against even the flying columns of Russia did not, we may guess, commend themselves to a wary and experienced chief, who must have seen at once that his prospect of consolidating his government, and of quietly retaining his northern provinces, would be materially endangered by the war. Nor could it have been any great consolation to him if he learned that, in the event of a rupture, we were making every preparation to march at once to the defence or recovery, as the case might be, of Herat; that we were ready to occupy and fortify Kandahar at the shortest notice, and that, if Kabul were at any time threatened, we could be there in force long before the Russians. Not all the care and consideration of

the English for their ally could be relied upon to prevent such military operations from bringing on a relapse into the political confusion out of which Afghanistan is just emerging after the troubles of the years 1878 to 1881. It would therefore, on the whole, be no reflection on the Amir's patriotism and sense of military honour if he did not share or display the extraordinary excitement and indignation which were aroused in England and India, and partly throughout Europe, by the Penjdeh incident.

We have to remember also that the notion of territorial inviolability, and of a collision between the troops of two nations producing formal war, as surely as in France a duel follows a blow, belongs to the latest and highest stage of political organisation, where the national territory has long been fixed and a corporal's guard carries the flag of a great state. Nearly three centuries ago Great Britain reached this stage, and she has since known no border warfare; yet no nation has in its time carried on so much informal war all over the world as the English, and all Asia is still in the inorganic and less sensitive condition. Unless, therefore, the point in dispute is manifestly and intrinsically valuable, the argument from the fact of its actual possession by one or the other party would not be decisive, nor would Asiatics treat a skirmish over it as a great political catastrophe. There is in the published correspondence a letter (February 14, 1883) from Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton, from which one might infer that our Cabinet held somewhat too precise and scrupulous ideas of the loose and shifty state of things prevailing on a borderland in Central Asia. The letter transmits some account of a conversation with the Russian ambassador, who told Lord Granville that

'he had found M. Lessar very moderate in his views, and had been assured by him that the line of boundary now proposed by the Russian Government would give to Afghanistan all the strategical points required for the best defensive frontier, and that it had, in fact, been purposely so drawn on economical grounds.

"I observed," writes Earl Granville, "that it was not merely necessary to consider whether the frontier was a good one, or even the best in a military and technical view; *the Amir would naturally expect, and we were bound to see, that he should be confirmed in the possession of territory which really belonged to him.*"

Now we submit, with all deference to so high a diplomatic authority as Lord Granville, that the Amir's expectations did not run so high as this, and that he would have

been content if the frontier assigned to him with the consent of Russia had been really such as that which was here promised by M. Lessar. There has always been a great deal of scrambling and squatting upon Turcoman borderlands; it is doubtful whether the Amir, who has very recently come into his kingdom, knew what really belonged to him anywhere on the debateable frontiers; nor does it appear from the Blue Books that he himself had ever been consulted beforehand as to the precise line he might think worth fighting for. We are, therefore, at liberty to doubt whether Abdurrahman would have been easily convinced, by any arguments at the disposal of our diplomatists, that political and military considerations existed of sufficient weight to justify such an unbending and conscientious advocacy of his possible rights as that which in March last brought England, Afghanistan, and Russia to the verge of a formidable war. He will have assuredly appreciated the resolute and good faith and friendliness that led the English Cabinet to resist steadfastly, in diplomatic notes, the claims made by Russia (with an evident intention to enforce them) upon a piece of land which certainly seemed to belong to Afghanistan, being actually held by Afghan troops. But if he had been desired to let our officers know confidentially whether Penjdeh was, in his opinion, worth the risk of a reverse and a rupture, it is just possible that his answer might have saved England some considerable anxiety and expenditure.

However, when the collision had taken place, and the flash seemed likely to kindle a flame, the Amir's wisest course was evidently to place himself in the hands of the British Viceroy, whose guest he very fortunately happened to be when the news arrived. Many persons at the time drew for themselves the picture of a haughty Eastern monarch, filled with wrath at the slaughter of his men and the violation of his territory, demanding from the English instant action upon their obligation to repel an invasion of Afghanistan, and ready to reproach them with desertion and faithlessness if they did not at once march to his support. We believe that this portrait has no verisimilitude whatever. The Amir's prime interest lies in keeping powerful neighbours, whether friends or foes, outside his dominions; and this is the only foreign policy which would ever command the unanimous assent of the Afghan people. To suppose for a moment that the zealous and fanatical tribes would care to see their lands turned into a battle-ground for Russians and English, unless their independence should

be in imminent jeopardy, would be a complete and, after the least reflection, an obvious illusion. Still more illusory, if possible, would be the notion of Abdurrahman, of all Amirs, being eager that a border skirmish (as he might regard the Penjdeh affair) should light up such an explosive train of consequences. It is possible that an ordinary Asiatic prince, born in the purple, and therefore ignorant and arrogant, might have been tempted by the arms and money that we have been pouring into Afghanistan to try his breech-loading rifles and newly modelled regiments upon the Russian outposts, and so to repeat on his own score, upon a larger scale, the Penjdeh blunder. But in Abdurrahman we appear to have found a ruler of no ordinary calibre; while both he and his admirers must have foreseen that our proceedings, and the movement of Russian troops on the boundary, would be likely to lead to this very dilemma, and they must have counted the cost not only of Russian hostility but of English interposition. They are quite aware that by calling in a great foreign army they bind themselves to place all the resources of their country at the disposal of those who undertake its defence, and they know what this obligation would mean. The politic attitude, therefore, of the Afghan chief at Rawulpindi would be that of courteously declining to put pressure upon the English for the fulfilment of their engagement to defend him, and of expressing profound confidence in the ability of our Government to find for him and for themselves a safe and honourable issue out of a rather disagreeable predicament. And the Amir would be led, not only by his judgement, but by his inclinations, to adopt the course of following any lead that might be given him at the Rawulpindi conferences. The Viceroyalty of India is at this time held by the first of living English diplomatists, who is moreover specially versed in the external politics of Russia and of Western Asia, and who is thus in every way qualified to inspire Abdurrahman with trust in his advice and guidance. To this fortunate conjuncture may be mainly ascribed the thoroughly good relationship that was maintained between the Afghan and the Indian Governments during a very critical period, whereby the British Boundary Commission, which ran aground heavily at Penjdeh, has since gradually floated off into the stream, and is now sighting the end of an adventurous and eventful voyage.

For there can be no doubt that in April last the question of peace or war depended very materially upon the attitude of the Amir. If he had taken advantage, so to speak, of

the situation that had been produced by English zeal for his honour and interests, and had demanded an armed support in obtaining satisfaction for the attack on his troops and full enquiry into his claims on Penjdeh, the British nation was just then quite in the humour for taking up his quarrel with all its heart and with all its strength. There was no disposition whatever to hesitate about complying with such a summons from our Afghan ally, if he had announced his intention of raising Afghanistan against the Russians, and of co-operating with his whole power in all warlike preparations. And it is no secret that preliminary steps were very actively taken, in England and India, in anticipation of some such contingency. A large *corps d'armée* was speedily organised for despatch, at the briefest notice, to Quetta, where an army from India, after passing up the mountain passes of Biluchistan, would ordinarily muster for an advance on the route toward Kandahar and Herat. Over all India spread the sudden shadow of impending events; and all classes of the people were startled into sympathy with the stir and bustle of military emergencies. From all provinces, and from all ranks of the population of Northern India, came numerous and remarkable demonstrations of loyalty and offers of support; while the loud and didactic tone of those native newspapers which are usually devoted to exposing the crimes and blunders of the British Government subsided into an incipient quaver of consternation. No manifestation of public opinion in India had before this indicated so clearly, or to many critics so unexpectedly, how closely the ideas and interests of the present generation are bound up with the maintenance of the régime of order and progress that is represented by, and entirely dependent upon, the English administration.

The truth is, however, that although the issues of peace and war remained for a month or more very evenly balanced, and although the energetic measures that were taken not only convinced the Amir of our earnestness in regard to our pledges of support, but also must have made a salutary impression in Central Asia and at St. Petersburg, yet various deterring causes operated on all parties to check any precipitate action. The Amir's reasons for a circumspect policy have already been suggested, and on the two principal parties in a possible war distance must have had a very disenchanting effect. It is contiguity and opportunity that lend ardour to fighting as well as to flirting; and when two first-class European powers have to cross half the Asiatic continent to get within

arm's length of each other, when troops have to start from the Caucasus and from Calcutta, they are much less likely to move large forces hastily than when confronting each other across the Rhine or the Danube. We are aware that hostilities once begun between England and Russia might be carried on all over the world; but we believe that in the judgement of high military authorities on both sides a rupture last spring would have led straight to a campaign in Central Asia, toward Herat and the Oxus. But the drawbacks and difficulties were on both sides very similar; the convenient strategic base had yet to be established, the communications were long and very incomplete. The Amir, instead of blowing up into fire the spark struck at Penjdeh, was acting rather as a non-conductor of the electric shock produced by that blow. The Russian Cabinet had time to explain that General Komaroff's behaviour was not absolutely indefensible; the English found that some junior officers might have been hasty; and on the whole it became apparent after a few weeks that the crisis might pass. The Russians showed a conciliatory disposition and a strong wish that the boundary demarcation might not be abandoned. The negotiations were resumed in May, and are now being gradually conducted to a pacific and substantial termination.

The details of the final arrangement will probably be known to our readers before this article appears in print. Its basis is understood to be the acceptance by Russia of a boundary falling within certain points indicated by the Amir himself as marking generally the southernmost line up to which the Russian frontier, or the territory under Russian influence, might under any circumstances be permitted to advance, and beyond which no compromise would be possible. This line excludes Penjdeh; and in exchange for this concession the Russian diplomatists were at first willing to resist the temptation of endeavouring to lay hands on the Zulfikar Pass, although they subsequently discovered that a portion of this pass was of such importance to their communications as to necessitate further explanations of the precise local meaning they attached to the word Zulfikar. Thence ensued, as is well known, a temporary deadlock, out of which the present Conservative Government has the credit of having found a satisfactory issue; and upon this ground the actual demarcation of the boundary is now at last to begin. That it should be pushed forward with all practicable expedition is very plainly desirable, since the situation abounds with elements of instability, and any sharp turn of events may

make the complexion of affairs change like a kaleidoscope. But Sir Joseph Ridgeway has large experience of the country, and has proved his ability, firmness, and patience in a very trying position; so that if the Russian commissioner arrives this time with instructions to go to work seriously, we may hope before long to have made another important addition to the political geography of Asia.

What, then, will have been the general outcome of these complex transactions, chequered as they have been by the misunderstandings and cross purposes inseparable from the nature of the problem they were intended to resolve? How will this settlement, when it has been accomplished, affect the fundamental difficulties, present and prospective, of the Central Asian question? And what conclusions can we venture to draw as to our own position and future liabilities? In the first place, no one will be sanguine enough to affirm that this is a final settlement for any one of the three parties principally concerned. The politics of Central Asia are still as fluctuating as the moving sands of the desert, which are pressed forward and spread out before the prevailing wind, obliterating artificial landmarks and choking up minor waterways, until they are brought up against some range of hills or some great river, high or broad enough to form a permanent barrier against their further advance. In the present instance the prevailing wind blows strong from the Caspian eastward; and the natural barriers of Afghanistan, politically as well as physically, seem to be the slopes and spurs of the Hindu Kûsh mountains. The Oxus is a great watermark, not to be crossed easily or with impunity; but rivers are proverbially bad frontiers, ethnic or political. When the English made their final advance from the south-east, they took the Indus in their stride, and marched right up to the skirts of the Suleiman range, sweeping within their red line Peshawur, which was once the outwork of Afghan dominion on the east, as Herat still is on the west. At any rate it would be imprudent to reckon on the line that is to be traced on our future maps, from the Murghab river across the Turcoman wastes to the Oxus, as constituting more than the provisional embankment thrown up to check periodical floods until more scientific and lasting works can be constructed for controlling the general drainage of a country exposed to inundations. Moreover the movements of Russia in Asia are governed by remote causes, and by impulses connected with the play of distant forces. Her progress eastward has hitherto naturally followed the line of least

resistance; but it was the Crimean war that may be said to have first given it deliberate aim and continuous direction. The main impulse to our early territorial conquests in India was given by our struggles with the French for predominance in the country; and these arose out of, and were episodes in, the great European wars between England and France. In the same manner, and by a similar chain of consequences, the antagonism between England and Russia over the Turkish question has directed and accelerated the march of Russia upon the flank of our Indian possessions; and the movement, though suspended, may again revive. Yet it does not at all follow, because a treaty frontier is not an impassable barrier, that it is of little or no value. On the contrary, the actual advantage of a clear demarcation of the Amir's jurisdiction, and of our own responsibilities, is very plainly on the side of those whose wish and duty it is to maintain the *status quo*. Such a dispute as that about Penjdeh or Zulfikar could always be contemplated in England with some haziness and hesitation as to the rights of the matter; whereas a treaty and a frontier are things understood of European people at large, and capable of being handled by the rules of international law.

We are, indeed, doing only justice to Russia when we remind our readers that the Russian Cabinet has for many years been distinctly favourable to the principle of defining the respective responsibilities of the two European Governments in Asia. The point of difference between England and Russia has been as to the application of this principle; and it was the difficulty of reconciling this difference that so long delayed any practical conclusions upon the correspondence that has been going on since 1875. The declared object of the English Government has been to arrange some means of preventing the Russian conquests in Central Asia from bringing Russia into direct contact with Afghanistan, whereas the point at which the Russians were aiming, in their frequent overtures for an amicable understanding, was an arrangement that should bring the political jurisdictions of Russia and England up to opposite sides of the Afghan border. 'Keep your distance,' said England to Russia, 'and we shall remain good friends.' 'We cannot promise to do that,' replied Russia, 'but we are ready to meet and shake hands; and until we do meet there will be no proper understanding, because we can only deal satisfactorily with a civilised neighbour whom we can hold responsible for the conduct of the barbarians he has chosen to protect.'

In the meantime Russia was not only talking, but advancing, until her appearance upon the Afghan frontier has compelled us, willingly or otherwise, to accept the Russian view of the proper basis for a *modus vivendi* between the two powers. The orbits of political influence now touch each other.

We do not, as has been seen, place implicit faith in the permanency of this arrangement, or in the continuous success of this patent Russian invention for avoiding friction by contact. But the settlement of what is virtually a common political frontier cannot fail to have a steadying influence upon the Asiatic policy of both Governments. Much of our inconsistent and varying treatment of Afghanistan may be ascribed to the fact that hitherto we have never determined precisely the territorial area for the independence and integrity of which we have been so anxious. At one period we proclaimed our desire to see the whole country powerfully united under one ruler; at another time we were bent on establishing the Kandahar province as a separate chiefship. Thirty years ago we were at war to save Herat from Persia; it is not long since we contemplated the notion of giving it away. In fact, the only principle to which we have consistently adhered is the extreme necessity of checking Russia's advance by thwarting diplomatically her absorption of the khanates and petty tribal chiefships lying along the natural line of her march eastward from the southern shores of the Caspian. Up to 1880 we had not formally pledged ourselves to the defence even of Afghanistan. Now that we have resolutely determined to draw a line right across Russia's path, we have pledged ourselves to drive back anyone who oversteps it without our consent; it is evident that the period of an indefinitely collapsing policy has closed. This means, inevitably, the near approach of an end to the system of political buffers so far as India is concerned.

This system has had a notable history, which amply testifies to the accuracy with which the mechanical metaphor answers to the political process. We all know that the buffer is a device for breaking the impact of one heavy body pressing against another by gradually drawing inward up to a point where substantial resistance begins; and it would not be easy to find a better popular illustration of our policy in Central Asia. The system, in its original extension, stretched up to Khiva and Bokhara, if indeed it did not include all Western Asia, for our sensitiveness began whenever Turkey or Persia was threatened. But the area of our

effective solicitude rapidly contracted with the heavy pressure of accomplished facts; first Khiva and Bokhara, then the Attrek, and lastly Merv and Sarakhs, have passed successively beyond the region of our susceptibility; so that, unless we had resolved to lay down a final line of resistance on the north-west border of Afghanistan, it is uncertain how far the collapsing process might have gone on. That it has now ceased, or nearly so, is, as we have already suggested, decidedly advantageous to a distinct and complete realisation of our position. This rapid lessening of the interval between two great empires has naturally brought out in clear relief the remaining field of possible operations, so that all parties can now survey accurately the extent and nature of the ground intervening between them. Now that the space interposed between England and Russia is reduced within the limits, whatever they may be, of Afghanistan, and the line of our present protectorate is to be traced within a few marches of Herat, the effect is at last to map out and sharply delineate the respective positions of the three principal pieces upon the chess-board. Russia will now know with certainty, without need of further diplomatic controversy, what moves will inevitably bring her into check, and will order her game accordingly. And, for ourselves, now that we are face to face with the task of maintaining inviolate a foreign frontier, we have discovered, not too soon, how much depends on carefully considering beforehand where, for our own purposes, that frontier should be. If it is drawn very far from India, it may reach beyond our ordinary military control, and be left in the hands of indifferent or untrustworthy allies. If it is drawn nearer our base, what becomes of the integrity and independence of that part of the country of our ally which lies outside the line? and are we prepared for the inevitable contingency of our rival marching up to it? If the frontier towns are not properly fortified, they are liable to a *coup de main*; if they are regularly armed and strengthened, who is to guarantee the defence, by a set of half-disciplined soldiery, of an important *place d'armes*? If we equip and reinforce with money and material an able and well-affected ruler of the intermediate state, how long will he reign, and which way may the breechloaders be turned by his successor? In short, to what extent and to what degree are we prepared to rely upon the vigilance, the firmness, and the unity of the Afghan nation for holding the front fighting line of India's defences, and for performing, in their own interests and ours,

their essential part in the engagement between England and the Amir now ruling them ?

All these perplexing questions have long been dimly present in the minds of our statesmen and our generals, and they are now being forced upon us very pointedly by the concentrated pressure of circumstances. The effect is to extinguish a great deal of the vague and discursive speculation that has been going on for many years about Russia's advance and the methods of counteracting it. A short time ago no range, in the opinion of high authorities, could be too wide for our defensive operations, military or political. Persia was to be drawn into an offensive alliance; the Turkomans on the Attrek were to be our light horse; Merv was to be preserved at all hazards; and the game would be lost whenever Cossack horsemen forded the Hari Rud. All such discourse has now become superfluous; the tide of events has already flowed over it, and we are no longer recommended to use large-scale maps in measuring the distance between Russian and Indian outposts. The effect has been to produce in some quarters a feeling of disillusion in regard to all plans and projects for arresting the advance of Russia, and a kind of reaction against the whole preventive policy of interposing temporary obstacles and encouraging ineffectual resistance to her approach. Because the buffer runs back very easily, and hardly breaks the shock of a smart collision, some people are beginning to declare that it is an entirely useless invention. We are to fall back behind our Indian frontiers and upon our own resources, relying entirely, like other civilised continental states, for our self-defence upon a complete system of fortifications, and a national army strong enough to hold them, abandoning as futile the expedients of territorial guarantees and subsidies to weak rulers of a half-grown nationality.

We do not deny that there is much to be said for the policy of freedom from engagements beyond our frontiers and of concentration within them, while in regard to the wisdom of perfecting our fortifications and strengthening our Indian army there can be no doubt at all. We are even able to contemplate the possibility of a coming time when we shall open permanent communications with Russia across the belt of barbarism that now separates us, and shall be rather inclined to level obstacles than to raise them. Not much good can, in the long run, come to anyone out of the practice of keeping a pack of Afghans trained to worry the Russian bear; and the Afghans are so disunited, so loosely

coherent as a nation, and usually so ill-governed, that no one can pretend to foresee the result of giving their present Amir a well-equipped standing army. The result of strengthening the Afghan Government may be to weaken the Afghan people; for no Asiatic tribe ever puts its trust in princes, and no Asiatic prince ever trusts his own troops. The population of the north-western and northern provinces under Abdurrahman is not Afghan by race or connexion; the fighting tribes of the frontier are not in the least disposed to die in defence of the independence and integrity of the dominions of a Kabul Amir, while the Russians now on their border will be not much more hated and much more feared than the Afghan officials. In these circumstances, and while every movement or turn of politics in the country is watched with jealousy by two heavily armed and irresistible states on either side of it, the prospects of consolidating Afghanistan into a compact and stable kingdom do not seem to be improving. The position of all future Afghan rulers must be surrounded with growing difficulties. Having little or no communication with the outer world, admitting no envoys at home, and sending none abroad, ruling over a turbulent and fanatical group of tribes that are unmanageable without a large mercenary army, representing only the usual interval between two disputed successions, even the very able Amir now reigning may be excused for profound misgivings as to the future of his dynasty and his country. He is no longer able to make a great military reputation, and to enrich himself, by those foreign expeditions which founded the Dourani sovereignty, and which are essential to the life and growth of a ruling race or family in Asia. He has indeed been enabled, by external aid and support, to break down the minor tribal chiefs, and to expel or exterminate all rivals. When he has finished this, when he has centralised his despotic authority and has become absolute within his dominions, he may yet see, as Sher Ali did, the whole edifice brought to ruin by a single false step or by some remote foreign complication which he can neither foretell nor understand. Russia may be compelled, by high political exigencies, to move forward again from the west, which will certainly bring on England from the east. The attack may be most inexcusable and the defence most just; but when a wolf and a watchdog lay hold of a sheep's head and tail, the moral distinction of motives makes little difference to the sheep.

But the reply of our statesmen and our soldiers would be,

we presume, that all these drawbacks, objections, and risks are well known, and have been taken into account; that outworks are never built too solidly, and that a buffer is not meant to prevent collisions, but only to ease off and graduate their momentum. Afghanistan lies in front of us, with its huge quadrilateral of mountains garrisoned by free and martial tribes; a country whose political destinies must always be of the greatest concern to those who rule India. The maintenance, therefore, of the neutrality of such a country, or at least the exclusion of any foreign influence opposed to our own, must still be an essential principle of our frontier policy; though a policy does not always mean a pledge, and the most scrupulous fulfilment of existing engagements does not necessarily imply an obligation, under all eventualities, to renew them. It is quite certain that the hill ranges and the valleys in the heart of Afghanistan, and the main passes toward India, must always be within our power to control or to occupy; and if ever the open districts on the north and north-west of the Hindu Kûsh fall out of the hands of some future Amir of Kabul, the English may be forced to take up a permanently advanced line of serious and organised defence against further encroachment. In the meantime, the longer we can keep our Indian front clear beyond the mountains up to the Oxus and the Hari Rud by the willing aid of the Afghans, the better it will be for us. Moreover, and above all, we have to remember that sudden changes of position and plan of action, especially changes from advancing to retreating, are as hazardous and demoralising in political as in military tactics, and never so much so as in the vicinity of a rival and possible adversary. For the last five-and-forty years we have been endeavouring to impress upon the Afghan mind the belief that England—not Russia—is the friend and supporter in whose advice and armed strength confidence is to be placed; and although the Afghan may have reason to think that on certain occasions our friendship for him has at least been admirably dissembled, yet he does believe that for our own sake we do not intend to let Russia conquer him.

Our relations with Kabul have never been so close or so clear as they are now. Lord Dufferin has at last succeeded in establishing something like a solid understanding with the Amir; and each party now comprehends very fairly the real power, resources, and disposition of the other. The Rawulpindi conference took place at a critical moment when the time for exchanging diplomatic compliments and guarded

assurances of mutual amity was past. The Penjdeh affair turned a stream of light upon the whole situation, and the emergency greatly stimulated plain speaking. If the Amir adheres faithfully and consistently to the arrangements, whatever they may be, which he will have concluded with the Viceroy of India, he is capable of proving himself a strong warden of the marches; and we may look for peace in his time within the country. This being the case, it is of paramount importance that no symptoms of mutability or indecision shall be discerned in our present policy toward him. It is of course not impossible that the temper and indications of an Afghan government may vary; but, on the whole, the probabilities are against a Kabul Amir or the Afghans turning away from us to the degree of turning against us. The people at large may fear and hate equally the Russian and the Englishman; but no Afghan prince could hold his own in Kabul, Ghuzni, Kandahar, if the English had resolved to displace him; while to the Afghans generally it must be evident that, between one power that would use their hills as stepping-stones and another that would use them as a barricade, the latter is much the less likely to seize their country permanently.

We are not among those who imagine that Russia fancies herself able to wrest India from England, or that she has any deliberate scheme of invading us; but it stands to reason that if any European war should find Russia and England in opposite camps, India might be well worth threatening by an inroad into Afghanistan. If ever Russia occupies any part of the territory which now divides the two European empires in Asia, it is certain that all the country behind her advanced posts will be reduced, like the Caucasus, to a Russian province. On the other hand, that the English should ever be induced to cross Afghanistan in order to attack Russian possessions in Central Asia is exceedingly improbable. These considerations, most of which the Afghan leaders are quite able to appreciate, may be expected to throw weight into our scale if the nation has ever to choose between the friendship of England and of Russia. And though much is sometimes made of the idea that Russia might gain over the Afghan tribes by promising them the plunder of India, our own conviction is that their chiefs are quite capable of perceiving how ruinous to their own independence (which they value above all other treasures) it would be to open a passage across their mountains to a great Russian army.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the present state and

outlook of our affairs in Afghanistan are not unfavourable, that the outlook is, indeed, quite as favourable as could be expected. If the joint Boundary Commission meets, and finishes its work speedily, and if the boundary laid down is ratified by a formal treaty (which might settle other matters besides the mere border line), nothing short of some political commotion in Europe is likely to disturb it for the present. To suppose that the most consummate statecraft will make political arrangements of this kind very durable is to misapprehend the nature of the materials just now available for the construction of territorial landmarks on the banks of the Murghab or the Oxus. Our statesmen would be imprudent if they leant otherwise than lightly upon bars or supports that are necessarily fragile, or if they relied for the security of India on anything except the military strength, the resources, and the energy of the whole British Empire. That they have now realised this clearly, if rather tardily, is proved by the strenuous vigour with which Lord Dufferin is laying out and pressing forward a strong and well-linked system of frontier defences and communications, and is augmenting the army of India. When these precautionary measures are completed, the vicissitudes of Afghan politics, and the possible manœuvres of Russia on the far Afghan border, will fall into secondary importance; while the basis upon which we shall be ready to operate, if necessary, for the support of an Afghan ally will be much more solidly established. Our first occupation of Afghanistan ended with a series of enormous political and military blunders; our second occupation was tarnished by one great mistake or misfortune, the failure of the attempt to fix an English envoy at Kabul; but we gained a vast amount of valuable experience and knowledge of the country, and our position on the Afghan frontier has been immensely improved. The Khyber Pass is entirely under our control, while our advanced posts at Quetta and on the Kojuk hills are of incalculable advantage to our defensive policy. Moreover, since we have become to a large extent responsible for the good behaviour of Afghanistan in her external dealings with such neighbours as Russia and Persia, we must be in a position to act, if required, on this responsibility; and a restive Amir is more likely to listen to the diplomatic exhortations of those who hold his gates toward Kandahar and Kabul than when the English were confined to the valley of the Indus.

Lastly, we are now very fairly assured of having at our back, against all invaders, the whole people of Upper India,

including the native states. Within the memory, indeed, of this generation the position of the English Government in India, and its relation to the internal politics of the country, have undergone a significant transformation. During the first half of the present century we were still engaged in the contests for supremacy in India that culminated and ended with the two bloody but decisive campaigns against the Sikh army. The mutiny of 1857 was the natural and regular sequel of a long war time, when the sudden cessation of fighting and a general peace leaves an unruly mercenary army idle and restless. In suppressing that wild outbreak we were compelled to sweep away the last shadows, that had long lost their substance, of names and figures once formidable in India. The ghost of the Moghul empire, sitting crowned on the ruins of its former throne, vanished from Delhi; the last pretender to the honours of the Mahratta Peshwa disappeared from Cawnpore. The sovereignty of the English Queen now stands uncontested, in opinion and sentiment as well as in fact, throughout India; and the extinction of the last vestige of dynastic claims or rivalry has been the signal for the growth of a new and essentially modern phase of political life, and the formation within the state of parties which, however they may differ in administrative views, aspirations, and aims, are united in loyalty to the Crown. If the precedents of European history can be trusted, there are few surer signs of the final consolidation of a dynastic settlement or of a political system.

ART. II.—*The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt.* By ALFRED J. BUTLER, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. In two volumes. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1884.

MR. BUTLER has undertaken a task on which his time will not have been spent in vain. He is well aware that he has merely begun the exploration of a field which has been thus far inexcusably neglected; but he is not less sure that the harvest to be reaped from it will amply repay the toil of the labourers. The trenchant sentences of Gibbon may have tended to obscure or to hide this fact for those who forget that there is a reverse side to almost every historical picture; and the picture drawn in these sentences is dreary and uninviting enough. The Jacobite Christians of Egypt could scarcely have sunk to a lower level.

'The populous city of Cairo affords a residence, or rather a shelter, for their indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs; and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families; a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.'

But Mr. Butler reminds us that these Copts, in whose name the old word Egypt is still heard, represent the people who built the pyramids, that their ancient tongue is spoken at every Coptic mass, and that their ritual is now less changed than that of any other community in Christendom.*

This ritual has developed for its own needs a variety of architectural forms in a high degree interesting and instructive, and the decoration of their buildings has called into life schools of art which have produced in their own lines works of true genius and of wonderful beauty. Their architectural style, it is true, is no longer a living one, and the art of the Coptic painter and carver may be said to have perished utterly. Nor is it to the ravages of time only that the most exquisite treasures left by past generations are exposed. The Egyptian air deals gently with the hues of painted walls and the delicate grace of the minutest carving. Dust-laden lumber-rooms, and chapels or cells into which no ray of sunlight ever enters, furnish a harder ordeal for screen-work, reliquaries, lamps, and other choice works, which there lie jumbled together in the dust of centuries. The mischief of neglect is not lessened by the newly imported zeal for church restoration, which is disfiguring some of the ancient buildings with tasteless imitations of foreign forms, or with specimens of native ugliness which sufficiently prove that the old art of the land is dead.

The difficulties of dealing with the history of this art and its products are many and great, and Mr. Butler candidly admits that in ecclesiological and ritual knowledge he started with but a scanty outfit for an enterprise from which he should have shrunk had there been the smallest likelihood

* A valuable paper on the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo, by John Henry Middleton, Esq., was read to the Society of Antiquarians on May 19, 1881, and is now published in the '*Archæologia*' (vol. xlviii. p. 397). Mr. Middleton's paper gives us an accurate and comprehensive account of the architecture, fittings, and ritual of the church of Abu Sergeh, to which his remarks are chiefly confined. We shall avail ourselves of his careful investigation of the church to supply some details which are wanting in Mr. Butler's work.

that any fitter explorer might undertake it. Few, however, have any real interest in the subject, and to scarcely any even of these come the peculiar opportunities which may turn a sojourn in Egypt to good account. It is no easy matter to get access even into the churches of Old Cairo; it is far harder to get at those in the desert. A scanty handful of Coptic notes may be the poor result yielded by many toilsome journeys under a scorching sun. A still more formidable hindrance to effectual work is presented by the ignorance and not seldom the indifference or apathy of the Copts on all points relating to their own history or their own ritual. In his task of investigation Mr. Butler was left, therefore, very much to his own devices; and under the circumstances it may have been wise to risk charges of over-minute and sometimes tedious descriptions of buildings which may be disfigured or may vanish before others can see them. Mr. Butler acknowledges that the abundance of detail which marks his account of the churches of old and new Cairo may be wearisome; but he pleads that they are not only suffering from wilful destruction or destructive renovation, but that

‘even when the churches are spared, they are fast falling out of harmony with their surroundings; as, in place of the old Arab houses and gardens, vast and unsightly cubes of modern buildings are arising. Hence every detail seems worth recording in the fear that it may soon have no other record left. The same is true in a far less degree of the monasteries in the Natrun valley. There at least are no new houses building; but the monasteries seem to stand in eternal harmony with the eternal solitudes around them. Yet fourteen centuries cannot have passed over these ancient abodes with quite so light a touch as over their changeless sands. Here and there the ruins of shattered convents lie about the desert, marking sites of which the very name is long forgotten: the churches within the convents bear the marks of various styles and date from different epochs; most of them have long been under the shadow of decay, and lately one has suffered severely under sentence of restoration.’ (Vol. i. p. 287.)

But although the difficulties and hindrances with which Mr. Butler had to contend may have sorely taxed his patience, they furnished incidents imparting not a little life to narratives which might be otherwise somewhat monotonous. His task also introduced him to scenes of great interest and beauty, while the kindness and courtesy of some amongst whom he was thrown contrasted pleasantly with the absurd and even brutal churlishness of others. Instances of both kinds were furnished by the conduct of

the priests whose buildings he visited. The plans of the old Coptic churches exhibit many spaces, small or large, which are covered by windowless walls and roofs; and these dark holes or vaults often contain treasures of great price, which have been thrust away as lumber. At Abu Sergeh, one of the churches in the great Roman fortress of Bablûn or Babylon at Old Cairo, such a vaulted passage, abutting on the sanctuary, is used as the place for keeping the sacred vessels.

‘It contains a large wooden coffer, the lid of which I raised and caught a hasty glimpse of a silver chalice, silver hand cross, and processional cross, and of two silver fans, like those at Dair Tadrus. But in a moment the ill-humoured priest flew into an ungovernable passion, shut down the lid, and locked the passage door, venting his fury in storms of Arabic abuse.’ (Vol. i. p. 199.)

If these Coptic priests are but indifferent guardians of the buildings under their charge, it must be remembered that their pay on an average is not more than 2*l.* a month. Hence objects of value sometimes disappear for money paid down by curiosity-hunters. At the neighbouring church of Al Mu’-Allakah in the same fortress the hand of the restorer, it seems, has been especially busy.

‘A number of beautiful old carved screens have been huddled and hammered together into a long wooden wall; the altar and altar-crucifixes have been thrown down, and will be replaced by new Greek designs from Alexandria; new glass, tasteless and strong in colour, has been put in the eastern windows in lieu of the old; in fact, English restorers could not have made more havoc. Worst of all, perhaps, is the loss of the cedar door-leaves sculptured in panels, as described by Murray. When, after searching everywhere, I asked the priest about them, he could only reply, “Ma fish” (there is no such thing). “But,” I persisted, “I have read books written in English by people who have seen the doors; what has become of them?” “The church was falling down in 1879, and doubtless they were destroyed.” “What? only a year ago? in 1879?” “No,” he said, changing his tone; “I mean seven years ago.” “Or seventy-seven,” I thought; but it was idle arguing, since obviously the doors had been either stolen or sold by the priest.’

Mr. Butler adds that since his first visit to Egypt he has ascertained that the latter was the fact. The priest received 100*l.*, and the purchaser, having kept them awhile to adorn his house in Paris, sold them to the British Museum. There they are safe, but all true lovers of art will regret the causes which have led to the disfigurement and spoliation of a venerable structure.

In the desert convents visited during his second sojourn in Egypt three years later, Mr. Butler experienced at the hands of the monks nothing but a dignified courtesy, and a kindness touching in its manifest sincerity. He went under the protection of the Khedive, and he carried with him letters from the patriarch. Things seem to have gone differently a century earlier with Sonnini, who draws a terrible picture of their insatiable greediness and their brutal ferocity. There is no reason to suppose that the monks themselves are much changed; but Sonnini fell among Beduin marauders, and narrowly escaped with his life. He was not likely, therefore, to remember with satisfaction the plain fare and simple manners of the monks, or to have an eye for the remarkable scenes which passed before his view. Mr. Butler's sentences may awaken in some a pardonable envy of the good fortune which allowed him to see them in their full beauty.

'When our camels were all loaded and our beasts got out of the low postern of the dair, we exchanged our last farewells and compliments without the walls, where the abbot gave us a parting prayer and blessing. Thence we rode down towards the lakes, distant about an hour's journey, and found their surface covered with hundreds of flamingoes and other water-fowl of brilliant plumage flashing in the sun. As we looked, the flamingoes all rose together in a scarlet cloud, and swept away over the water. We passed among the great reed-beds, where the Beduins cut the reeds, which they make into mats; round the south end of the lakes; then upwards, ridge over ridge, till at the summit we paused, turned our horses' heads, and looked back over the beautiful desert valley. We were now eastward of Dair Macarius, which did not lie quite on our homeward route, though it was still the nearest in view; and all four monasteries were visible together, Al-Baramûs just within the far azure of the horizon. This was the view we had missed on our arrival, owing to the nightfall. It is a sight beyond description, but never to be forgotten.' (Vol. i. p. 340.)

Wary management was often needed to ascertain facts of the highest importance for the verification of the plans and purposes of ancient buildings. One of the most valuable and interesting chapters of Mr. Butler's work relates to the old Roman fortress at Old Cairo, and to the multitude of churches built within its area. It is a memorable spot. It owes its name, according to Strabo, who is supported by Diodorus, to some Babylonian captives, who, revolting against their Egyptian taskmasters, established themselves in a fortified post, and held their ground until they received the pardon of the Egyptian sovereign. Many hundred years later it was the scene of an act of treachery, which determined the course of the future history of Coptic Christianity. The

enterprise of Alexander the Great had been furthered by the hatred of the Egyptians for the creed and theology of the Persians: that of 'Amr, as Mr. Butler writes the more familiar name Amru, owed its success to a like cause. As Gibbon puts it, the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent in the support of an incomprehensible creed. It was here that 'the Saracens were received as the deliverers of 'the Jacobite Church, and a secret and effectual treaty was 'opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious 'army and a people of slaves.' This treachery sealed the doom of the Jacobite or Monophysite body, although it saved their churches from the destruction which befell those of the Melkite or Greek sect or faction, if so it must be termed. It was here also that, in the interval between the invasion of Alexander and the conquest of Amru, the Romans had built a fortress, which is still, although mutilated and in parts destroyed, one of the most notable monuments of Old Cairo. Of this fortress Mr. Butler's work gives the first map, and the story of his investigation of all the existing remains is told with great life and vigour. At the south-western end is built the church of Al Mu'-Allakah, resting, or, as the name expresses it, hanging, between two out of the four Roman bastions which guarded the main entrance. Passing thence, on the western side, Mr. Butler came on the remains of a round tower, to which the outer wall formed a tangent, the tower being divided into eight equal segments by radiating walls. Close by, and rising to a strange height, stood the Greek convent, in the wall of which was a whitewashed curve corresponding closely with the curve which would have been furnished by the first discovered tower, had it not been demolished. The great height of the Greek convent was thus accounted for. It was built on one of two Roman towers, enclosed within the western wall.

The modern entrance to this building was, at the time of the author's first Egyptian visit, on the third story, and from the outside. On examining the place last year he found that a large pile of new buildings was being raised actually against the tower. The old staircase was gone, and the old exterior wall finally and hopelessly concealed. His text was thus, as he says, already bygone history; but it is not on this account deprived of its value. The explorer had to find the old Roman entrance. He might well regard as an impossible supposition the idea that they entered by an external staircase; but on the ground

he could discover no sign of any doorway. A friendly talk over coffee with the chief priest drew from the latter permission to explore some houses outside adjoining the tower. The priest said that they were in ruins, and that a guide would be necessary. By the help of this guide the author groped his way among tumble-down hovels, until he stood before the east side of the tower. The mystery was solved. Close together, only eight feet apart, were two doorways, each four feet six inches in width. It seems clear that between these towers, on one of which rested the Greek convent, there had been originally a gateway and a curtain wall. Of these no trace remains; but a little further on, beyond the towers, the existing Roman wall itself disappears and merges in Arab work. The ground is from this point occupied by a large rectangular Arab garden, and it was not easy to prove, although little doubt could exist as to the matter, that the old Roman wall formed the fourth side of this garden. The device by which Mr. Butler ascertained this fact may be given in his own words:—

“There was a heavy wooden door through the lofty wall into the garden, at which I knocked in vain many days. Sometimes voices would answer, but only to say that the key was lost, or that the master had taken it away with him; mere fictions to hide refusal. At last, one burning day, as I passed, the door was standing ajar. I ran up and planted myself in the doorway, hastily changing my *tarbûsh* for an English hat, lest I should be taken for an official. An infant seeing me shrieked, “Oh mother, quick! here’s a Frank! quick!” and the mother came forth from the palms to guard the child, drawing her veil over her mouth. I said, “I am very thirsty; will you be so kind as to give me a drink of water, O lady?”

“Be so kind, did you say?” She seemed unaccustomed to so much civility.

“Yes; will you be so kind? The sun is fiery, and the world is hot to-day, and I have come a long journey and am thirsty. Our Lord lengthen your life!”

“Good; I will go and ask my husband.”

“The husband, it seems, was asleep, but soon came and invited me in. I called my friend, and we entered and went to the well, which lies in the middle of the garden, and sends forth under the palms a clear cold stream of beautiful water.

“There we drank and were refreshed. Then I said to the gardener, “This is such a beautiful garden, that Paradise itself cannot be fairer; may we eat as well as drink here? We have our noonday meal without.” He readily agreed, and we lunched under the welcome shade of the palm-trees. Afterwards, as we were smoking with our host, I professed astonishment and admiration at the unusual size of the garden. He was flattered, and said there was none like it. “What do

you suppose is the length?" I asked. "Quite seventy or eighty yards," he said. "Not more than that? why, I am sure it is at least one hundred. Will you let me measure?" "Certainly." "Very well; we will measure that wall over there," which I had from the first moment identified as the Roman wall I was in search of. So we measured, and proved it to be more than one hundred yards in length; discovered traces of another bastion, and departed well content with the success of our little stratagem.' (Vol. i. p. 168.)

Of this fortress Pococke's description is very careless, and his plan inexcusably inaccurate. He puts the two round towers at 180 feet apart from each other, instead of 60; but his testimony as to the existence of the two towers is conclusive. He speaks of one of the towers as supporting a church built on the top of it; and the other, he says, was at the time of his visit 40 feet high, adding that even then the people were carrying away the Roman stone for building. Beyond these facts little, it seems, can be gathered from Pococke. Of the plan drawn up by officers of the French expedition and published at Paris in 1823 in Panckoucke's '*Descriptions de l'Egypte*,' Mr. Butler says simply that one more incorrect and worthless was never made.

'It gives with great inaccuracy merely the boundary walls of the whole group of buildings; and these walls are flatly called Roman! The surveyor was unable to distinguish between Arab and Roman work; even the outer wall of the palm-garden deceives him. In the whole circuit only three bastions—those on the south side—are figured. The round towers are quite ignored. Pococke's plan is far better: at least he knew what he was looking for, and he does not confound styles and epochs of building which a child might distinguish.' (Vol. i. p. 177.)

The author's exploration of the Dair,* or, as the old Greeks might have called it, the Temenos, of Abu-'s-Sifain, made him acquainted with a pleasant phase of Coptic life. The enclosure is only about a furlong in diameter, but it contains besides three churches a nunnery called Dair al Banât, or the Convent of the Maidens, to which a narrow passage leads from the seeming cul-de-sac in the lane, running by the churches of Anba Shanûdah and Abu-'s-Sifain. The building is by no means without interest, but the real charm of the place centres in the inmates.

* Mr. Middleton informs us that these 'dayrs' are enclosures surrounded by high walls, into which there is only one small entrance. These walls were to protect the Copts from the attacks of the Moslem population. The largest of the dayrs in Old Cairo contains six or seven churches, almost buried in a labyrinth of narrow streets.

'The mother superior comes to say coffee is ready. We re-enter the reception-room, and sit down on the carpet in Oriental fashion, or recline against a cushion. A nun hands each of us a tiny china cup resting in a brass zarf or holder. We drink, making many salâms to the mother superior, who does not disdain the formality of a cigarette, though the nuns apparently are not given to the practice of smoking. Against the wall opposite is a large and beautiful old bench; on this three or four damsels are sitting, or squatting, with modest eyes down-cast on their embroidery. They are clad in the ordinary black Arab dress, but wear no veils; their wrists are circled with bangles or bracelets of massive silver; they wear also necklets of silver or gold, beads or brass, and earrings and anklets. Their quiet, shy, incurious manner, and the tranquil smile about their lips, denote admirably the peaceful anchorite retirement of their lives. Under the bench lie scattered about crocks and pitchers and millstones; close by is an old brass mortar, and near the door an exquisitely designed little brazier of octagon shape with legs and pinnacles; its sides are finely chased and engraved with Arabic characters. Charcoal embers are glowing in it, and on them a coffee-jug is simmering, as one of the maidens, kneeling, fans the fire with a fan of falcon feathers. High over all the nabuk-tree is lazily waving its branches, across which the sun is striking, and the blue above seems deeper and more dazzling than ever, as the eye follows up the sombre colours of the wall. But the scene varies from day to day. Sometimes the maidens are busy with needle-work, sometimes tidying and cleaning the house or the vessels; and another time one may see a group sitting in the middle of the courtyard sifting and winnowing corn; while close by a crone is grinding beans, turning the handle of the millstone with her left, and feeding the mill continually with her right hand. The pigeons know when it is a corn-day, and their ceaseless cooing as they perch about the mills, and the noise of their beating wings as they sweep down and up again, add not a little to the charm of the scene.' (Vol. i. p. 133.)

This pleasant home is called a nunnery. Mr. Butler remarks that it might with greater exactness be called an almshouse, admission being granted by the patriarch to any young girl left resourceless and helpless, or even to a widow, the inmates being also allowed to receive their friends and even occasionally to go and pay visits in Cairo. No vows are required. No veil is to be taken, and indeed in the convent it is laid aside as a thing not needed so far out of the world. Even marriage is not forbidden. 'If a girl discovers relations who will receive her, or if she finds a husband, she may open the door and walk out.' The system is not without its attractions; but it must in all likelihood be regarded as an outgrowth of the indifference with which the Copts of the present day treat the burning questions which led to the great catastrophe of the seventh

century. None, it seems, would now be found to use or to understand the furious language in which the Monophysite Mokawkas denounced the Byzantine tyrant, his Synod of Chalcedon, and his Melkite slaves. As Mr. Butler expresses it, 'The great mass of the Copts of to-day are entirely free from any strong bias or even from any knowledge on the question; and a few years ago political obstacles alone hindered the union of the two Churches.' The significance of this fact must be measured by the cause or causes to which this seeming tolerance might be due. Ceremonies, it would appear, are kept up which are no longer understood, and the celebration of an elaborate ritual betrays some mistakes or blunders; but an excessive love of ceremonial still remains, and there seems to be little evidence to show that real thought on subjects connected with religion has any existence at all. Each church has its synaxar (*συναξάριον*) or lives of the saints, a volume of which no private person has a copy, and from which portions are often read at matins, the faithful listening with unquestioning reverence. From the Arabic translation of these lives Mr. Butler gives some specimens of these legends in the last chapter of his work. They have their good side in the prominence which they give to the Divine love and to the earnestness with which it was set forth by the greatest of their saints. Of Anba Barsûm we are told 'he used always to say that all sins are forgiven after repentance.' According to this Father, the wisest of men is he whose single aim is the love of God and the doing of His commandments. Teaching such as this may explain a characteristic of Coptic art which separates it widely from that of Greek or Latin Christendom. We shall search their churches in vain, it would seem, for those portraitures of the torments of sinners in which Western art took a strange delight. We shall nowhere find the revolting embellishments of pictures of the Last Judgement which are so fearfully common in the West. 'This wise reserve,' Mr. Butler remarks, 'this refusal to portray in colours the torments of hell, or to countenance a religion of terror, has been and is now the continuous characteristic of Coptic art as opposed to all other Christian art whatsoever;' and he rightly adds that those writers who regard these horror-paintings as exclusively Byzantine in character, and as having their origin in the legends of the old Egyptian mythology, should explain the facts that for the first six centuries of the Christian era these paintings seem not to have existed anywhere, and that from Egypt they have been absent at all epochs of Christian history.

That the Egyptian traditions should agree with those of the West in exhibiting the singular regard paid by some saints to animal life is not surprising. The Western anecdotes are the more attractive because it is not easy to place the life of a gnat on a level with that of a deer or a wood-pigeon; and there is a certain extravagance in the penance undergone by Macarius, who, having killed a mosquito which was worrying him, withdrew to marshes abounding in the largest and most venomous sort, and, having endured their stings for six months, returned with his body so swollen and misshapen that his brother monks could recognise him only by his voice.

In other aspects these legends from the Coptic hagiology are less inviting. A robber passes a night near the column of Simeon Stylites. The pillared saint asks of God 'to do him evil; so the robber died not many days after.' Indignant at persecution, Basilius sees a painting of St. Mercurius riding on a horse and carrying a spear in his hand, and prays the saint to kill the king and put an end to the tyranny. Vanishing for a moment from the wall, the picture returns and displays the spear dripping with blood. The painted figure bows its head when asked if it had slain him. In another tradition the Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople becomes a building raised in honour of a Saint Sophia, whose body rests beneath the dome. In another the Jews order all men to cast their refuse on the sepulchre of Jesus of Nazareth until it becomes a great mountain; and yet Helena is at a loss to find the spot where the cross must be sought until she compels a Jew to point it out to her. The doctrine of one baptism is supposed in another tale to be proved by the fact that the water becomes stone, when a patriarch seeks to baptise an infant already baptised in emergency by its mother. Another story relates without compunction the origin of the fast known as the Fast of Heraclius, and tells us how the emperor—who had pledged his word for the safety of the Jews—is induced to issue an order for their massacre, on the assurance that the Christians bound themselves and their posterity to fast for a week yearly on his behalf to the end of the world.

The mental condition of a people who can find congenial nourishment in such tales as these furnishes little to encourage a belief in their future growth; but it in no way detracts from the interest attaching to the Coptic Church as 'the most remarkable monument of primitive Christianity,' or from its liturgy and art as an exponent of Christian

ritual in the earliest ages. There is, indeed, a wide field embraced in this subject which has scarcely been approached, much less fairly described; and Mr. Butler candidly allows that he has no special qualifications and no leisure for the task. Mr. Middleton is far ahead of him in knowledge of ecclesiology and ritual. Egypt is pre-eminently a land where a dominant priesthood had maintained the elaborate ceremonial of a time-honoured religion for hundreds or thousands of years preceding the Christian era. What influence had this ceremonial and even this creed on the thought and practice of the Copts when they had become disciples of the newer faith? Are the liturgical forms and ornaments, the vestments, the attitudes of priests in prayer, the accessories of Coptic Christian worship, absolutely and exclusively of post-Christian growth? It is not easy to think so when, in some instances at least (and these seemingly not few), we find similar accessories, ornaments, and forms in Syria, India, and Thibet. A growth so exuberant, a system so intricate, is almost more than we can look for as the result of some four or five generations bred up in a faith to all appearance not likely to promote such a growth or to be expanded into such a system.

‘The history of Christian Egypt,’ Mr. Butler insists, ‘is still unwritten, or at least that part of it about which the most romantic interest gathers, the period which witnessed the passing away of the ancient cults and the changes of the pagan world. We have yet to learn how the cold worship, the tranquil life, and the mummified customs of that immemorial people dissolved in the fervour of the new faith.’

We may admit our ignorance, while we hesitate to pronounce judgement on the character of the ancient Egyptian worship and life. Coldness and tranquillity are terms which, like many others, may be susceptible of more than one interpretation; but it is hard or impossible to believe that any well-defined sacerdotal system ever existed which lacked all power of exciting the attention and, in whatever measure, of satisfying the affections of the worshippers. If the Christianity and the Christian ritual of Egypt has had on the Christianity of Eastern, and through the Eastern on that of Western, Europe, the influence which Mr. Butler assigns to it, it becomes the more necessary to determine the relation of the forms, ornaments, attitudes, and accessories of Coptic Christian worship with those of the systems which it supplanted. Thus embalming, Mr. Butler remarks, ‘was still common as late as the middle of the fourth century, for we

‘read that St. Antony’s dread of the process was the chief reason why his followers concealed the place of his burial;’ and he adds that ‘the whole subject of the transition from Egyptian to Christian rites awaits investigation.’ The proposition cannot be disputed; and the importance of the enquiry is manifest when we remember that the most prominent symbol of ancient Egyptian worship is the *Stauros*, or cross, worked into a vast number of forms and with a marvellous wealth of adornment. That these symbols were widely used as amulets is certain; that the pectoral cross served for Coptic Christians the same purpose is not more open to doubt. It was worn largely, Mr. Butler tells us, by laymen as well as by clergy, and served both as a token of the faith and, among the more superstitious, as a talisman. It is obvious that the religious use of the emblem does not necessarily throw any light on the origin of the superstition.

In the carving and embroidery of later ages the cross, in its countless modifications, may be said to form the groundwork of all that is most beautiful and elaborate in Coptic ornamentation; and beyond doubt the greatest triumphs of Coptic art have been achieved less in the majesty and grandeur of its structures than in the unwearied and loving care lavished on details—whether in panels and screen work, or lamps, curtains, reliquaries, candlesticks. Almost all these are well worth studying, and many of them have called forth enthusiastic descriptions from Mr. Butler. Thus of the textus case of the Gospels in the church of Abu Kir wa Yohanna, dating probably from the sixteenth or late fifteenth century, he speaks as “a sumptuous and really glorious ‘work of art, one of the finest treasures of all in the Coptic churches.’ It is indeed a marvellous piece of minute ornamentation, and the wonderful skill required to achieve such work seems to have been as rapid in its growth as it has been in its decline; but the length of the period in each case it seems wholly out of our power to define.

‘One is driven,’ says Mr. Butler, ‘more and more to the conclusion that anything like a history of the rise and fall of Coptic art is impossible; that the rise and fall are comparatively short periods of which little or nothing is known; that between the two there was no definite progression, no scale of merit mounting slowly on previous acquirement; but that at its best, art as it were crystallised into fixed forms which were handed down for many centuries with little loss of excellence. Invention seems to have ceased early, but taste and skill of execution remained hereditary.’ (Vol. i. p. 69.)

This skill seems to have been exhibited most of all in the

carved screens which are found everywhere. Many or most of them are now more or less injured. Not seldom a whole wall may be seen made up of screens or pieces of screens pieced together with little regard to harmony or to the time in which they were produced; but in cases where the work remains in its original state their general character must be very impressive. The choir screen of Abu's-Sifain is, in Mr. Butler's opinion, 'worth a journey to Egypt to see.'

'It is a massive partition of ebony, divided into three large panels—doorway and two side panels—which are framed in masonry. At each side of the doorway is a square pillar, plastered and painted; on the left is painted the Crucifixion, and over it the sun shining full; on the right the taking down from the Cross, and over it the sun eclipsed. Each of the three panels is about 6 feet wide and 8 high. In the centre a double door, opening choirwards, is covered with elaborate mouldings, inclosing ivory crosses carved in high relief. All round the framing of the doors tablets of solid ivory, chased with arabesques, are inset, and the topmost part of each panel is marked off for an even richer display of chased tablets and crosses. Each of the side panels of the screen is one mass of superbly cut crosses of ivory, inlaid in even lines, so as to form a kind of broken trelliswork in the ebony background. The spaces between the crosses are filled with little squares, pentagons, hexagons, and other figures of ivory, variously designed, and chiselled with exquisite skill. . . . It is difficult to give any idea of the extraordinary richness and delicacy of the details or the splendour of the whole effect.'

This work belongs, there can be little doubt, to the early part of the tenth century, work of the same sort being found on the mumbâr at the mosque of Ibn Tulun, which also was built by a Copt. In the same church, flung into a dark niche and overlaid with dust, the author found the altarcasket or ark, bearing the Coptic date corresponding to 1280 A.D. On one side of this casket is a picture which he pronounces to be 'quite Rembrandt-like in tone in its 'splendid depths of shadow and play of light.'

'Christ, half turning to the left, is walking with earnest, luminous eyes fixed before him, and lips half parted. In his left hand a golden chalice is held outstretched; two fingers of the right hand are uplifted in benediction. Under his feet is an eagle flying reversed—i.e. with the under parts uppermost, and head curved over the breast. The face of Christ is full-bearded, resembling the type traditional in the Western Churches; and the rich umber shadows round it deepen the impression, which is one of fascinating solemnity. This is among the most powerful pictures I have ever seen.' (Vol. i. p. 109.)

The correspondence here noted with the forms of Western tradition is of rare occurrence. Another instance is found

in a chapel of the church of Abu Sergeh (or St. Sergius), where a portrait of Christ exhibits in type of features a curious agreement with the earliest known likeness, 'that depicted on the ceiling in the catacomb of Domitilla at Rome, assigned to the third century. The hair on the face and upper lip is unshorn, but slight; beard rather pointed.' But any conclusions as to the causes of this likeness are premature until we have accounted for the fact that a correspondence to this type not less striking is found on ancient gems bearing the head of Dionysos. An enquiry of the same sort is suggested by Mr. Butler's remarks on an extremely interesting carving of the Last Supper in the same church. Here the table has square corners at the near end, the far end being rounded; and the whole scene is 'grouped under an altar-canopy supported on two slender columns,' while a pair of altar curtains, each caught up and looped round a pillar so as to leave a clear view of the scene below, are suspended from rods above. This, the author thinks, is the only artistic monument definitely recording the early altar curtains of the Coptic ceremonial. The shape of the table is by no means peculiar to the Coptic Church, but the conclusion that the altars which exhibit the form of horseshoe slabs are of Coptic growth, and sprang originally from Coptic Christianity, is perhaps a perilous one. Altars of like shape, which cannot be referred to a post-Christian age, are found elsewhere.

Not less striking and beautiful than the best in Abu Sergeh are some of the screens belonging to the church of Al Mu'-Allakah:—

'One is unique; above and below are narrow panels of carved cedar and ebony alternately, chased with rich scroll-work and interwoven with Cufic inscriptions; the framework also is of cedar, wrought into unusual starlike devices, and the intervals are filled with thin plates of ivory, through which, when the screen was in its original position, the light of the lamps behind fell with a soft rose-coloured glow extremely pleasing. There is an almost magical effect peculiar to this screen; for the design seems to change in a kaleidoscopic manner according as the spectator varies his distance from it.'

But of such work generally Mr. Butler rightly remarks that description is dangerous. 'It can convey little idea of the clearness and splendour, while it retains all the complexity of the original.' The careful engravings given in these volumes may help us better than words; but these necessarily give us no knowledge of the colouring. In the desert churches Mr. Butler came across carving in wood-

work which surpassed anything to be met with in the Cairo churches, and wall-pictures deserving the highest praise. At Anba Bishôï the mural paintings are 'clear and strong in design, true in drawing, rich and mellow in tone, and, in a word, worthy of the church which they adorn, and of comparison with any like work in Europe.'*

The Coptic churches are now divided into many parts by a complicated arrangement of screens; but these screens are wholly independent of the plan or use of the original church and of much later date. Mr. Middleton reports that in Abu Sergeh they do not appear to be older than the sixteenth century.

The remarks thus far made relate to particular features or portions of a building. Of the building itself in its general character they convey no idea. The questions of size and grandeur, of harmony and proportion, of exterior and internal arrangement and decoration have been left untouched. The lower we sink in the conception of the whole, the greater is the likelihood that some one or more particular features will receive special elaboration until we reach the stage where one object displays beauty in a desert of unsightly surroundings. If such were our impression of Coptic art and architecture, we should be going on a wrong track and falling into grave error; but the history of the Coptic Church would alone warrant the inference that the

* In his account of the church of St. Barbara, within the Roman fortress of Babylon, Mr. Butler describes a screen both curious and beautiful, belonging to the chapel of Mâri Girgis, or St. George. This screen was there at the time of his first visit, and it was in its place when he went for the second time four years later. But in the interval an attempt had been made to deprive the church of a work which would be of comparatively little value elsewhere. We give the story in Mr. Butler's words, adding only that if the report be true it reflects little credit on those who were concerned in the transaction. 'When it became clear that the priest could not be prevailed upon to sell it, he was threatened with the displeasure of the British Government (!); and, the threat failing, an effort was made to frighten the patriarch into yielding up the screen. Fortunately all endeavours proved unsuccessful. They were known, however, all over Cairo, and produced a great deal of natural ill-feeling among the Copts. I protest in the strongest manner against such attempts to rob the Coptic churches of their few remaining treasures, more particularly when the object in question has a structural importance, and loses its chief interest in being removed from its original position. In such a case museums may be gainers, but the cause of art and archæology suffers.' (Vol. i. p. 243.)

structures reared for its worship would display some singular characteristics. The Jacobite party or faction gained some advantage for a time by their betrayal of the Melkites in the age of the Saracenic conquest. Their places of worship were spared, while those of the Greeks were mutilated or destroyed. But they remained, nevertheless, a subjugated sect, with whom Mahometan intolerance was not likely to deal very gently; and a discreet suppression of the outward signs of religious difference became a dictate of ordinary prudence. The bigotry of their conquerors might at any moment break out into violence. It was the part of wise men not to provoke this violence; and this end would best be attained by keeping out of sight whatever might call it forth. How far and in what direction the treatment of churches externally may have advanced before the Arab invasion we cannot say; but after that catastrophe all attempts at external decoration seem to have been speedily given up. Henceforth their churches might have to serve quite as much for defence as for worship, and it would be folly to parade them in either character. The result is precisely what might under such circumstances be looked for.

‘A Coptic church outside never shows any outline; around it is huddled a mass of haphazard buildings, which show that the architect’s idea was concealment of the exterior rather than adornment. These buildings serve, of course, to shelter the church; and though they have long been turned from their original monastic uses, many of them are still inhabited by the priests or other satellites employed in the church services. . . . The houses, then, piled at random about a Coptic church, had two purposes, monastic and defensive; but it is obvious that they made anything like exterior ornamentation impossible, and one may say roughly that an Egyptian church has neither outline nor exterior architecture. The outside is a rude shapeless congeries of brickwork intended rather to escape notice than to attract admiration; it was meant that there should be nothing to delight the eye of the Muslim enemy prowling without, while architectural and liturgical splendours alike were reserved for the believer within.’

These considerations, it might be thought, would not apply to the churches in the distant and lonely desert convents. But they were nevertheless followed. For anything like an external façade in the churches of these monasteries we look in vain. Buttresses are heaped up anyhow against the walls, which are raised without heed to roughnesses and inequalities in their surfaces, and in which the stones employed are unhewn. Buildings planned under

such conditions can never be of the first magnitude. If they were so, their very size would, with their surroundings, attract the attention which they most sought to avoid. Compared with the churches of Latin or Teutonic Christendom, the dimensions of the Coptic churches are insignificant. The average may be stated to be a length of 60 by a width of 50 feet. None probably exceed 100 feet in length by 60 or 70 in width, and even of this space much is occupied by passages, cells, and lumber or other chambers, which can scarcely be said to form part of the church strictly so called.

Internally, again, there is manifestly no care to exhibit, and no thought in the architect's mind of exhibiting, the general area of a building. There seems to have been no notion that mere space enclosed within walls produces its impression, and will, if sufficiently large, produce an impression of grandeur, with little ornament or none. Men and women, according to Eastern logic, could not worship together. There must therefore be a men's portion and a women's portion; the choir must be distinct from both, and the 'haikal' or sanctuary distinct from all three. For catechumens and penitents there must likewise be a space marked off; and all these must be separated by screens more or less massive, if not by solid walls. A long-stretching vista was thus rendered impossible, and any effect produced in the building must be derived mainly from a minute elaboration of parts. The processes employed for this purpose are those of painting, carving, and inlaying. The carving and inlaying always invite and are designed for minute inspection. It is not so always or commonly with the paintings, which must, of course, be regarded as distant, if thirty or forty feet intervene between them and the spectator. Even rude pictures thus seen may acquire a certain power of enchantment; and it is so, in Mr. Butler's opinion, with the mural paintings in Abu-'s-Sifain. So seen, the colours, we are told, are very soft and harmonious, and the figures have all a freedom and even grandeur of outline that redeems the want of technical finish.

•

'The whole tone is one of unmistakable splendour, and the contrast between the dark screen below, starred over with ivory crosses, and the space above divided by bands of golden writing, and set with panels in which haloed saints and sacred scenes glow under golden skies, is something admirable and delightful. And when in olden times the twelve silver lamps that hung before the screen were burning at night and throwing a mellow light upon it, the beauty and richness of the view, with all its sacred memories and suggestions, must have deeply moved

the worshippers, and helped, with the odour of frankincense and the sound of chant and cymbals, to create an impression of ritual splendour now quite unrivalled.'

Still, for all practical purposes the area of the church is broken up into divisions, the size of which, if they are taken separately, is insignificant. In the church of Abu's-Sifain the choir is 8 feet by 30 feet, the latter being the width of the nave. A choir 30 feet in length is a rare exception. These small divisions, again, become virtually structural units from the close screen-work and the solid walls which shut them off from the rest of the building. In short, it seems clear that the idea of the architect was simply the inclusion of a number of buildings in the same plan, and all that can be said is that the arrangement is often harmonious, and that the ground-plans themselves sometimes exhibit great simplicity and beauty. One of the most striking, as it is certainly one of the most typical, is the plan of the desert church of Al Adra. It is quite small, being, internally, a little over 30 feet in width, with an extreme length of about 80. It has one entrance to the west (a low door not in the centre of the wall), and another by a porch on the north side.

'The fabric consists of nave and two aisles with western returned aisle, choir, and sanctuaries; but the choir is shut off from nave and aisles by a thick and massive wall, which divides the church into two separate portions. This separation is made even more effectual by a pair of lofty folding-doors, which close across the archway leading to the choir.'

A low stone screen further separates the easternmost bay of the nave from those to the west. The choir and the sanctuary, each about 15 feet square, are, like the two side chapels at the eastern end, covered with a dome; the choir aisles have each a semi-dome. But it is obvious that in a structure thus arranged the dome of the choir cannot dominate the rest of the building, and three or four minute humps can therefore alone be visible externally. No doubt, the general impression produced by the Coptic churches must vary much in degree, and it is, to say the least, perplexing to read of internal barriers and separations which in some cases the plans very inadequately explain. We regret, therefore, that, apart from details of church furniture and ornaments, Mr. Butler's illustrations are confined to these plans. A few perspective interior views would have added largely to the value and the interest of the work.

We are thus brought to the main characteristic of Coptic churches. If the type of a basilica is to be found strictly in the parallelogram, then the Coptic architecture may be said, on the whole, to be strictly basilican. In the West the basilica soon broke through the narrower wall at either end by thrusting out an external apse. The Coptic architects seem to have had so inveterate a dislike even to thus breaking the outer wall that the only instances of an external apse are found in two of the four churches included in Dair al Malak, in Upper Egypt. The plan of the Coptic churches generally is, therefore, either a parallelogram or a square, with all its outer walls unbroken; but within this enclosure the space is broken up with a multitude of barriers which, as marked in the plan, are often at first sight not a little bewildering. As no portion of the building has any architectural pre-eminence over the rest, and as the same remark applies to the domes and screen externally, a type more completely opposed to that which is commonly known as the Byzantine cannot well be conceived. Of this Byzantine style Mr. Butler describes the leading characteristics as ‘the domed roofing, ‘the absence of many-pillared aisles, and sometimes a cruciform design.’ It would, perhaps, be more closely in accordance with fact to say that the Byzantine church exhibits the central dome from the first as the dominating feature. In other words, this feature, which is found all over Egypt, underwent, in the hands of the Byzantine architect, a complete transformation. It acquired a new power. It compelled the architect to subordinate every other feature in the building, be it dome or anything else, to itself. It rendered, therefore, the developement of a cruciform architecture inevitable. The Coptic architect delighted in domes and in a multitude of domes, but he rarely went beyond the notion of arranging them like a series of hives. Mr. Butler seems to be aware of one instance only of a central dome with four semi-domes attached, and four small domes at the angles of a square about it, and this is at the village of Bûsh on the Nile, near Bani Suîf. If this example had been at all generally followed, the whole character of Coptic architecture must have been changed. Probably the four small domes at the angles of the square prevented the architect of the church at Bûsh from perceiving the full significance of his own design.

However this may be, it is certain that in Byzantium, and so in Eastern and Southern Europe, the notion of a central dome with four semi-domes clustering round it, or four wings.

striking out from beneath it, became the leading idea of the architect's mind, and that he worked it out to its logical results, producing the most perfect type of building that the world has perhaps ever seen. In Egypt this arrangement in the solitary example still remaining, and possibly in a few others which may have perished, was probably the result of accident, and at all events failed to exercise any influence. There remain the forms themselves which are said to have given rise to what are called the basilican and the Byzantine styles of architecture, in other words, the parallelogram or square for the one, and the circle with its spherical covering for the other. If the first type was worked out to great perfection to meet the wants involved in the administration of Roman law, and if from Rome the style so developed was carried to Alexandria, and thence onwards up the Nile and to the distant deserts, and if the second type derived its distinguishing feature from the work of Egyptian Christians, these would be facts of considerable interest; but they lose much of their significance or importance as arguments in a controversy. The so-called Christian basilica may have been a simple oblong aisleless room divided by a cross arch, and unquestionably this was the form which alone produced fruit in the mind of the Coptic builder. It is not less certain that aisles were formed by the introduction of piers within the original area, and Mr. Butler questions or rather rejects the inference that these aisles were in no case thrown out before the suggestion had been caught from a Roman basilica. 'This,' he urges, 'seems in the last degree improbable, for the logic of thought and the logic of fact are alike against it.' So the dome, he thinks, would more easily pass from India to Egypt than to the remoter West, and he regards it as in the highest degree likely that 'Alexandria was before the rest of the world in building churches as in general civilisation, and started the type of architecture which, becoming familiar to Europeans in Byzantium, was called after that city.'

A few other facts connected with Coptic architecture have an interest greater perhaps than that which attaches to the general form so pertinaciously followed by the Coptic builders. Of these the first is the strictness with which they carried out the orientation of their churches. In every instance, we are told, the orientation of the altar is clear and decided, although the nature of the site may have rendered it necessary in some cases to deflect the axis of the church itself slightly from the true east. It is, therefore,

as Mr. Butler remarks, possible that 'the orientation of our European churches, which was not the usual practice in the beginning, but which became almost universal in the middle ages, may have been derived from Egypt,' although here also we have to remember that the practice of orientation is by no means confined to Christendom, or known only since the Christian era. In some other respects Coptic practice has been modified by risks of persecution and violence. The three western entrances were thus reduced to one, and this became a low and narrow doorway. The same cause deprived the Coptic churches of all windows except small skylights, and prevented in the cities the erection of towers and spires.

But the feature which most distinguishes the Coptic churches internally is the arrangement of the altars. To the eastward of the choir lies the high or main altar in the sanctuary, which is flanked on each side by a chapel also containing one altar. Every church, it may be said, has these three, none has more.

'Many other chapels,' the author tells us, 'are attached externally to the main building, or are located in the upper aisles; but in the main body of the church no altars are allowed to be scattered about the building, but all must be ranged in a line at the eastern end. There are only two altars at present at Al Amîr Tadrus and at Abu's-Sifain; but it is almost certain that at the former church an altar has been removed, and even if the same is not true of Abu's-Sifain, the comparatively late date of that edifice makes its exceptional structure less noteworthy.'

In any case, the general rule or law of three altars for Coptic churches is abundantly established. The fact upsets some very positive statements of Dr. Neale, with whom here and elsewhere Mr. Butler deals very trenchantly. Not content with asserting that throughout all Eastern Christendom each church has only one altar, Dr. Neale declares that this rule is observed 'in Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Malabar, by Nestorians and Jacobites, in short, over the whole East.' The refutation is complete. Not merely is the law of three altars universal in Egypt at the present time, but 'there is not a single religious building of the Copts, however ancient its foundation, which does not bear the clearest structural proofs of having been designed with a view to precisely the same ritual arrangement.' The conclusion is that while the Greek Church recognises one altar, all other churches recognise a plurality of altars. But on the precise meaning and significance of this fact we do not venture to pronounce any opinion.

Mr. Butler's second volume is occupied chiefly with the requirements for the celebration of the Coptic liturgy, with the history and forms of their ecclesiastical vestments, and with their ceremonial generally. The treatment of these subjects is throughout historical, and his pages may therefore be read with interest by those who may regard matters relating to ecclesiastical ritual with comparative or complete indifference. It is well to know precisely what vestments are now, or have in times past been, worn by the Coptic clergy; and if any changes have occurred it may be well also to ascertain the cause of these changes. But we have, we frankly confess, no great care to plunge into controversies on minute points of detail. No one who seeks to have a clear notion as to the course of religious thought and practice can fail to feel an interest in the origin and growth of Christian ceremonial. It differs in some respects widely in the East and the West, but with the divergences there are more striking points of agreement. We have, then, to trace these resemblances wherever they can be traced, and the task, it can scarcely be doubted, will lead us into regions which at the outset we had no thought of entering. Dean Stanley imagined that he had settled the whole question of ecclesiastical vestments by referring them to the ordinary garb of Roman, Italian, or Gaulish citizens and peasants. It is obvious that he had looked only over a portion of the field which called for examination. We may take the girdle now worn by the Coptic clergy over the alb or dalmatic, and we shall see that it is daily worn in Cairo by merchants and sheikhs to confine a dress differing from the dalmatic only in being open in front.

'The analogy between the two sets of vestments,' Mr. Butler insists, 'is so striking to view, and so well founded in fact, that one cannot understand how it can have received so little recognition from ecclesiologists. Much labour and ingenuity have been spent in deriving the various forms of ecclesiastical vestments from styles of classical costume recorded in literary or sculptured monuments; while Oriental costume has been quite neglected, although the early Christians, like the Jews, were mostly Orientals, and Eastern dress is much the same to-day as it was two thousand years ago. A well-dressed Arab from the bazaars of Cairo is a better illustration of the origin of Christian vestments than all the sculptures of Athens and Rome.'

It may be so; but it is so probably only because Eastern dress generally, whether within or without the borders of Egypt, has been practically the same for much more than two thousand years. The Christian vestments must be

carefully and exactly compared with those of Buddhists and Brahmans, and all must be traced back to their earliest forms and their earliest dates before we can hope to reach any definite conclusion about them. The well-intentioned but somewhat credulous missionaries, Gabet and Huc, may not have been models of Western wisdom or Western learning, but no one probably supposes that the points of likeness noticed by them between Latin and Buddhist ritual, vestments, and worship, had no existence except in their own brains. Their facts were stated, it would seem, rightly enough. All that we need say further is, that they were wholly incompetent to deal with them. Nor is the importance of the enquiry thus suggested affected in any way by the special arguments urged by Mr. Butler in support of his own conclusions with regard to the Coptic liturgy and ritual. We believe that his arguments are generally sound, and his conclusions in accordance with the evidence. Thus there can be no doubt that the Latin or Western stole is the corresponding vestment to the Greek *epitrachelion*, a name which in Coptic appears as *patrashîl*. The close likeness of the Greek and Coptic forms warrants, in his belief, 'the inference that the *epitrachelion* had been adopted and settled as part of the sacerdotal dress before the rupture between the Jacobite and Melkite factions in the Church.' The vestments of both up to that time would, he holds, be the same, and he regards it as most unlikely 'either that the Greeks should have subsequently borrowed the *patrashîl* from the Jacobites—a supposition refuted by the very name—or, on the other hand, that the Jacobites should have been beholden to the despised and detested Melkites.' This is a question of secondary importance. A more significant fact, if it be a fact, is set forth by his more general conclusion, 'that the forms of the ecclesiastical vestments were fixed and definitely consecrated to the service of the Church at a much earlier period in the East than in the West, and possibly earliest of all in the Church of Alexandria.' The real question is as to the extent to which the Alexandrian Church may have been indebted for the forms of its vestments and its ritual to the old religions and worship of the land. The strong protest made against both by the Christians of the first or the second century may have been followed by a silent and gradual acceptance or re-adoption of much that had been rejected, when it was found that the old customs had too strong a hold on the popular mind to be easily rooted out. Thus the Alexandrian

Clement, denouncing the finery of the Christian ladies of his day, compares them to the heathen Egyptians, who, as he says, have magnificent temples, gleaming with gold and silver, and glittering with gems. Their shrines, he tells them, are veiled with gold-embroidered hangings, but behind them there is nothing more than a cat or a snake. Clement is referring manifestly to altar curtains; and we have already had to notice some of the evidence which makes it certain that altar curtains were in use in the Coptic Church at a very early date.

As bearing on the pretensions and claims of the head of Latin Christendom, the account given of the Coptic *ballin*, or pall, has much interest. Admitting that there is no direct testimony which may determine whether the use of the pall in Alexandria preceded or followed its use in Rome, Mr. Butler rightly lays stress on the fact that while the Latin Pope was granting it as a mark of honour to archbishops, and exacting their allegiance in return, each new patriarch of Alexandria had to take the pall of St. Mark from the neck of his deceased predecessor before burial, as part of a solemn rite. Moreover, the Latin pall is the Greek *omophorion*, or shoulder-borne vestment, which has been worn, without any record of Latin interference, in both the Greek and the Egyptian Churches down to the present day.

'All this,' Mr. Butler concludes, 'tells strongly against the claims of Rome to regard the pall as an exclusively Roman privilege. . . . There seems some reason—from a decree of the Council of Macon, in 581 A.D., that no archbishop should celebrate without a pall—to think that this pretension was not fully acknowledged by the Gallican Church in the sixth century; but it is needless to trace its growth, and needless to repeat that neither Copt nor Greek in any way confesses the supremacy of the Roman pontiff.'

In the case of the Coptic crosier, Mr. Butler goes a little further in the direction pointed out by the comparative method, the importance of which is now everywhere admitted in the settlement of matters of evidence. This crosier is a wand bearing at the top two serpent-heads, which face each other. Its identity with the traditional staff of Hermes—the caduceus of the Latin Mercury—is obvious, and Mr. Butler has no difficulty in seeing that the snake-headed wand was familiar in Egypt long before even the foundation of Alexandria; nor has he any doubt that its adoption in the mystic cults of the great city accounts for its presence at this day in the ritual of the Coptic Christians. As to the symbolism of the snakes, he does not feel the same assurance;

but the fact that the wand was carried by heralds and ambassadors as an emblem of peace sufficiently attests in Mr. Butler's judgement the suitability of the emblem for the heralds of the Gospel message. Assuredly; but the staff of Hermes was a rod of wealth, and the later meaning attached to it does not in the least account for its origin.

Such changes as may have passed over the Coptic ritual are the result rather of the mere effect of time than of any conscious modification of ancient forms. To the English mind the devotion or superstition of the Copts differs little from that of the Greek or Latin Churches. The Eucharist has become, practically, a mystic rite, which scarcely any can witness, and of which few, it seems, care to partake. 'Communicants,' says Mr. Butler, 'are now very few, and for the most part children'—a strange moral revolution, where the minutest points of ceremonial are still kept up with rigid tenacity. The priest still drains the chalice, 'wipes the inside with his finger, and licks his finger, washes out the chalice with water and drinks the rinsings.' The deacon still, after the celebration, places the spoon on his lips, eyes, and forehead, thus obeying the directions of Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century: 'Touching with thy hands the moisture remaining on thy lips, sanctify both thine eyes, thy forehead, and the other organs of sense.' 'What other church,' Mr. Butler asks, 'preserves, in so startling a manner, the minutiae of primitive tradition?'

As to the general effect of the ritual we need say little. It can scarcely be either striking or impressive.

'In the elaborate ceremonial of the mass to-day, inasmuch as generally little more than the celebrant is visible through the narrow opening of the haikal-door, and the celebrant's movements are rendered obscure by his eastward position, and sometimes also by clouds of incense, it is very difficult to follow intelligently the action of the ritual, and to ascertain what happens at any particular moment.'

But if little meets the eye of the people, the celebrant and his assistants are, in the conduct of their worship, subject to a strict bondage. It is enough to say that the priest who lets fall an atom of the housel is punished by forty days' inhibition from the service of the altar and from communion, that he is to fast during the whole of this period, and to make fifty prostrations—a most laborious penance—every night. As a natural accompaniment of such a code there is no lack of legends which indicate the coarsest materialism in reference to this Sacrament.

'It is related that a certain anchorite, named Peter, had his forefinger bound up for fifteen years, and when he came to die, two priests attending him, with great importunity, prevailed upon him to show the finger. When he took off the wrapping, his finger was seen to be red, as if coloured with fresh blood. Peter then told them that once, when saying mass . . . when he came to the consecration of the chalice, and touched the surface of the wine with his finger, he said within himself, "Will this indeed become the blood of Christ?" Thereupon the wine rose in the chalice so as to cover his finger, and stained it with a stain of blood, which remained indelible. From that day forward he never consecrated again.'

It must be admitted that the Western Church has not a few legends still more gross; and we hear therefore with comparative indifference that Coptic practice prohibits reservation, and that Coptic belief excludes all notions of a purgatory of physical sufferings. But if the minutiae of Eucharistic ceremonial are strictly kept up, in the details of baptism there has been here, as everywhere else, a considerable relaxation. These changes tend to bear out Dean Stanley's description of baptism as administered during the patristic ages. There was generally, he tells us, but one baptistery in each city, apart from the church. There was but one time of the year when the rite was administered, between Easter and Pentecost; there was but one personage who could administer it, the presiding officer of the community; there was but one hour for the ceremony, it was midnight. All this points to an extremely small number of recipients, and is wholly inconsistent not merely with traditions of multitudes baptised together, but with the rapid growth of the idea that the condition of persons dying unbaptised was hopeless. At the present day scarcely a single church in all Egypt possesses an external baptistery; but there is not lacking evidence which shows that the earliest arrangement was in harmony with the most primitive ritual. Some of the baptisteries, although within the area of the church, are so placed that the neophyte may receive the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist before he passes into the main body of the building. They were probably in these earlier times walled off from nave and aisles.

'Finally, as the rigidity of early custom slackened, the partition between the baptistery and the church was removed; the need for a neophyte chapel disappeared, and the position of the font became a matter of accident and indifference.'

Mr. Middleton states that in the *nashex* and other parts of Abu Sergeh there are large tanks for ablution. One of

these large tanks is opened about midnight on the eve of the festival of the Gheetas, January 18, when the male part of the Coptic congregation plunge into it in commemoration of the baptism of Christ.

An interesting chapter on the language and literature of the Copts throws some light on their present intellectual condition, but holds out no encouragement to any hope of mental improvement in the future. The language itself is one of the most venerable of ancient monuments; it may fairly, as Mr. Butler urges, be regarded as the same tongue that was spoken by the builders of the pyramids. But whatever may have been the literary treasures preserved in Coptic speech in ages past, not many are likely to be found now even by the most determined and patient of seekers. No printed books are used in the services of any church, and the only Coptic literature is religious. This literature, no doubt, has and must retain its value for those who devote themselves to liturgical and ritual history. Of their *synaxaria*, or Lives of Saints, we have said something already; and to these we may add Psalters, books of Gospels, Benedictionals, Canons, and other treatises relating to the discipline and ceremonial of the Church, and, it would seem, nothing more. Of poets, historians, philosophers, or men of science, they have, and they have had, none. There is not, it would seem, an example even of a complete Coptic Bible; and in some instances the separate books of the Old Testament are not found quite entire. Of the monasteries of Antonios and Bolos, in the eastern deserts bordering on the Red Sea, Mr. Butler speaks as having possessed libraries 'so rich in 'ancient treasures that their loss is little less deplorable 'than the more distant destruction of the great Alexandrian 'library by Amru.' These monastic libraries were burnt by the Beduin in the fifteenth century, after the uprising of the convent slaves, who slew the monks their masters. Later on, other monks made these deserted abodes their home; and Mr. Butler thinks that their books, though probably not older than the time of the reoccupation, deserve a more careful examination than they have yet received. In this and in other directions there is much work to be done. Mr. Butler writes as one standing merely at the threshold, but he has made an excellent beginning; and all who are disposed to venture further into a region scantily known but full of interest will find in him not only a genial but a most able and trustworthy guide.

ART. III.—*Anne Boleyn: a Chapter of English History, 1527–1536.* By PAUL FRIEDMAN. In 2 vols. London: 1884.

IN two previous articles on the Divorce of Catharine of Aragon, we endeavoured to trace the course of events from the time of the production of the celebrated Breve, the genuineness of which has been so strenuously debated, till the final decision of Pope Clement VII. that the marriage between the king and queen was valid. In both those articles Anne Boleyn played a conspicuous, though perhaps a subordinate part. In resuming the subject in the present article, which will be devoted to M. Paul Friedman's recent publication, the picture will be as it were reversed, and we shall follow Anne Boleyn's career from her marriage to her execution, though we shall have something also to say about the concluding years and the death of the unfortunate princess of Spain.

But before entering on the general history, in which we shall make what use we can of M. Friedman's accounts and of the references printed in his notes, we have somewhat to say about the author and his book as well as his methods of investigation and of drawing inferences. In the first place, it is undeniable that he has written a most interesting history of Anne Boleyn's life and death, and that he has interwoven in his narrative an equally interesting account of the sufferings and death of the queen whom she supplanted, and whose death was so speedily followed by her own execution. That he has in addition given a tolerably complete account of the relations of this country with the other Powers of Europe, during the nine years from 1527 to 1536, was unavoidable, for during the greater part of that time the history of England centres in the history of the Divorce. In accomplishing his task he has had the great advantage of following in the wake of all the gentlemen employed by the Government in calendaring the State Papers of the period. Three series of these papers have been progressing simultaneously—the Spanish, the Venetian, and the English; but neither the Spanish documents nor the English, which are being carried on under Mr. James Gairdner, have quite reached the point at which M. Friedman ends. And in criticising his theories, we have for the far greater part of the time, practically speaking, access to the same documents which he himself relies on. It is only for the last few

months that we are obliged to fall back upon M. Friedman's own investigations.

There is, then, one point in which our author is deserving of all praise. He has consulted original documents, or authenticated copies, for himself. If we may trust his own account of what he has done, he has at least in many instances seen and studied the originals, and has not contented himself with the analyses and epitomes which are to be found in the Calendars of State Papers. In doing this he professes to find fault with most of his predecessors. And here our own observation enables us to endorse much of what he says. His complaint of the inaccuracies of Don Pascual de Gayangos, as regards mistakes of ignorance and inadvertence, is fully justified, but we confess that we are surprised and disappointed at hearing that this editor has been guilty of the unpardonable offence of interspersing his own remarks in the letters of the imperial ambassador, to an extent of which M. Friedman speaks in the following terms: 'In reading this Calendar, one can never be certain whether it is Don Pascual or Chapuis who speaks.' (Preface, p. xi.) This is a very grave accusation, and, we hope, an exaggerated description of the state of this Calendar. If the charge could be substantiated on any large scale, Don Pascual's Calendar must be practically useless, and we can only be too thankful that Mr. Brewer and Mr. Gairdner have gone over much of the same ground with him, and have given abstracts of the contents of the State Papers which certainly are free from any such unwarrantable insertions. We are a little surprised that M. Friedman should have thought it worth while to allude to the mistakes of Bradford and Sir Henry Ellis. No one now, we should think, would refer to them as trustworthy historians of this period. He could scarcely avoid referring to Don Pascual de Gayangos, who had made such extraordinary blunders as regards English people and things; but we cannot help thinking he has somewhat exaggerated matters when he speaks of Mr. Brewer's and Mr. Gairdner's abstracts as being made from copies not always trustworthy. The fact that these same letters have been done by the Spanish editor from the actual originals will be a sufficient safeguard against anybody being led away either by Don Pascual's insertions or by any supposed mistakes made by the English editors. Again, whilst he is finding fault with previous editors of State Papers, we wonder he has not come down heavily upon Dr. Theiner's '*Monumenta Vaticana*,' which is full of errors both of dates and of tran-

scription. Upon the whole, this part of his preface strikes us as having been written with the purpose of conveying to his readers an impression of the extreme difficulty of his task. As regards that part of it which consists of a defence of the trustworthiness of the letters of the Imperial ambassador at the Court of Henry VIII., we are entirely at one with him; and we are glad to have Mr. Brewer and Mr. Gairdner on our side. Chapuis' opinions may be matter of question, and may fairly be weighed against any other evidence we possess; but in stating matters of fact which he had himself witnessed, or matters which were related to him by others, he may be trusted for stating in the one case what he knew, and in the other what he had been led to believe; and unquestionably his letters are far the most valuable contribution to the history of the time that has come to light, serving as they do to correct the misrepresentations of Protestant partisans, in almost all cases confirming the conjectures of Dr. Lingard, and adding to our information almost for the first time the impressions of the Emperor's court and the Spanish side of the question as regards the divorce of Catharine and the marriage with Anne Boleyn.

We do not profess in this article to follow M. Friedman through the earlier part of his history. It is sufficient here to say that he has skilfully traced it from the time of the first mission of Knight, assuredly as blundering a diplomatist as ever was trusted with despatches to a foreign court, down to the time of the Dunstable judgement, one of the most wicked transactions that even Cranmer was ever concerned in. We must not, however, omit to notice the curious holograph letter from the King to Knight which had escaped the researches of Mr. Brewer, and was first published by Mr. E. L. Hicks in the 'Academy,' March 15, 1879. It is one of the most remarkable documents in the whole series of the transaction, and we hope, as being such, it will find a place in an appendix to Mr. Gairdner's volumes, especially as we cannot entirely endorse M. Friedman's opinion about it, so far as he speaks in the following extract which we make from his second chapter, in which, with the exception mentioned, we are able entirely to concur:—

'This letter, which Henry took the trouble to write entirely with his own hand, is a very curious document. It reads more like the composition of a schoolboy found out by the master against whom he plots, than like the letter of an absolute king, who might have dismissed and ruined Wolsey at a moment's notice. It shows the awe

with which he regarded the cardinal, and *the secret but strong dislike he had* for him. It shows how eager and impatient he was to marry Anne, and how confidently he believed that the divorce would be shortly obtained. It shows how foolish, rash, and weak Henry was, how entirely he depended on others more capable and energetic than himself.' (Vol. i. p. 63.)

As there are still many persons who are loth to give up their cherished predilections in favour of Archbishop Cranmer, it is perhaps worth while to give the estimate of him formed by one who has no prejudice either in favour of Catholicism or Protestantism, and who has had as ample opportunity of judging the man as any historian of the day. He says of Warham's successor:—

'Both by his character and by his ability, Cranmer was eminently fitted to become a useful tool in the hands of Henry and Cromwell. He was now a man of forty-three, rather learned, of ready wit, a good controversialist, and withal elegant, graceful, and insinuating. An admirable deceiver, he possessed the talent of representing the most infamous deeds in the finest words. In England he had spoken so strongly in favour of the divorce and against the Papal authority, that he could scarcely venture to alter his tone; and in the event of his feeling any inclination to do so, it was believed, for his timidity was well known, that he would be easily frightened into any course Henry and Cromwell might prescribe.

'His intellectual ability and the weakness of his moral character were not Cranmer's only title to preferment. By accepting the archbishopric he would place himself entirely at the mercy of Henry. In Germany, at the house of Osiander, he had made the acquaintance of a young woman by whose charms he had been captured. His opinions about the celibacy of priests were as vague and shifting as about most other subjects; and as the woman did not object to have a priest for her husband, they went through a ceremony of marriage. Cranmer had not the hardihood to acknowledge publicly what he had done, but it was not so well hidden but that some inkling of it reached Cromwell's spies. No action was taken against the archdeacon, although his marriage was clearly illegal; the matter seems not even to have been mentioned. But it was kept in good remembrance to be made use of at the proper moment. If Cranmer, after being installed as primate, should feel tempted to follow the example of Lee and Gardiner, should stand up for the rights and independence of the Church and refuse to do the king's bidding, a slight hint might be given to him that bishops could be deprived and punished for incontinence. This, no doubt, sufficed to ensure his immediate submission; but if he held out, Henry might pretend to have just discovered the marriage; and Cranmer, accused of incontinence, sentenced and deprived, would be sent to the Tower, to make way for an archbishop even more pliant, and to serve as a warning to persons disposed to betray the king's confidence.'

This description of the state of affairs as regards Mrs. Cranmer will probably commend itself to our readers as an improvement on the apology which M. Merle d'Aubigné offers for the non-presentation of the lady at court, on the ground that such presentation 'was not necessary, and would 'probably have embarrassed the pious German lady.'

Before we go on to take up the thread of the history from 1534 to 1537 we may say a few words on some disputed points which are discussed in the appendix. Two of these difficulties had been amply disposed of before, and there was no occasion for reopening the controversy. The genuineness of the disputed Breve can no longer be doubted, as its history may be read in the clearest light in the documents published by M. Bergenroth from the Simancas collection. Neither can there be the least doubt about the nature of the confession we have already alluded to, which enabled Cranmer to decide that the marriage with Anne Boleyn had been from the first null and void owing to some unknown impediment. It is certain that the impediment alleged was the connexion of Henry with her sister Mary. With regard to another point alluded to—viz. which was the elder sister—we confess that we think M. Friedman has not made good his case when he attempts to prove that Mary was the younger of the two. It is a matter of no great consequence, and either hypothesis is saddled with a difficulty; but if Mary was the younger it is absolutely necessary to put back the date of Anne Boleyn's birth to 1502 instead of the more common date assigned by most historians—viz. 1507. The date of the marriage is also questionable. The author assigns it to January 25, 1533, on the strength of Cranmer's assertion that it was 'much about St. Paul's day,' and Chapuis certainly understood St. Paul's day to mean January 25. Yet we still incline to think that Sanders and Le Grand and the earliest historians are right when they fix the day as November 14, S. Erkenwald's day, a day on which a grand function was always performed at St. Paul's Cathedral, and from which it was probably called St. Paul's day. If this were not the correct date, it is difficult to assign any reason why Sanders should have fixed upon it, as he would have been only too glad to adopt January 25, 1533, a date which could not have been reconciled with the alleged chastity of Anne Boleyn, which he represents her as having preserved till her marriage. Moreover, Cranmer, in the celebrated letter in which he uses the odd expression, 'much 'about St. Paul's day,' adds that he did not know of it till a

fortnight after it had taken place. If Cranmer spoke the truth, this was impossible. He must have known of it before the second week in February, as he must, under the circumstances, have been cognisant of the whole case; whereas his not knowing it for a fortnight after it had happened if it happened on November 14, 1532, tallies exactly with the time of his arrival in England after his recall from the emperor's court, as he left Mantua on his return on November 18. The chief difficulty about the matter is that Chapuis should have spoken of it as having occurred on January 25, which can only be accounted for by his having heard the expression *St. Paul's day* made use of, and his interpreting it to mean the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, which, as far as we know, was not at that time ever spoken of under that designation.

The first volume ends with the final decision of the Pope that the marriage of Henry and Catharine was valid; and the second carries on the history from April 4, 1534, when the intelligence reached England, till May 20, 1536, the day after Anne Boleyn had been beheaded, when Henry married Jane Seymour. And here we are somewhat at the mercy of M. Friedman. Not that we have any reason to mistrust his references, but as we have neither seen the originals nor the abstracts which will shortly be published we are unable to criticise his accounts of them. Nevertheless on most points he does but confirm the views which we have gathered from previously published evidence, and what he adds to the information which we were possessed of before is of surpassing interest. In continuing our account of his work we shall be taking up the thread of the story where we left off in our article of July 1884.

In the open war which was now, as it were, proclaimed with the Pope, and the intense fear that Henry and Cromwell felt of an invasion of England on the emperor's part, it was all-important to secure the alliance of the French king; and Henry was hoping that in his endeavours to set up an Anglican Church with doctrines unchanged *minus* the Papal Primacy, he should be seconded by Francis, whom he would have liked to see proclaiming himself supreme head of the Gallican Church. At home his course was easier than might have been expected. The summer of the year 1534 was spent in taking the oaths of his subjects to obey the Act which established the succession to the children of Anne Boleyn, and confirmed the legality of the divorce. Few, indeed, of his subjects refused it; few were found to

follow the example of the saintly Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More. Yet scarcely any had taken it willingly, and probably it was not injudiciously pressed upon many who would have refused it. At any rate there was reason enough for the king's uneasiness and unwillingness to leave the country for an interview with the French king which had been nearly arranged for the autumn. Most of the insults which were at this time heaped upon the queen and the Princess Mary are attributed by M. Friedman to the diabolical malice of Anne Boleyn. No doubt the sending of commissioners to the queen to ask her to subscribe to her own condemnation was a gratuitous piece of insolence. We cannot without regret mention that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, was amongst their number; but in their report of the interview to the king they do not venture to report the threats they had used, but only mention her indignant and decided refusal to accede to their proposal. It is only from the letters of Chapuis that we learn that upon the mention of the penalty she would by Act of Parliament incur, she demanded of them which of them would be her executioner, and claimed if she was to be put to death that it should be done in public, and not secretly. From the imperial ambassador we learn, too, that Anne had calculated on being regent during the king's projected absence at his interview with Francis; that upon her being overheard to say that she would have the princess executed for her disobedience, her brother had remonstrated with her on the danger she would incur if in the king's absence she took so bold a step; that she had replied that she did not care, and that she would do it even if she should be burned or skinned alive for it. As far as what concerns the queen, Chapuis no doubt may be trusted, for he had the intelligence direct from herself. The story of Anne's intention is more doubtful, as none of the persons immediately concerned could have told it to the imperial ambassador. At any rate, for the present, Anne's influence was almost unbounded, for she had persuaded the king that she was pregnant, and there were again hopes of a male heir. There was probably no truth in the statement, but it secured the wavering allegiance of the king for a few weeks, and answered the purpose of the lady; and towards the end of the year her influence was visibly on the decline, after the fiction of the pregnancy could no longer be maintained. It is from this time forward to the death of Anne that Chapuis' despatches throw such unexpected light upon the transactions of the years 1535 and 1536.

The year 1535 is almost a blank in English histories of the period, except for the executions of More and Fisher, which most writers have dilated upon. There are only fifteen documents of domestic interest printed in the large collection of State papers of the reign, and twenty-five of the foreign correspondence of the year. The Venetian State papers supply little which concerns English history, and till the publication of the next volume of the Spanish series we shall be obliged to trust entirely to the extracts published by M. Paul Friedman in his notes. About the middle of the year Anne was really pregnant, and hopes were again entertained of a male heir to the throne, only to be disappointed at the commencement of the following year, when the birth of a still-born child was the first premonitory symptom of the changes which in a few months brought the unfortunate mother to the scaffold.

The great value of M. Paul Friedman's book is that he approaches all questions without the smallest prejudice either towards Protestantism or Catholicism. If he is a little more inclined to trust Chapuis' letters than we ourselves should be, that is the only kind of prejudice we detect in his work, unless indeed a sympathy with heroic virtue under suffering must be called a prejudice. Yet even in his defence of More and Fisher he betrays no sympathy for their side in the quarrel, and never rises to enthusiasm when protesting against the injustice of the misrepresentations of which Protestant historians have been guilty; nor when he is especially occupied in showing up the sophistry of the defence of the king's conduct in having them executed. He notices especially the charge brought against More of various acts of cruelty which has been repeated by one historian after another. It is something to have the testimony of a man who has searched every contemporary document that could be found, and who is beyond the suspicion of misrepresenting facts, writing as follows:—

‘These accusations against More have been repeated by some later writers; but there is not a tittle of evidence that he was guilty of the cruelties imputed to him. Such charges conflict with all that we know of his character and his modes of thought; and to his contemporaries they were absolutely incredible. Henry gained nothing by the attempt to tarnish the fame of one whose virtues were so widely known and so cordially appreciated.’ (Vol. ii. p. 88.)

M. Friedman's researches have thrown a good deal of light upon the transactions between Henry and the Lutherans, who came to be of some importance in the king's eyes during

the year 1535, when he was at any moment in danger of an invasion from the emperor, and in expectation of the open withdrawal of the Most Christian king from his side. The juncture of affairs in the autumn of 1535 is thus summed up by M. Friedman:—

‘Altogether Henry’s position was not an enviable one. When he looked around him he saw his people thoroughly disaffected, the Pope exasperated and striving to raise against him as many enemies as possible, the King of France negotiating with the Emperor for the purpose of dethroning him, the Protestant princes of Germany offended and deeply suspicious, and the fleets of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia capturing and pillaging his ships.’ (Vol. ii. p. 137.)

Soon after this begin the most extraordinary revelations of the volume. The fourteenth chapter of the work is headed ‘The Death of Catharine,’ and with scarcely an exception the references at the foot of the page are to the unpublished letters of Chapuis to the emperor. The story is extremely interesting, and we are inclined to think it is true; but as there is not a particle of evidence beyond the despatches of the imperial ambassador, the reader must form his own judgement as to how far he can rely upon the accounts which are given. There can be no question but that Chapuis believed not only that Henry and the concubine, as he persistently calls her, were capable of plotting the queen’s death, but that they actually did devise and accomplish it. The idea of a violent death was not altogether new. Clement VII. had been heard to say, when he was at last, after the long delay, almost forced by the Imperialists and the cardinals to pronounce judgement in favour of Catharine, that he feared it would be her death; and Chapuis had taken the precaution of providing for, or at least assenting to, the separation of the princess from her mother, on the ground that she was safer under the surveillance of Lady Shelton, whom he could both propitiate and intimidate so as to prevent her being accessory to the death of the princess.

The actual story, as told from Chapuis’ letters, is as follows:—

On November 6, 1535, the Marchioness of Exeter, one of Catharine’s most devoted adherents, sent to him a message saying that the king had been heard to say with an oath that he would no longer remain in the anxious state in which he was, owing to the existence of Catharine and Mary, who must be got rid of by Act of Parliament if they persisted in disobeying the law. Chapuis hated Anne, whom he desig-

nates as a she-devil, and apparently has not the least doubt that she was at that moment all-powerful and that she would do all she could to compass the death of the queen and the princess. Parliament was to meet in January, but on December 3 Cromwell informed him of the dangerous illness of Catharine. Her physician did not, however, think much of her illness, and, though the symptoms were somewhat like those of poison, she speedily recovered, and wrote a letter with her own hand, which M. Friedman speaks of as being in as firm a hand as ever and in the tone of a person who expected to live for many a year. Before the end of the year she was attacked with precisely the same symptoms and recovered as before, and in the first week of January 1536 the imperial ambassador had seen and conversed with her, and on this occasion he had asked her physician whether he had any suspicion of poison. The reply was that he feared 'something of the kind, as the queen had never been well after drinking some Welsh beer, but it must be some slow and cleverly composed drug, for I do not perceive the symptoms of ordinary poison.' After her death, which took place on January 7, none of her friends were allowed to be present at the embalming of the body, and the chandler who officiated at the process informed Chapuis that the heart was quite black and hideous to look at. There were a few other pieces of circumstantial evidence, and the last that is mentioned is that on May 2, the day on which Anne Boleyn was arrested, Henry had been overheard saying to the Duke of Richmond, his natural son, that he and his sister might thank God for having escaped the hands of that damned poisonous wretch who had conspired their death.

We have, no doubt, now, all the evidence ever likely to be produced as regards this point, and it seems to us to amount to little more than that Chapuis fully believed that Henry and Anne had between them procured the death of the queen, and that he tried to persuade Charles V. that it was so. But we must be content with the Scotch verdict of 'Not proven,' whilst we avow our conviction that the king had by this time become capable of any villany. M. Paul Friedman appears firmly to believe it, but, like his predecessor, M. Bergenroth, he is apt to jump to conclusions. The symptoms in point of fact do not point to poison, but to a cancerous affection, perhaps little understood at the time, but well known now under the name of *Melanosis*. Besides which it must be admitted that the evidence of any actual

attempts to poison the queen amounts to almost nothing. Unquestionably the queen herself did not believe her husband to be capable of such wickedness as that; and the Emperor, whatever doubts may have been suggested by Chapuis, did not really think his aunt had been poisoned. Certainly we must demur to the concluding sentences of his account of this matter. He appears incapable of estimating the influence of religious belief on one who was possessed of so much personal piety as Catharine. Speaking of Anne Boleyn, he says: 'Her guilt, whatever it may have been, ' was less than that of Henry, for she was bound by no tie ' to the queen, and she did to Catharine what would have ' been done to her had Catharine possessed the power.' (Vol. ii. p. 178.)

It is from this point to the end of the book that the most startling revelations occur, and they depend mostly on the letters of the imperial ambassador. And in giving some account of the novelties that appear here, we wish our readers to understand that we consider Chapuis' statements of facts to be in general correct, but we warn them against being led to believe that all his inferences are correct, and we venture to enter protest against the hasty conclusions of M. Friedman. Without denying at all that his inferences may be true, or at all accusing him of overstating the evidence, we cannot but think that his love of producing a history which shall contradict the view which has so long been current has led him seriously to over-estimate the probability of the conclusions at which he has arrived. From an historical point of view they are for the most part of but small importance, for they seem to affect the character of individuals rather than to have any bearing on political matters. There will be no necessity in the future for Catholic writers to dwell upon the fact that Anne Boleyn appeared in a yellow dress to indicate her joy at the decease of her rival, nor for Protestants to defend her on the ground that yellow was a symbol of mourning, and Chapuis may entirely be trusted when he speaks of the exuberant joy evinced by the concubine, and the present which the bearer of the good tidings received from her. Anne's last chance was her present pregnancy and the hopes that a male heir might be born to the throne, but these came to an untimely end in a miscarriage on January 29, the very day on which her rival and victim was buried. Jane Seymour was already coming to the front, and though Chapuis does not absolutely say that she had been seen sitting on the king's knee, yet

the account he gives may quite be trusted that high words had passed between Henry and Anne on the occasion of the miscarriage, which Anne had tried imprudently to account for by the great anxiety she had endured at the danger the king had incurred by a fall from his horse and by the attentions he was paying to her maid-of-honour, which she could not brook because she loved the king so much.

The death of Catharine did not prove so beneficial to Anne as she herself expected. Her position had never been very secure, and now that the hopes of a male heir had been so rudely dispelled the situation had become very perilous. As long as Catharine lived, no reconciliation with Rome was possible, for she knew that Henry would never take back the wife he had repudiated. But whether any submission was to be expected or not on the part of the king to the Papal authority, it was becoming clear to her that it might be possible at any moment to find a plea for divorcing her from the king, such as was eventually adopted by Cranmer, on the ground of the connexion with her sister Mary; though perhaps she scarcely anticipated the means that were actually taken to deprive her at once of her dignity and her life.

M. Friedman is of opinion that the conspiracy against Anne commenced almost immediately after the miscarriage. He represents Cromwell as studiously showing himself to Chapuis in the light of one taking the side against Anne, and speaking as if he was opposed to the faction at Court which was represented by the Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Rochford. The emperor, before he knew anything of these proceedings, was well content to leave Henry and his mistress alone. If the king should die, Mary's chance of the succession would certainly be better than Elizabeth's, whereas if Anne were got rid of and a third wife married, there might be a male heir to the throne, which would destroy the claims of the princess.

To retain the alliance of Henry was at the moment of considerable importance both to Charles and to the French king, each of whom was afraid of his adherence to the other, and only one short month before her death both the Bishop of Tarbes and Chapuis were making proposals to the queen, and Anne had resolved to throw in her lot with the emperor. The position of affairs is thus described by M. Friedman :—

' Anne's position was now a very strange one. After years of unrelenting hostility the emperor had proposed the terms of a truce, which appeared likely, as the death of Catharine had appeared likely,

to be of great advantage to her. If she could have had her way, the offers of Charles would have been accepted; and had she been willing to give up Protestantism, she might then have persuaded Henry to submit to the Pope, who would have given absolution to both of them, and recognised the validity of their marriage from the time of Catharine's death. But it was too late to hope for these great results. New influences were at work—some of them of Anne's own creation—over which she had no control, and which brought her to the scaffold.' (Vol. ii. p. 286.)

We do not quote this passage as at all endorsing what is implied in it, but only as giving M. Friedman's opinion as to the crisis in April 1536. It is, we think, only misleading his readers to speak of the doubtfulness of Anne's being willing to give up Protestantism. She did not care a straw for Protestantism, whether in its religious or its political aspect, if only she could be safe in the possession of the crown; and as to the recognition of the validity of the marriage, we suppose M. Friedman must mean that the Pope would have given a dispensation for a new marriage, which would have been within his power, though the recognition of that which was no marriage from the first certainly exceeded any power that any Pope of Rome has ever claimed.

Such were the circumstances under which, if we are to believe M. Friedman's interpretation of an expression in one of Chapuis' letters to the emperor, Cromwell conspired to take away Anne's life under a false accusation of adultery. And we are further expected to believe that Henry was cognisant, or at least suspicious, of the whole proceeding. Jane Seymour had been instructed to hold her own, and not to submit to the king's wishes on any other terms than as his queen. Here, again, we really have no evidence worth the name of the worthlessness of this lady, who is not only accused of being likely to make no resistance to the king if he should press his suit, but who M. Friedman takes for granted had already lived an unchaste life at court. The plot against Anne was maturing, and, on April 30, Mark Smeton was arrested, and on the following day Henry Noreys, another courtier, was sent to the Tower, and on the day after that, May 2, Anne herself was summoned before the Council and informed of the charges against her, upon which she was in the afternoon of that day also committed to the Tower. We need not repeat the story of Cranmer's dastardly conduct on the occasion. Neither he nor anyone else cared to defend her.

On May 5 all the five accused persons had been arrested, and the four commoners were tried on the 12th, when Smeton was condemned on his own confession, and the other three on the pretended evidence. On the 15th Anne was first condemned, and then her brother Lord Rochford. All five were executed two days afterwards. Anne was spared for a little time, in order that Cranmer might condemn the marriage which he had pronounced legitimate at the very time that he well knew that it was forbidden by canon law. It is one of the most remarkable instances of the irony of fate. The very man who, knowing of the virginity of Catharine at the time of her second marriage, had written a treatise to prove that a lost virginity could be recovered, who had argued that an illicit connexion with a woman did not interfere with the legitimacy of a subsequent marriage with her sister, and all this in language the filthiness of which is only equalled by the effrontery of the argument, is forced for the first time, but not the last, to eat his own words, and, having decided that canon law was of no force in such a case when not supported by direct Scripture evidence, is now compelled to annul a marriage the validity of which he had himself sanctioned. However, all this can scarcely be called new to history. We observe that M. Friedman assents to the view which, from the time of Dr. Lingard's writing can scarcely be said to have been doubtful, that the confession Anne is said to have made was the admission that her sister Mary had been the king's mistress; a fact which the archbishop had to pretend was then first revealed to him, and thus enabled him to pronounce the nullity of her marriage with the king, and the consequent illegitimacy of Elizabeth. It is perhaps a slight palliation of the wickedness of the archbishop in this last proceeding that he may have hoped to save the unhappy woman's life by getting her to admit the story of her sister's disgrace. He might perhaps reasonably hope that the king would see that her life might be spared, on the ground that, if the marriage could be pronounced null and void, there could have been no adultery or treason in her conduct, however bad it could be proved to have been, and it is probable that in his inmost heart he believed her to be innocent. If the Scotchman Aless is to be believed, he saw him pacing up and down his garden on the morning of the execution exclaiming that Anne would be to-day a saint in heaven; but too much weight cannot be allowed to a story which may have been invented to please Elizabeth, and which was never heard of

till the first year of that queen's reign. Everything was now complete, and the last act of the tragedy was fixed to take place the next day, May 18, but was delayed till May 19. On the next morning, the object for which she was executed was known at least to some persons about the court. On May 20, Jane Seymour became queen, though the marriage was not publicly proclaimed for several days.

Though the innocence or guilt of Anne Boleyn will probably remain a doubtful point to the end of time, there can be no doubt whatever that the king was overjoyed at having got rid of her. The marriage, on the day after the execution, with Jane Seymour, has been matter of history, but the account of the king's conduct during the trial is now revealed for the first time by the despatches of Eustace Chapuis. And here there cannot be any doubt that his narrative is entirely trustworthy; he had ample means of knowing, and he tells his story in the most straightforward and satisfactory way. On one of the days just before the trial, Henry was at supper with some ladies of the court at the palace of the infamous Bishop of Carlisle. He was in the most exuberant spirits, and told the bishop that he had long foreseen what would be the end of Anne Boleyn, and that he had composed a tragedy on the subject, which he took out from his pocket and showed him. The information came to Chapuis from the bishop himself. Such conduct might have been worthy of Bishop Robert Aldrich, of whose *blanda eloquentia* Erasmus speaks, and which enabled him to steer clearly through the nineteen years of his episcopate, which began in 1537 and ended with his death in 1556. But he was not appointed till the following year. The person alluded to is John Kite, an old man who had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1513, and translated to Carlisle in 1521. He, at least, was old enough to have known better than to entertain the king at supper whilst Anne was about to be tried for her life.

We learn, for the first time, from Chapuis' letters how the king spent the time immediately preceding the execution. On May 14, Jane Seymour was removed from the house of Sir Nicholas Carew to a place on the Thames only a mile away from the court, where she was attended by the king's servants as if she had been a princess. The next day she was informed by the king that at 3 P.M. she would hear of the condemnation of Anne Boleyn, and the intelligence was brought by Anne's cousin, Sir Francis Bryan, the man whom the king had styled his 'vicar of hell' for his un-

scrupulous wickedness. On the following Friday, May 19, immediately on the announcement of the death, the king went off to spend the day with Jane Seymour, who went very early in the morning to Hampton Court, and was there married to Henry in the presence of two or three witnesses.

The nineteenth and last chapter in the book is of considerable importance, as it gives us the account of the attitude of Paul III. towards the king when he first heard of Anne's arrest and before he knew of the execution. This information is derived chiefly from MSS. in the Cottonian library which have not yet been published, but which will appear in due course in Mr. Gairdner's forthcoming volumes. The first of these documents is a letter from Gregorio da Casale of May 27, 1536, addressed to the king. The collection of State Papers of Henry VIII., published by the Government thirty years ago, contains the letter written on the same day by the same to Cromwell, which merely says that the writer will not repeat what he has just written to the king, and refers Cromwell to his other letter for further information. The letter to the king has been considerably damaged by fire, but enough of it remains to show that the Pope made overtures to Casale, explaining that any advance on Henry's part would be willingly responded to, but the proposal must first come from the king, and that the Pope would send an agent to England, ostensibly on other business, who should be instructed how to proceed. And Campeggio's brother was actually sent upon this errand, though ostensibly for the purpose of asking for the restoration of the revenues of the see of Salisbury to his brother. The whole affair, of course, came to nothing, and the marriage with Jane Seymour put an end to all negotiations for marriages with foreign princesses and submission to the Church of Rome.

The conclusion of this last chapter is hurriedly written, and might well have been spared. In the course of a few pages the author gives a brief account of some of the personages who figure in his volumes. We hope he may see his way to a continuation of his history, in which he may give us a fuller account of them, although he may not be able to make so sensational a history as that presented to us in the chapter of English history, 1527-1536, of which Anne Boleyn is the centre.

We should not be doing justice to the author if we neglected to notice the last forty pages of his work, which contain

seven long notes classed together as an 'appendix.' The first of these notes we have already alluded to as being an attempt to prove that Anne Boleyn was the elder sister of the king's mistress Mary Boleyn. The second is altogether superfluous. It is like slaying the slain to argue against Mr. Froude that Mary Boleyn had stood in this relation to the king. The fact is proved by superabundant evidence which need not here be repeated. It is sufficient to refer to the editor's preface to the 'Records of the Reformation,' published at Oxford in 1870, for a brief statement of the case, and to the document printed as No. cxxvii. of that collection, for proof that Cranmer knew of the illicit connexion at the time he was exerting himself to place the daughter of his patron, Sir Thomas Boleyn, on the throne in place of Catharine of Aragon. The third relates to the authenticity of the Breve of Dispensation, and here the author has to combat the deservedly high authority of Lord Acton, writing in the 'Quarterly Review' of January 1877. Here, again, the case is scarcely worth arguing, and had, we think, been entirely disposed of by the editor of the 'Records of the Reformation' in his preface to that work. It is, however, satisfactory to know that M. Paul Friedman has himself seen the document in question, and has found nothing in it that indicates a forgery; to which he adds that it has been seen by several persons well versed in palæography, and that no one had expressed any doubt of its authenticity. The next is a short note on the date of the marriage, which the author fixes for January 25, 1533. We have already stated our opinion that we consider November 14, 1532, more probable, but must be content to leave this problem unsolved. The three remaining notes are on subjects of less importance. Note E refers to a supposed release on bail of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, soon after Christmas 1534. Note F is on the arrest of Anne and her accomplices. It is chiefly remarkable for its reference to the Spanish 'Chronicle,' published at Madrid in 1874, which is full of the grossest blunders, and which gives a minute detail, whatever the story be worth, of the confession of Wyatt of his criminal intimacy with Anne Boleyn before her marriage with the king. And Note G, which is the last, combats some of the arguments used against the author's theory, which, following Dr. Lingard, adopts the view that Anne's confession to Cranmer, which enabled him to pronounce the marriage null and void, was the fact of the previous connexion of the king with Mary Boleyn. We

may add that we have been surprised that the author should not have insisted more strongly on the truth of the story about Wyatt and Anne Boleyn which is detailed in the 'Cronica del Rey Eurico otavo de Inglaterra,' which is fairly substantiated, and which certainly falls in very well with the historical fact that Wyatt was dismissed from Court during the lifetime of Anne Boleyn, and afterwards was restored to high favour.

And here we must part with M. Paul Friedman, but not without expressing the hope that he may turn his attention to the subsequent relations of the king with his four remaining wives, though we can hardly expect that foreign archives will supply as much information about them as has been revealed in the chapter of English history which narrates the elevation and the fall of Anne Boleyn.

ART. IV.—1. *First Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Depression of Trade and Industry.* London: 1885.

2. *First Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Loss of Life at Sea.* London: 1885.

3. *Return: Joint-Stock Companies.* London: 1885.

4. *Report of the Select Committee on the Companies Acts, 1862 and 1867.* London: 1877.

THE student of economics who approaches the great and intricate question of trade depression, from any point of view whatsoever, cannot fail, we think, to be impressed by a fact which has long been painfully familiar to every man of business—that the reckless promotion of limited liability companies by people who cannot, in any sense of the word, be regarded as *bonâ fide* traders, is, and has been, one of the most prolific sources of trouble and disturbance in every channel of business. The Stock Exchange has complained bitterly for the last three years that genuine investors have been few and far between, and that the chief occupation and amusement of members of the 'House' was that of living upon one another. This is a form of excitement which is full of very obvious pains and penalties, and it is worth the while of everybody interested in the national welfare to consider how far, if at all, genuine investors have been deterred from dealing in Stock Exchange securities by reason of a growing conviction that the Joint-Stock

Companies Acts have, on the whole, been a curse rather than a blessing. Those Acts have been utilised by promoters and speculators to a remarkable extent. In the evidence given by Mr. J. S. Purcell, the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies, to the Royal Commission on Dull Trade, he stated that about 1,500 companies are registered every year. The total number of companies registered up to December 31, 1884, was about 26,000, of which only 9,300 now make annual returns. The rest, it may reasonably be supposed, have passed away for ever into the limbo of forgotten failures—forgotten by everybody, except by their unhappy shareholders.

It has become common in recent years to convert private businesses into limited liability companies. Sometimes this operation has been a most beneficial one. Very frequently the conversion has been due to a desire to procure more capital than the partners in a private firm can command. In other cases the object was to secure the more easy distribution of the property of particular partners, and to keep together a business which would otherwise be lost. It is notorious, nevertheless, that in many instances this step has been resorted to as a last desperate attempt to bolster up the credit of a failing house, and to keep the vendor of the business out of the Bankruptcy Court. Mr. R. P. Harding, the chief Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, told the Royal Commission on Dull Trade that he would scrutinise very carefully indeed the reasons for transforming a private business into a limited liability company, before he invested money in it. Mr. William Newmarch, F.R.S., in giving evidence to the select committee of the House of Commons in 1877, was still more plain-spoken :—

“ We are not now speaking entirely of supposititious cases,” he said, “ but this case is very easily to be conceived, that Messrs. A. B. & Co. propose to sell a business which has been in operation for a given time, and in the prospectus or papers inviting subscriptions the results and profits of this business are not set out as they ought to be in the terms of truth, but the business is made to appear better than it is; and under the influence of a representation of that sort the shares are taken, and the company goes into operation, and it is then found that money has been given for something quite different from what was described in the prospectus. I should call that a fraud, and I should say that people who put their money into a company of that sort by reason of representations of that kind would have a right to say that they had been cheated.”

This plan of converting private businesses into limited liability companies has not been extensively resorted to until

comparatively recent years. That the new departure has not been so successful as on *à priori* grounds we might perhaps have anticipated, is clear from the fact that during the five years ending in December 1884, 560 private businesses were converted into companies, of which only four hundred are now believed to be carrying on operations. The inference to be drawn from this state of things is not altogether favourable to the morality of the promoters of the defunct companies; but although there has been some falling off in the number of new enterprises registered during recent years, it is surprising how small that falling off is. The return of joint-stock companies presented to the House of Commons last April shows that in 1863, the first complete year after the passing of the Act of 1862, the number was 790. Two years later it rose to 1,034. The Overend & Gurney failure frightened investors for a time, and chilled the spirits of promoters. The number fell in 1866 to 762, and in 1869 it was only 475. In 1874 the figures had risen to 1,241, and although there was a marked decrease during the years of depression which followed, 1879 brought with it a new harvest to promoters. From that year onwards there was a steady increase, until in 1884 the number registered was 1,766. This enormous total was in a large measure due to a special cause. Single ship companies were invented by a Liverpool shipowner, some of them with shares of only one pound each. The object was to get inland investors, who otherwise would never go into shipping at all, to entrust their savings to managing 'owners,' many of whom were mere clerks without a sixpence in the shape of capital except what they could raise from the public or extract from the shipbuilders they favoured with their orders as a commission for introducing business. Without dwelling further at this point upon this new application of the limited liability principle, we may remark that it proved remarkably successful in attracting capital to shipping, and a very large proportion of the concerns still registered must be single ship companies. How far these and other limited liability enterprises answered the purpose of making money for their shareholders may be judged from a calculation instituted by Mr. Purcell. Taking the year 1883 as a test, out of 1,440 companies registered in London with a nominal share capital of 143,000,000*l.*, no less than 430 died at their birth. They were registered, and then they perished. Another 360 with a paid-up capital of 3,500,000*l.* have been already wound up, or are in course of liquidation. If from the 26,000 companies registered

since 1856 the 9,300 still more or less in existence are deducted, the proportion of unsuccessful companies is about sixty-four per cent. Mr. Purcell places the proportion for 1883 at forty per cent., but he overlooks the fact that many of the single ship companies then called into being are at this moment hopelessly insolvent. Their balance-sheets will never be seen by the public in such a form as to show how much money has been flung away in this manner; but if a year hence a thorough examination could be made of the working results of the limited liability companies of 1885, we have but little doubt that the proportion of failures would prove to be much higher than forty per cent.

The amount of capital invested under the provisions of the Companies Acts is far greater than is commonly supposed. The paid-up capital invested in companies registered under the Joint-Stock Companies Acts amounted in April last to 495,000,000*l.* (which includes, it should be observed, bonuses or fully paid-up shares handed over to promoters for their services, good-will, and assets), or an increase since 1877 of 186,000,000*l.* An Act of Parliament was passed in 1879 enabling unlimited banks to register with limited or reserve liability, so that a considerable sum, representing the capital of these institutions, appeared in the paid-up capital of companies registered previous to 1877. The amount invested in companies which had become defunct previous to 1877 was about 128,000,000*l.*, and it has been estimated that the amount of capital in the hands of companies which have from various causes become defunct up to the present date is about 200,000,000*l.* This sum, vast though it be, forms nevertheless but a small proportion of the total capital invested throughout the world in railways, mines, canals, and other speculations, subject to very much the same influences, tending either to good management or mismanagement, as our own joint-stock companies. It will come almost as a revelation to many people to be told that, excluding 2,000,000,000*l.* of money invested in such tolerably safe things as British and foreign Government securities, colonial Government bonds, and railway debenture and preference stocks, there is just as much again, and somewhat more, invested in more or less speculative securities; and fully a fourth, or in round numbers 500,000,000*l.* worth, of this huge mass of human indebtedness are mere gambling counters, such as American railway shares, Indian gold mines, and electric light waste paper. Many of these concerns, and indeed most of them,

are beyond the reach of English law, but they are administered on precisely the same lines as English limited liability companies. If there be mismanagement here, there is more mismanagement in the United States, on the continent of Europe—where millions of British capital have been lost in a variety of concessionary undertakings—and in the republics of South America, which are again sounding the London market in the vain hope that the multitude of their past sins has been forgiven them, and that British investors are willing once more to part with the gold we so lavishly flung away all over the world in the years of inflation that have now come to an end. It must be frankly admitted that no change in English law—assuming for the moment that a change is desirable—can prevent investors here from adding to the 500,000,000*l.* of money sunk abroad in gambling stocks; but if it were thought desirable so to amend the Joint-Stock Companies Acts as to compel directors of English companies to infuse more care and uprightness into the conduct of the business of English enterprises, the trade of the country would benefit; the securities of our companies, instead of shrinking steadily in value, would improve, and improve mostly at the expense of foreign securities, and ultimately British investors might take heart of grace even to attempt to sweep out that Augean stable of corruption—the United States railway market. If there is to be any widespread reform, it must begin here; and our contention is that it cannot begin until the House of Commons insists upon larger safeguards from the promoters and directors of limited liability companies.

Starting from the broad fact that 328,000,000*l.* of capital have been wiped out and extinguished in this country, so far as the *bonâ fide* investing public are concerned, and that at least as many millions more have been for ever lost in Eries, Grand Trunks, and other foreign specialities prepared for consumption in this country—and this estimate, as every financier knows, is an extremely inadequate representation of the circumstances of the case—we next ask ourselves how this vast mischief has been wrought, and in dealing with this question we confine ourselves entirely to British limited liability companies. Some ingenious speculator determines to form a company to buy something or to do something. In the days of commercial inflation it did not very much matter what the scheme was. Mr. Chadwick and Sir Richard Malins gave some interesting specimens of the way in which clergymen, spinsters, and inexperienced people generally could

be successfully cheated, in their evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1877. In the case of the 'Canadian Oil Wells Corporation,' a Mr. Longbottom called on Mr. Chadwick with a very strong letter of recommendation. He made his representations, and memoranda were made in writing of his statements. Messrs. Chadwick then said, 'Well, if you will prove all this, we think we can form a company and find all the capital without any trouble; our charge will be one per cent.' They were invited to go to his 'grand office in Pall Mall.' There Mr. Longbottom stated among other things that certain great quantities of oil were sent away from the wells and were sold. Messrs. Chadwick replied that 'we shall want the wages account, the bill of lading for the shipment of this oil, and we shall want the agent to whom and where it was consigned, the agent's return of the cash received, and we shall want the vouchers.' This, of course, meant that they had come to a very decided opinion about the scheme. Mr. Longbottom did not produce the required papers, but he offered them 'five per cent. on any amount you like' to bring out the company. They refused, but it was brought out nevertheless. Hardly 1,000*l.* were taken in shares, but the directors at once proceeded to borrow 60,000*l.* on debentures, with the natural result that when the collapse came there was a long and expensive litigation. It is not desirable to prevent directors from exercising this power, for when money is cheap and trade is good it is much better in some cases to borrow capital than to call it up, but there should be some reasonable proportion between the debenture and the share capital.

In another case a gentleman well known to the public bought an American mine for, he said, something like 40,000*l.* He then had a company formed, consisting of his own clerks and servants, who signed the memorandum of association for seven shares at from one to five pounds per share, so that when the company was created it had at the most a subscribed capital of 35*l.* He then sold the mine to this company, consisting of his own clerks, for 400,000*l.*, and vast sums of money were lost by the public over this swindle. Sir Richard Malins also mentioned the case of a gentleman who got up a company to buy an island called Alto Velo, which was said to abound in a certain kind of mineral, a most useful manure, and which was so rich that it was a source of wealth to whoever touched it. It was proved to the judge's 'complete satisfaction' that every one

of the promoters knew the thing could not be a success, but the public were asked to pay 80,000*l.* for a place not worth 80,000 farthings. The more depressed trade is, the greater is the ingenuity of promoters, because in times such as those we are now passing through it is unusually difficult to tempt money out of people's pockets. The City is full at this moment of needy men who each have some 'notion' of their own which they are anxious to palm upon the public, and it is surprising to those behind the scenes how readily, even now, the public—the great honest unsuspecting public—can be induced to invest their savings. When the promoter has fixed upon his scheme he drafts a glowing prospectus, and the trick of writing a telling prospectus has been elevated to the dignity of a fine art. He then gets hold of a number of 'guinea pigs,' men with plenty of time and but little, if any, money. He sells his scheme to them, and out of the promotion money he as a rule, in this class of company to which we refer, finds their qualifications. A speculative solicitor can always be found willing to produce the registration fee. The moment registration takes place all kinds of devices are resorted to in order to raise some capital, no matter how much or how little. 'Financial agents' are applied to to underwrite it for a consideration, which is often astonishingly high, although the shareholders are generally kept in blissful ignorance of what is going on. It is not an unusual thing to pay fifteen per cent. for accommodation of this kind. In a case heard before Mr. Registrar Giffard the other day, it transpired that a certain meat importation company wanted a loan of 3,000*l.* The directors applied to a notorious money-lending solicitor. He found 1,800*l.* for them in cash, and in addition he gave them a worthless acceptance of a penniless Irish peer, who afterwards confessed that he had received five pounds for accepting the bill. They were to pay 150*l.* for three months, and at the end of that time, as they had failed to get a single penny for the peer's bill, they fell into difficulties, with the result that the unhappy directors—not one of whom was a man of business—had to raise among them 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* to pay off the debt. This was not accomplished without great individual suffering, but probably enough many of these very men have since then been induced again to trust themselves in the hands of promoters.

Many companies of large pretensions are compelled to keep themselves in existence—for the sole benefit of the

directors and the secretary—simply by ‘financing’ themselves, which is another name for raising loans at ruinous rates of interest on very doubtful security, and sometimes on equally doubtful representations. To turn again to the evidence of Sir Richard Malins, a case is mentioned by him which illustrates this point very forcibly indeed. The ‘Universal Non-Tariff Insurance Company’ discarded tariffs for fire insurance. They fixed a particular price on every individual transaction, the rates being of course very low. If we may digress for a moment, we may mention that not long ago a promoter tried to establish a life insurance company on the principle of the marine insurance clubs, where so much is paid for management and the members guarantee each other’s policies! The ‘Universal Non-Tariff Insurance Company’ had at its head a very distinguished officer, holding high appointments under the Crown, and knowing as much probably about insurance business as the Grand Lama of Thibet does about contangos. The company was advertised with a capital of a quarter of a million, in 100,000 shares of 2*l.* 10*s.* each. It was in evidence before the Vice-Chancellor that no more than 1,119 shares out of the grand total of 100,000 were ever subscribed for. With a capital, then, of less than 3,000*l.* the directors commenced business. An unfortunate mercantile firm in Glasgow, believing the statements and representations put before the public, effected a policy with the company for 1,500*l.* Three months afterwards a fire occurred. There was no real and substantial ground for resisting the payment, but the company had no money. It was proved that the directors never had the actual command of 300*l.* in cash, and that being so they resisted the policy on purely vexatious grounds. It was pleaded that one of the buildings described—and one, by the way, which was never touched by the fire—had a felt roof, whereas it was stated in the policy that it was felt-roofed. In the end the plaintiffs obtained two-thirds of their money, and the company as a matter of course came to grief. If this was not a case of fraud, it is difficult to see what the word ‘fraud’ means. If it was thought necessary in the interests of public morality to send Mr. Richard Banner Oakley, the founder of the Co-operative Credit Bank, to compulsory retirement for five years, why should the directors of the concern we have just described have been allowed to escape? So completely has the theory upon which the Joint-Stock Companies Acts were founded broken down, that the officials in Somerset House and the Bankruptcy Court require

strong cases on the part of promoters to stagger them. Mr. Purcell mentioned but one instance to the Royal Commission on Dull Trade of the evil and the absurdity we are now discussing; and as his predecessor, Mr. Cousins, cited the same case to the Select Committee of 1877, we assume that the mischief is too common to excite surprise, except where the circumstances are very peculiar. In the instance we allude to, it was proposed to start a 'Common Fund Company' with a capital of 100,000,000*l.* Of this gigantic amount only 200*l.* was ever raised, and it was not even certain what the company proposed to do.

Oddly enough, the framers of these acts do not seem to have imagined that limited liability companies could ever fail, or they would have provided some cheap and expeditious method of putting failures out of existence. They have not done so. A winding-up in any shape or form is an extremely protracted and expensive process. Let us turn again to Mr. Cousins, who gave some exceedingly useful and curious information on this point:—

'Q. Do not you think that, apart from the advantage which you would derive in that respect, there would be a very great public benefit if joint-stock companies which have ceased practically to exist could get out of existence without the operation of a legal winding-up being made compulsory?—A. Undoubtedly; I think that that deters a great many companies from proceeding to wind up.'

He then mentioned a case where three officers at Southsea wished to form a skating rink, and they induced four other people to join them in registering a company. The project came to nothing in consequence of some restrictive covenants about the land. The company's solicitor, who seems to have been rather ill-informed, then called at Somerset House to ask whether the company could be extinguished without a voluntary winding-up. Of course the answer was in the negative. 'But,' he said, 'these gentlemen have already paid the expenses of registration out of their own pockets, and they are not going to pay any further expense for voluntary winding up; we want the company put out of existence.' Mr. Cousins could do nothing, and then the solicitor asked what penalties would be incurred if he left the whole thing alone. The reply was that if a common informer chose to sue him, he might be liable to penalties for not rendering an annual account, and he naturally said that he was quite willing to run the risk. If some discretionary power were given to the Registrar, these difficulties could have been easily obviated. Anything less adapted for the cheap and rapid winding-up

of companies than the cumbrous machinery of the Court of Chancery can hardly be conceived.

We have mentioned single ship companies, about which much will be said and written during the next two or three years. At first sight these companies appear to be a thorough realisation of the principle of the Joint-Stock Companies Acts, which was that without engaging his whole fortune in a given business, and without necessarily knowing anything about the technicalities of business, a man might be able to share in the profits of trade just as if he were a partner in a private firm. A single ship company has in general no directors, and it is therefore free from one very heavy drawback to the system of limited liability. The ignorance, apathy, and incompetence of directors, and the absence of skilled management and of that personal energy required to make the business of a private firm successful, are another great disadvantage most limited liability companies have to contend with. Single ship companies, on the other hand, are worked by 'managers' or 'managing owners,' who are always men of more or less experience as shipbrokers. If ever there was a prospect of redeeming limited liability from the discredit into which it had been falling in the public eyes, one would have supposed that this was the opportunity for doing it. Unfortunately quite the opposite effect was produced. The men who resorted to the plan of single ship companies were not large and prosperous ship-owners, but needy people with little or no capital of their own. Among the specimen circulars of these touting ship-owners laid before the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea was one from a Liverpool firm the partners in which were sentenced last summer to a term of imprisonment for irregularities in connexion with their accounts. In August last they were examined in bankruptcy, and it transpired that in 1878, being at the time clerks in shipbrokers' offices, they set up on their own account with a capital, one of 65*l.* and the other of 400*l.* which he had borrowed. On this slender basis they reared up a business which never paid even in the most prosperous period shipping in this country will ever see. The tide of insolvency rose steadily round them, the evil day was staved off by perpetually building new boats and dragging in new shareholders. The north of England and some districts in Scotland were systematically worked by canvassers, who placed a vast number of *l.* shares among people as ignorant of nautical matters as the Liverpool 'shipowners' were of the principles of sound finance.

It is impossible to estimate the mischief wrought by touting 'shipowners' who are practically irremovable, and who are paid by a commission not on the net but on the gross receipts. The miles of laid-up shipping in our ports and rivers have been built for the benefit, not of British trade—witness the demoralised condition of the freight market—nor of British investors, for nearly all these shares in 'tramp' steamers are absolutely unsaleable at this moment—but of the 'shipowners,' very improperly so called, whose original qualifications were too often given them by the ship-builder as a secret commission. Once appointed, it is almost impossible to remove these men from office. Their shareholders never took the trouble in times past to study the articles of association, and if they had they probably would not have understood them. They were promised twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. interest, and without more ado they paid down their money and lost it.

In the first report of the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea, Mr. Thomas Gray, the Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade, gives some very curious instances of how the touting 'shipowner' went to work. A shipbroker of Cardiff, who had 'had some fifteen years' experience as ship's 'draughtsman, steamship surveyor, and marine engineer, 'both ashore and afloat,' and who was otherwise qualified as 'having been engaged here in Cardiff, professionally, for 'some five years, and being personally acquainted with the 'principals of all the steamship firms here established, and 'possessing, as I do, certain information as to dividends, 'past and present, paid by various kinds of steamers under 'the management of the various firms, and also a thorough 'knowledge of the nature of the property in all its details, 'thus being able to consider the same from every standpoint, 'both technically as an engineer, and commercially as to its 'value as an investment,' bids pretty high in an elaborate circular for the support of inland investors. First of all he explains how the thing is done, and how great a favour it is that he should take the money of the public.

'I charge clients investing through my agency a brokerage of 1¼ per cent. First-class steamship firms will not pay brokerage on capital; in fact, the more successful and wealthier firms consider it quite a favour to allot shares in their steamers, as they do not require outside capital; yet it is often most desirable to invest with such firms.'

Then comes the *modus operandi* :—

'The proprietary of British steamers is divided into sixty-four shares'

(we wonder if a sixty-fourth could now be found willing to find capital to build a long boat), 'and some are transferred by Government bills of sale, registered at the custom-house of the vessel's port of registry. A single share may be held by one or more persons. When the proprietary of a ship is registered as a limited company, the shares are usually made 100*l.* each, the company being the registered owner of the whole sixty-four shares.'

He then proceeds to suggest that although ships may disappear and sailors may be drowned, shareholders' profits will continue ever. The italics are ours:—

'Merchant steamers are invariably insured in their full value against all possible contingencies, damages done by or to another vessel or structure, losses sustained through the negligence or misjudgment of captain or officers, thus rendering the property as safe as anything on land.'

Nevertheless—

'So great are the risks of the sea that the average life of steamers cannot be much more than *about twelve years*; but of course, notwithstanding this average, a steamer *may* keep the sea for an indefinite period; then in the hands of managing owners thoroughly understanding this property the gross average depreciation of vessels engaged in the ordinary great trades of the world need not exceed three per cent. per annum; while the life of the boilers, if originally carefully constructed, can be economically prolonged to fourteen years.'

The shareholders are told that at the end of twelve or fourteen years they will get their capital back in the shape of the insurance money paid by the underwriters on a total loss. Meantime they are to get good dividends, and in proof of this the author of the circular in question adduces the eminent authority of 'an article on "British Merchant " "Steamers" ' by William Baker, Esq., of the Inner 'Temple,' which appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" of 'April 17, 1882.'

It is not clear what Mr. Baker knew about the subject, but at all events this is what he said:—

'The next point to notice is the almost uniformly high rate of interest derived from investments in private-owned steamers. Some pay as much as 25 and even 30 per cent. per annum, but I am told that a fair average all round in respect of steamers in proper working order would be represented by 18 to 20 per cent. per annum. These payments are, as a rule, made without any provision for depreciation or a reserve fund to meet large expenses, such as the purchase of a new boiler, so that some deduction must be made for these purposes, the actual value of the ship, less depreciation, being covered by insurance. But, making every allowance, I think I am well within the mark in saying that well-managed private-owned steamers present a

sound investment, producing on an average a fair net dividend of from 12 to 15 per cent. per annum on the capital expended. Suffice it to say that I believe that very little energy is required to place the enormous property represented by British merchant steamers—a property representing at present an outlay, in the case of registered steamers only, of at least 88,500,000*l.*—upon a fair and satisfactory footing, as an outlet producing dividends far in excess of any kind of investment presenting anything like the same security.'

What could the small tradesmen in sleepy midland towns do when they read this circular, except conclude that they had discovered a veritable El Dorado?

The writer of this circular, however, is not the only gentleman in Cardiff who deluged the country with circulars of this nature. Messrs. Evan Thomas, Radcliffe, & Co. present in their circular a singular mixture of religion and business. They begin by saying that Cardiff steamers often paid—we are bound to use the past tense—from twenty to twenty-five per cent. interest, and that at the time of the circular five of their ships were fully taken up. They proceed thus:—

'We fully understand the management of steamships, and are confident we can make them pay about 20 per cent. and upwards. We paid our shareholders last half-year 24*l.* 10*s.* per cent.; shares, 100*l.* each; 2*l.* on application; 48*l.*, May, 1884; 12*l.* 10*s.* every six months afterwards, spread over two years.'

Then comes the pearl of the prospectus:—

'Letter of recommendation from the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones, Cardiff, author of "Studies in Matthew," "Studies in Acts," &c.: "I know Messrs. Thomas & Radcliffe well; they are not men to promise what they cannot perform. Many of my friends are shareholders in their ships, and are perfectly satisfied."'

It was a new departure to drag in a minister of religion to lure unwary shareholders into the net of the circularising 'shipowner.'

Speaking in the House of Commons on May 19, 1885, on the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill, Mr. Chamberlain said that

'what happens is that a man who calls himself managing owner, and who is in some cases merely a financial speculator, starts the company. In some cases these managing owners are broken-down tradesmen, linendrapers' assistants, waiters, or other people in similar walks of life. These people make a contract for a ship, and then they spread broadcast throughout the country their prospectuses, promising twenty, thirty, or even forty per cent. dividend, and assuring everybody that under no conceivable circumstances can there be any risk, inasmuch as if the vessel is lost they will recover her full value by

insurance; and in this way there has been a tremendous development of shipping speculation throughout the country, and to a large extent among classes who ought to have had nothing whatever to do with such matters. Women, Dissenting ministers, working people—especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire—have been tempted to invest their money in these companies, with which they ought to have had no connection whatever.’

There is not a shipowner in the country who would not admit that this is, if anything, an under-estimate of the mischief wrought by the circularising firms who are the managers of the miles of laid-up ‘ocean tramps’ to be found in Liverpool, in Cardiff, in Newcastle, and in Glasgow. They have ruined the freight market, and flooded the country with shares which are absolutely unsaleable. How much dead and lost capital has thus been obliterated, who can say?

In the face of facts such as these, it is strange to see how thoroughly optimistic Mr. Purcell was before the Royal Commission on Dull Trade.

‘There is no doubt,’ he said, ‘that much capital has been subscribed by the public to undertakings which, under any management, would have been unsuccessful, and to others which have been unsuccessful for want of efficient management. Companies, too, have been formed by dishonest promoters without any real intention of carrying out their objects at all. In these and other cases the capital of the unwary investor has been dispersed. But I am not sure that this has operated in the direction of depressing trade. A large proportion of the capital involved would be spent in printing, machinery, wages, and in other ways, instead of perhaps lying idle.’

It is much too late in the day to discuss over again for the ten thousandth time the difference between productive and unproductive capital. On that difference the fallacy of Mr. Purcell’s opinion rests. Mr. R. P. Harding, the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, took a sounder view when he told the Royal Commission that

‘on the whole they (i.e. the Joint-Stock Companies Acts) have done more harm than good, that is to say, a very large amount of money has been lost in unwise speculation because of the fraudulent inducements that have been held out to persons to put their money in them; but with the present value of money and the great difficulty in getting reasonable interest for money we may expect to see some inflation again. I cannot say in what direction, but when those who work hard can only get little more than 3 per cent., or 4 per cent. at the outside, for their money, if there is anything which holds out a fair prospect of their getting 7 or 8 per cent. there are a very large number of people in the community who would put their money in concerns that are promoted with that object.’

If that is so, and it undoubtedly is the case, then it is surely time Parliament interfered to protect people who in financial matters are utterly incapable of protecting themselves. The Select Committee of 1877 was appointed with that object, but nothing definite came of its labours, chiefly, we believe, because the late Master of the Rolls adopted the pessimist view that no law could be framed which rogues will not evade. Possibly; but the question is whether any considerable number of rogues can drive a coach and six through the provisions of a stringent statute.

It is impossible to make men wise or prudent by Act of Parliament—*caveant emptores*—people are at liberty to throw away their money if they please, and we can only recommend the readers of this article to cast into the waste-paper basket every one of the tempting but delusive prospectuses which are brought to them by every post. But although Acts of Parliament cannot prevent the effects of credulity and cupidity, they ought not to gratify and encourage these failings of human nature by affording temptations to the folly of speculators and facilities to the dishonesty of promoters. This is what the Joint-Stock Companies Acts establishing limited liability have done. They were passed in the belief that such adventures would prove beneficial to the community, to trade, and to the investment of capital. They have in fact ruined large numbers of credulous persons, contributed to the depression of trade, and led to the loss of an enormous amount of capital. If this be true, as we think we have shown in these pages, legislation ought to *discourage*, not to *encourage*, undertakings of so mischevous a character. When a joint-stock company is perfectly sound in its object, its means of action, and its results, it matters little whether the liability of the shareholders is limited or not. But limited liability seems to be expressly provided to cover those schemes which are rotten, illusory, and unproductive. It establishes a partnership in which the partners are not liable for the debts which may be incurred by the concern, beyond the amount of their comparatively small interest in it. It therefore opens a door to insolvency and fraud.

It would not be difficult to introduce changes in the existing law which could go far to check the worst of these abuses, without interfering with the legitimate objects of association, which are sometimes highly beneficial. We see no reason why a heavy stamp duty should not be imposed on the articles of association or on registration, without which they should be invalid. This duty might fairly be fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.,

and it should be assessed on the nominal capital of the company. That would amount to 25*l.* on every 1,000*l.* of nominal capital, not an unreasonable charge on a sound undertaking. Such a tax would at once extinguish all those ephemeral schemes professing to start with an enormous capital, of which not one tenth part has been paid up or has any real existence, and when paid it would afford some guarantee of the solidity of the enterprise.

But the responsibility of directors is the key of the position. Even if the liability of the shareholders is limited, we see no reason that the liability of directors should be so. They are the managing partners in the concern. They know its resources and its exigencies. They have the power to incur debts and issue debentures. If directors were personally liable for the transactions they conduct, as trustees for the body of shareholders, who know nothing of the details of management, and if they were compelled on their election to give some sufficient evidence of their own ability to meet the engagements they contract, the whole fabric of 'bogus boards' and men of straw would be swept away. It would be worth while for shareholders to pay their directors more handsomely, if they obtained the services and the security of a higher class of capitalists. As the law stands, any man may be a director, and not unfrequently they are interested in concealing their own misconduct at the expense of the shareholders.

For gross misrepresentation and fraud directors are now liable to criminal proceedings, which are rarely successful: their direct pecuniary liability would prove a far more general and effective restraint on their conduct. In this and some other respects, the law of joint-stock companies in France is superior to our own. A *société en commandite* consists of two classes of adventurers: the *commandités*, who are indefinitely and jointly responsible for the engagements of the company, of which they are the managing directors, and the *commanditaires*, who are simply shareholders, liable to the amount of their shares only. It is of the essence of a *société en commandite* that those who administer its affairs do not enjoy the privilege of limited liability. The French law also requires that the amount and nature of the interest which the *commandités* or directors have in the company should be registered in the act of association and published to the shareholders. A shareholder who takes any part in the management of the company loses the privilege of limited liability; but he has the right of inspecting the accounts, and of approving or

disapproving the operations of the managers at the periodical meetings of the company.*

Another form of joint-stock company exists in France called *Sociétés Anonymes*, and in these the liability of all the shareholders and managers is limited to the amount of their shares. But companies of this nature can only be established with the sanction and authority of the government; they resemble in this respect our chartered companies; and the sanction of the government is only given upon a close and searching investigation of the nature, resources, and objects of the association.

These examples show that it would not be difficult to place our joint-stock companies under a much stricter and more salutary control. The companies which could not face this species of control are for the most part fraudulent and pernicious. They encourage a spirit of gambling. They deceive unwary investors, and they have caused enormous losses to the public. These facts are established by the report and evidence of the Select Committee on the Joint-Stock Companies Acts dating from 1877, but nothing has been done. The evil has since that date largely increased, and it is in the highest degree desirable that the subject should receive the immediate consideration of the new Parliament, if it is able to accomplish any good work in the shape of practical legislation; for although such matters are less exciting than political debates and party divisions, they are infinitely more useful and important to the nation.

ART. V.—1. *Nos Droits sur Madagascar, et nos Griefs contre les Hovas, examinés impartialement.* Par R. SAILLENS. Paris: 1885.

2. *The True Story of the French Dispute in Madagascar.* By Captain S. PASFIELD OLIVER, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. London: 1885.

IN July last, the Chamber of Deputies voted twelve millions of francs to defray the cost of French aggression on Madagascar, and a further sum of four millions has since been asked for. The demand was a considerable one, and its concession by the Chamber might indicate a further acquiescence in some scheme of colonial conquest. But it was an open secret that a good deal of this money had been already

* Pardessus, 'Droit Commercial,' § 1028.

spent, and that by the time the Deputies, or their successors, again assembled, the balance would be exhausted. Practically, then, the Chamber has been asked for nothing more than means to provide current expenses, and the really important question—what to do next—still awaits solution. In this pause the French people can do nothing better than open their eyes to the humiliating and discreditable position into which a few colonial deputies and clerics are hurrying them. Some French writers are beginning to do this for them, notably M. Saillens, whose name we place at the head of this article. And as Englishmen have something to say on this subject—something which they may be proud of—we shall endeavour, on our part, to lay bare the true merits of the case. We shall take the French version of affairs, unless we can show a difference with facts.

It is agreed upon that the great African island became known to the powers of Europe through the Portuguese. But beyond bearing for a time the name of its discoverer, Lawrence Almeida, all trace of Portuguese intercourse had well nigh disappeared with the opening of the seventeenth century. Dutch dealings with India had then assumed important proportions, and Madagascar was conveniently situated on the way for supplies of food and water. If the Dutch meditated anything in the nature of a permanent settlement, certainly it had no existence about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the French laid the foundations of their claims to Malagase territory and protectorate. In 1642 was commenced the grand scheme of a French East India Company, which was to rival its Dutch and English namesakes. Madagascar and the neighbouring islands were to form the chief scene of enterprise. The intention was to aid commerce by the establishment of a colony or plantation, and Cardinal Richelieu granted letters patent for the exclusive right of sending ships and forces thither. On Pronis was conferred the appointment of governor of the first French settlement of Madagascar.

M. Laverdant,* who is reduced to ascribe this and all successive failures to minor and preventible causes of omission and commission, has to admit that the new governor and his

* 'Colonisation de Madagascar,' par Désiré Laverdant, 1844. 'Les détails qu'on va lire expliqueront suffisamment la cause de nos ruines, et feront comprendre qu'il est très facile de s'épargner le renouvellement de pareils malheurs en évitant les fautes déplorables qui les ont provoqués.'

men were received with kindness and even respect. It is fair to say, however, that the rule of Pronis, whatever otherwise might be the result, was really overbalanced by the earliest of these unlucky incidents. Pronis arrived at the seat of his new government with the fall of the year, when coast fevers are at their worst. More unfortunately still, in the preceding February one Goubert, a Dieppe skipper, having got hold of more money than could be honestly accounted for, set sail for the Indies with the intention of trading on his resources. Changing his mind in the neighbourhood of Madagascar he ran the ship aground, and, securing his treasure, set about constructing a smaller vessel to return to France. But a number of his men, retaining their share of the spoil, remained behind in the island. Thus, explains Laverdant, instead of the formal chief and his staff, 'the real first French settlers were rough, 'dishonest sailors—robbers, in fact.'

Intrigues were soon the result. The sailors saw with regret a higher authority in the island; they whispered among the native chiefs of impending loss of influence, the bondage of their families. At intrigue, in its worst forms, the governor himself was no mean hand. He interfered in the quarrels of the tribes, selling his protection for supplies. He adopted the loose life of the country, without appreciation of the native distinctions which set limits to it. Disorder reigned in the settlement itself. Rice and cattle were the staple food of the country. The sailors, abundantly supplied with money, paid liberally for what they needed. Pronis conducted expeditions into the woods, and drove off whole herds of oxen, to be consumed in riot and waste, the settlement remaining succeeding days without food at all. When a neighbouring chief accused him of stealing his cattle, he had him assassinated. When other chiefs attended with their retinues of slaves, he pointed to his subordinates, saying, 'These are *my* slaves.' Thus, now strutting in a brief authority, now put in irons by his own men, and anon heading the natives in a murderous attack on his own settlement, Pronis was uniform alone in his complaints to the mother-country, which had certainly abandoned him. The first French ship found him in one of his captive conditions, and liberated him only to give scope to his last enormity. The Dutch governor of the Mauritius running short in the supply of slave labour, Pronis sold to him some seventy* of the

* 'Soixante-treize individus, presque tous de familles libres, qui

friendly natives, chiefly nobly born women, who had come into the fort with supplies to the sick and starving. Some perished in the confined and horrible passage across, the rest escaped into the woods of the Mauritius and were never recovered. No wonder that since that day, as his successor remarks, 'when a vessel casts anchor in the roads all the sea-coast is deserted.'

France sent, as that successor, a gentleman, a scholar, and one by no means above the duties he had undertaken. Yet Count Flacourt was not the man wanted either. He could command discipline among his own, and peace with the natives. But his peace was very much of a kind with that which Tacitus places in the mouth of his North Briton; and the country around was a desert, not only because Pronis had kidnapped, but because Flacourt himself more freely availed himself of fire and sword. Besides, Pronis himself was still a source of trouble. That worthy, instead of returning to France, had entered into matrimonial relations with the natives. When Flacourt, worn out by the continued abandonment of the mother-country,* sailed for France as a last means of obtaining succour for the settlement, we find Pronis again in the exercise of office. The arrangement was most disastrous. Fifteen days after the departure of Flacourt, a fire, said to be accidental, destroyed the stores of the settlement; Pronis is reported to have died of vexation. Flacourt, having seen his work on Madagascar through the press,† started for his government with a much-needed equipment; but all miserably perished by shipwreck off the coast of the island.

The French East India Company now underwent some modification, appointing the Marquis de Mondevergue to the general command of all French settlements situated beyond the equinoctial line, with seat of government at Madagascar. The old settlement was reached in 1667, with an imposing fleet of ten vessels, having on board some directors of the company, four detachments of infantry, and ten heads of colonies. On arrival, the marquis immediately caused himself to be proclaimed admiral and governor of the French

venaient porter des denrées à l'établissement.'—Laverdant; he is silent, however, as to the sea passage and their escape into the woods.

* 'Ils étaient nu-pieds, sans vêtements; on ne leur payait plus leurs gages; Flacourt n'avait pas de chemises.'—Laverdant.

† 'Histoire de la grande Île de Madagascar,' par le Sieur de Flacourt. Paris: 1661.

territories in the East. But the company itself had not yet reached the limits of change. A couple of years after, it transferred its dependency of Madagascar to the control of the French king, and M. de la Haye, with ten ships more and the title of viceroy, took possession of the country in the name of the monarch. Mondevergue was given the option of employment in the colony or return to France, and he chose the latter. About that time, certain views as to the desirability of retaining Madagascar in its native state appear to have received birth among European settlements in the eastern seas, and the late governor was assailed with great fury on his return. He defended himself with spirit, and obtained the public voice of France in his favour. But the movement was too strong, and he died a prisoner in the castle of Saumur. In our own day we shall come to see this movement curiously reversed.

The disposition of authority, under direct royal control, became as follows. The viceroy had fallen into bad health, and now betook himself elsewhere. Chamargou, who had been acting governor all through since the death of Flacourt, remained in the seat of office, with a certain La Case, on whom was now tardily conferred the title of major. As a sample of a type of colonial adventurer, the latter individual deserves a word. Cooper found the type in America, and constructed a Leatherstocking out of it. The real name of our present specimen was Le Vacher of Rochelle. Chamargou, a narrow and suspicious man, had employed him to explore the country with troops, without very well knowing the latent qualities of his subordinate. By his tact and intelligence La Case converted the unfriendliness of the natives into a popular feeling, of which he was himself the centre. The result was not altogether satisfactory to the governor, and La Case was treated with neglect and slight. Abandoning the settlement with five other Europeans, he made offer of his services to one of the native chiefs. He married this potentate's daughter, who in process of time, and in accordance with native usage, succeeded to his rule and wealth. But, in the meantime, disasters pressed upon the settlement. Native hostility had again evinced itself, which the governor had further increased by setting a price on the head of La Case. The mother-country fell into its old neglect of supplies, and the natives refused aid. The condition of the settlers was desperate. All eyes were turned toward La Case, but Chamargou was obdurate. At length entreaties and threats prevailed with the governor,

and application was made to their former companion. The generous La Case did not hesitate a moment; rice and cattle were poured into the settlement, and La Case with his wife visited them with counsel and advice. But Chamargou forgot not his humiliation, and their stay was short. Deprived of the counsels of La Case, the settlement plunged into fresh disasters. Already clerical influence had not been conducive to intercourse with the natives. Chamargou, on his first arrival, had brought with him some members of the order of the Lazarists, headed by a certain Père Etienne. The priest had taken upon himself to interfere in the domestic relations of a local chief named Monango. The chief retired from the district. The priest followed up his advantage, and in a frenzy of religious zeal destroyed his ancestral idols. Père Etienne paid with his life for the act, and the natives rose in arms, proclaiming extermination to the French. Chamargou took the field at the head of 500 Europeans. Toward night he found himself at a distance from the fort, cut off by a broad and deep river, faced by Monango, clad in the vestments of the ill-fated Père Etienne, and backed by an immense force of the hostile natives. Wasted by sickness and scanty food, wretchedly equipped, the last hour of French occupation seemed to have come to the settlers, when, suddenly, La Case appeared at the head of four thousand of his tribe. The slaughter was terrible. A French chronicler* says that eight thousand of Monango's men perished. 150 native villages were laid waste, the women and infants being massacred. 'For six days the sword and the torch held sway; then, wearied with flames and slaughter, they returned to the fort.'

But the last days of French occupation were indeed at hand. La Case was dead. Chamargou himself succumbed to illness and privation. Labretèche, a son-in-law of La Case, made an effort to carry on matters in the fort, but, seeing the hopelessness of the task, then essayed to steal away with some of the missionaries. They had pulled out from the land, when the fort in flames arrested their attention. Monango, exultant, pursued the miserable remnant of settlers to the water's edge. Amid a shower of javelins, a few were taken on board, and Fort Dauphin was finally abandoned.

'Thus perished,' says Laverdant, 'in 1672, our colony of Fort

* Soucher de Renefort, '*Relation du premier voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.*'

Dauphin. We have dwelt with some insistence on the causes of our ruin. Under every governor sent to Madagascar—Pronis, Flacourt, De Chamargou, De Mondevergue, and De la Haye—always we see the settlement left by neglect without resources, always the administration given up to disorder and waste, always jealousy and division among the heads, always the policy of deceit and violence against the natives. Nothing but rapine, robbery, massacre, treachery, insults to the customs, violations to the prejudices of the country. Assuredly it is easy to avoid a return to the like causes of failure, and the opinions of the age do not permit a recommencement of colonisation on the like system.'

Presently we shall see what 'the opinions of the age' are really teaching.

During the succeeding century Madagascar was abandoned by the states of Europe. It became the home of the pirates. The readers of Defoe will remember the use he made of the harbours of Madagascar in his inimitable descriptions of the wild sea-life of those times. They were the scenes of some of Captain Singleton's exploits. The great wealth carried on the high seas by the fleets of the Dutch and English East India Companies gradually attracted the desperadoes of Europe, and Madagascar naturally suggested itself as head-quarters. They succeeded, too, in coming on the best of terms with the natives. Daring, grasping, merciless on the high seas, these men made practice of the civil obligations in their settlements on the coast; they contracted native marriages; returning from their expeditions laden with wealth and costly luxuries, they were liberal to those around them. It is even said that they made concealment of the sources of their abundance. At times their extraordinary success provoked the governments of Europe to exterminate them from the eastern seas. The famous Captain Kidd was sent on such an expedition; but, weighing the advantages, he joined their ranks, and rose to world-wide celebrity. Gradually, however, the toils of pursuit gathered round them. But outraged justice permitted them to follow another dishonest calling. The slave trade opened new sources of wealth to them, and the pirates of Madagascar eventually became the slave merchants of the eastern plantations.

The abandoned French settlement of Fort Dauphin had been made on the south coast of Madagascar. Ninety-six years after there was a very partial effort made to resuscitate it, which hardly needs notice. Disaster dogged the settlers; native hostility, instead of dying out in the long interval, appears to have only slumbered, bursting forth with renewed

activity; and the mother-country, having its own troubles in the defence of American independence, grew impatient at being asked for supplies which were never sent. At length a snappish answer was returned that the project had been started on erroneous principles, and the governor ordered home. The Fort Dauphin scheme has never been revived.

The scene now shifts some seven hundred miles higher up on the coast, and the actor in possession of the stage is not unworthy of our notice. Originally a Polish noble, Count Benyowsky had committed himself to the political affairs of his native land with an early ardour which had drawn upon him the deep and implacable resentment of Russia. Exiled to the furthest province of Siberia, it was thought that the youthful enthusiast would there find a living, and in time a more permanent, grave. But the world was to hear something more of Benyowsky. At the head of about a hundred of his countrymen, he succeeded in seizing two vessels, and effecting an escape from the coast of Kamtchatka. Arriving at Canton, he sold the vessels, and by the aid of a French trading ship reached the Isle of France, on his way to Europe. The planters of the Isle of France were then wholly dependent on slave labour, which they were getting in abundance from a free and native Madagascar. Thus it had come to be a settled policy of that colony, and its neighbour Bourbon, to let well alone; and the ineffectual attempts of France to settle or colonise Madagascar were viewed with considerable complacency. 'For 150 years had France tried her efforts over these people; but they were irreconcilable savages, and would remain so.' Benyowsky heard, but held his peace; a fresh field of activity was opening up to him; he got what information he could out of the governor.

'As if anyone would have dreamt,' says the governor, when he found what came of it, 'that a stranger, just broke loose from chains and prison at Kamtchatka, should get the ear of the First Minister of France! Cheats and adventurers have I seen in my time, and their success; but the success of this Benyowsky overwhelms me with surprise. Why, when he questioned me about Madagascar, did I not put him up to dethrone the Mogul?—the request would certainly have been complied with, and he would have let *us* alone.'

So it certainly was. Benyowsky had made his way to France, and this is what the First Minister was saying:—

'No person has appeared more capable of carrying his Majesty's intentions into effect than Mons. le Baron de Benyowsky. In the course of his travels by sea, he has learned the manner of treating savage people, and to a great share of firmness he has united that mildness of character which suits a design of this nature.'

Benyowsky not only received the appointment of commander of the new expedition for the settlement of Madagascar, but dictated the lines on which it was to be organised and conducted, and his scheme received the royal approval. The planters of the Isle of France did what they could under the impending catastrophe. They assailed the character of Benyowsky, and they threatened France with the ruin of the colonies she possessed.

'We have seen,' says their spokesman, the governor, 'swarms of locusts devouring in an instant abundant harvests; we have seen two terrible hurricanes threaten the island with total subversion, but Madagascar served always to compensate the mischief done by those awful scourges. Under an independent government, Madagascar will no longer be the support of the settlement; distant and precarious must then be our relief.'

Benyowski was at head-quarters, and retorted with spirit and truth. These planters talked of the rice and cattle of Madagascar, but it was the slaves of Madagascar they really wanted. However, the ministry was staggered, and a most unfortunate compromise was the result. Benyowsky had bargained for a full equipment of men and stores direct from the mother-country; France, unwilling to come to an open rupture with her planters, told him to look to the Isle of France for both. With a heavy heart the Polish adventurer went about his preparations; he saw failure written in the unwise decision. Assuredly, Laverdant, an enthusiast in the cause of a French colonial empire, has his reasons for lamenting these 'preventible incidents.'

The settlement of Madagascar was now to be attempted from the north. Toward the north of the island lies the Bay of Antongil. At the entrance of the bay is the small islet of St. Mary, on which presently there will be something to say, for it is put forward by the French as an important link in that chain of 'ancient and historic evidence' which we are now passing under review. But Benyowsky did not occupy this islet, effecting a landing at the very head of the bay, more than one hundred miles distant, and giving to the new settlement the name of Fort Louis. His anticipations with regard to the attitude of the governor and planters of the Isle of France had received their fulfilment. Every obstacle had been thrown in his way. Stores were delayed, and eventually refused; men were seduced from his service; men were given to him to act as spies upon his movements. The native chiefs were tampered

with—‘Hitherto you could sell your enemies—the aim and ‘object of this expedition is to sell yourselves.’* It is no slight tribute to the prudence and conciliatory spirit of the new governor that all these impediments in his path were overcome, and the native chiefs gained over. They even supplied the settlement with provisions, which were not to be obtained from the mother-country or from the Isle of France. Other physical obstacles proved more intractable. The situation was found to be very unhealthy, a circumstance cruelly added to by withholding medical aid and necessaries. Benyowsky himself suffered terribly from this cause, being, on more than one occasion, at death’s door. His men fared no better. The ground was rendered marshy by the neighbourhood of the river Tingabaly, which here discharges itself into the bay. Benyowsky set about filling up these swamps. Thus the men, toiling all day under scanty fare, alternately heated and chilled, fell around him. He explored the river in search of a health resort, but returned to find that his son and his deputy in command had succumbed to hardship and the climate. After this, Benyowsky himself was laid prostrate; but he turned his enforced leisure to teaching the native women the art of cloth-weaving, a resource which was made of account afterwards, when, under continued neglect, the settlement was left without clothing. About this time, Benyowsky anticipated his own death, and, mindful of the malignant foes he had to deal with, obtained a document from the members of the community testifying to the prudence and ability with which he had conducted the affairs of the settlement under trials and discouragement. Representation to the Isle of France of the urgent and disastrous position of the colony was treated with utter silence; the mother-country promised, but when, two and a half years after the establishment of the settlement, a ship was despatched with stores, it never reached the land.

By that time Benyowsky appears to have become more acclimatised, and to have recovered his vigour. He entered on those schemes of civilisation which had captivated royal ears, only to be forgotten, and their author abandoned. By cruel native usage, not unknown to lower states of civilisation, all children deformed or weakly were put to death; also children born on certain unlucky days. Benyowsky

* Benyowsky’s ‘Memoirs’ appeared in London in 1780 in two volumes 4to. The book has all the interest of a romance.

took some of those children into the settlement, where they received kind treatment; and made a sustained effort to abolish the custom altogether. In this he met with much resistance, and finally was obliged to summon his wife, then in the Isle of France, to his aid. It is to be remembered to the honour of Madame Benyowsky and her husband that, in solemn assembly, the chiefs and their wives bound themselves by all they held sacred not to practise or permit the custom. Benyowsky himself marks the day in his 'Memoirs' as 'the happiest of my life.' At this period Benyowsky was at the height of his popularity, and, if permitted, might have secured to the mother-country the coveted settlement of Madagascar.

But, in the meantime, the enemies of the movement slept not. Intrigues were incessant, and at length were successful. The deplorable news of the loss of the stores by shipwreck was followed up by the intimation that 'he should now confine his attention to the preservation of the posts already established, as his majesty had not fully determined to have a colony at Madagascar.' At this time, the number of friendly chiefs and their retinues attracted round the settlement was large. In consequence, native supplies were running short, and aid from without was now hopeless. Under his present imperative orders, there was nothing left to Benyowsky but to ask the chiefs to retire. But he was met with a murmur. 'Had he not heard the rumour? Already further orders were on their way for his deposition—worse still awaited him—remember Mondevergue. Decide your fate; be our king.' Surprised, hesitating, Benyowsky pleaded his present duty toward France—when he could release himself from his obligations, let them repeat the offer. The rumour was quite true. In a few days, two French commissaries, having touched at the Isle of France, presented themselves at Fort Louis. They demanded an account of his stewardship; but private advice informed him that their instructions extended to carrying him off to Europe 'if such a step would not endanger the colony.' In the mean time, they proceeded with their professed task, granting to the governor a clear discharge for his past conduct of affairs, and certifying to his expenditure of certain sums from his private purse. Then they handed to him a permit to return to Europe, and resought their vessel. Benyowsky had now decided on his course. With the morning's light, the resignation of his office was in the hands of the commissaries; the command of the

military he entrusted to his deputy, M. de Sanglier; for the rest, he had nothing further to do with the settlement, save to promote its interest with the natives. The chiefs were as good as their word; in the midst of a vast assemblage Benyowsky was solemnly tendered the sovereignty of the country. He made acceptance of it, and then homage was paid to himself on the part of the men, and to Madame Benyowsky on the part of the women.

At this distance of time, with the subsequent loss of the records of the settlement, and the unscrupulous nature of the hostility directed against Benyowsky, it is impossible to say whether he preserved in spirit, or even in letter, the obligations which he had taken upon himself in the service of the king and people of France. Probably we shall state the case fairly when we say that Benyowsky, in the midst of perils and pitfalls with which the bad faith of his employers had surrounded him, consulted the true interests of the trust he had taken upon himself. In other words, we prefer to read his vindication in that which now followed. He drew up a form of native government, which is still preserved in his 'Memoirs.' He dwelt on the necessity of skilled workmen and artisans, to instruct in the various branches of industry, avowing his determination to return to Europe for the purpose of acquiring a staff of such men. Commerce and the cultivation of the soil were in like manner to be taken in hand; with works of reclamation and inland communication he had already made his hearers practically acquainted. European treaties of trade and friendship were also necessary to the wellbeing of the country, and, if for no other purpose, those alone demanded his temporary absence. His decision was heard with regret and expostulation; but, at length, the arguments of Benyowsky prevailed, and he departed on his self-imposed mission, having first procured the signatures of the chiefs to an acquiescence with his objects. It pleases the French writers to speak of the projects of Benyowsky as visionary, fantastic, magnificent on paper. But presently, in our own day, we shall find them practicable enough.

Some angry interviews with the members of the government were the result of his arrival in France. But he secured the powerful advocacy of Benjamin Franklin at the court, no small evidence of the real merit of the man. His efforts in the cause of Malagache civilisation received the honour of a decoration; and the conduct of the authorities in the Isle of France was justly held up to public odium.

But France would not break with her planters, and the government finally declared that it would not identify itself with the fresh efforts of Benyowsky.

From France, Benyowsky crossed over to England, where he drew up proposals which were laid before the king, offering, 'in the name of an amiable and worthy nation, to acknowledge him lord paramount of Madagascar.' But England then was immersed in her own colonial troubles, and was averse to further projects.

Finally, in 1785, having procured suitable stores in America, whither he had gone with Franklin, he landed for the second time in the Bay of Antongil. His movements appear to have been carefully watched by his implacable foes in the Isle of France. Viscount de la Croix was despatched thence, in command of the French frigate 'Louise,' to dismantle the fort, and secure the person of Benyowsky 'alive or dead.' A couple of boats' crews effected a landing, armed with a howitzer and small arms. Fort Louis was situated on an eminence, surrounded by strong palisades, and defended with two 4-pounders and a few swivel guns. The marines advanced briskly under fire. When sufficiently near, they returned it with a discharge of all arms. The first shot ended settlement at Fort Louis. Benyowsky received a ball in the breast, and fell within the stockade. A marine seized him by the hair of the head and dragged him out. In a few moments more he was dead.

Those who had displayed so relentless an opposition to the schemes of Benyowsky have represented him as ambitious, arbitrary, impatient under counsel. The countenance and approval of Franklin he preserved to his death; and his conciliatory policy toward the natives was far more productive of beneficial results than the devastating course of those who had gone before him. It is impossible to look through the short, difficult, and obstructed career of this man, abandoned by the mother-country, intrigued against by the planters, and broken by repeated attacks of fever, without discerning in it something of that future policy which, conducted under our own countrymen, has led to results hitherto unknown in the history of civilisation, the raising, in a lifetime, of a barbarous, if not a savage, people to the level of European society.

Benyowsky perished in 1786. With the destruction of Fort Louis, Madagascar again entered on one of her long periods of abandonment. Traders from the Isle of France and Bourbon came to pursue their iniquitous traffic, but

there was no official occupation of any portion of the country.* French troubles were now gathering nearer home, and during the revolutionary period all schemes of colonial extension were in abeyance.

With the opening of the present century, the outside world was somewhat changing. In 1810 the Isle of France and Bourbon became by conquest the property of England, and subsequently, in 1814, were ceded by formal treaty, 'with their dependencies,' to that country. The Isle of France, as all the world knows, returned, under English government, to its original title, the Mauritius, which it still holds. With the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France, the island of Bourbon was ceded back to France, and, under the title of Réunion, is still a French possession.

And here a word is proper as to English relations with Madagascar. So clearly has England placed on record the withdrawal of all claims to that country, save those of friendship and good intentions, that the utmost freedom can be used. Nor would it be possible to follow the French thread of connexion, without here taking up the English one; so curiously do they cross each other at this point. It was not so always. To say nothing of the statement of Flacourt himself, that in 1642, the first year of French occupation, there was an English settlement at St. Augustine's Bay—to say nothing of the various schemes of settlement which passed the English council-table and were made public by proclamation†—let us come to the broad fact that, for a century at a time, Madagascar was open to any state which could make good its footing there. To dwell on any other pretence of title would be to fall into the mistake of the extreme French writers, who put forward 'ancient and historic' claims, which melt away when we attempt to touch them.

The first English governor of Mauritius was Sir Robert Farquhar. Neither in formal cession, nor in subsequent treaty, had there been any reference to Madagascar. The fact might explain itself. Excepting on the part of a few

* 'Madagascar fut pratiquement abandonnée—les soldats de la France n'en occupaient aucun point.'—Saillens.

† Richard Boothby, merchant, of London, who had previously been twice in Madagascar, and who wrote in 1644, says: 'I was present when this expedition was ordered at the council-table. There were printed bills put up on the pillars of the Royal Exchange, and other parts of the City, that abundantly showed the forwardness in promoting a plantation in Madagascar.'

traders, there was really no French occupation of any portion of the soil. During the preceding century, the only Europeans in possession were the pirates, and their leaders were chiefly English; but, so far from representing any European state, they were the common enemies of all states. But Farquhar had large and most unselfish views. Whether he strained a point in their attainment, we shall leave to the candid consideration of our readers, contenting ourselves with a simple statement of facts.

First, however, let us consider the circumstances of the case. The English movement for the abolition of slavery had then taken its greatest hold on the nation. Madagascar furnished one of the chief slave markets of the world.* Farquhar entered into the movement with the energy and enlightenment of a large and noble mind. We had taken over Mauritius 'with its dependencies.' Moreover, in the French archives of the island, and in a thousand *Gazettes Officielles*, Madagascar was expressly mentioned as one of those dependencies of the Isle of France.†

What Farquhar now did was this. He issued proclamation, bearing date 1814, declaring possession of Madagascar, in the name of the English sovereign, as one of the dependencies of Mauritius. He despatched H.M.S. 'Eclipse' to Tamatave and Foule Pointe to make known this proclamation, and to order the withdrawal of all French residents from these trading ports. This order was complied with, and the French traders returned to the French colony of Réunion. French writers say—under protest; and that is very probable. But we shall have something more to say on this point in its proper place; now, we must adhere to the proceedings of Farquhar. Thus obtaining a clear stage, whether by process formal or informal, the English governor followed up the matter by sending the first English representative to the capital of the country, Captain le Sage; empowered to enter into friendly negotiations with the king for the construction of a treaty in suppression of the slave trade. And now we have to glance at those interior movements within the country itself which were lending their aid to the work which Farquhar had taken in hand.

As with all primitive states, the soil had been divided

* Farquhar to Lord Bathurst, 1823.

† This title continued to be used in the 'Mauritius Government Gazette' for several succeeding years. See narrative of an 'English Resident,' 1847, who supplies matter not found elsewhere.

among a number of independent chiefs, pursuing their individual ends by the ordinary means of treachery, bloodshed, and devastation. But high in the interior, and far from the woods, the marshes, and the fevers of the coast districts, resided a race which, by a bodily as well as a mental superiority, had already made large encroachments on the domains and liberties of the surrounding tribes. It needed but the occasion and the man to assert the sovereignty of the Hovas over the whole country. The man had now come. Discerning, ambitious, faithful to all pledges, jealous of all divided honours, Radama displayed that curious mixture of virtues and vices which has ever distinguished the rude barbarian conqueror. 'We cannot refrain,' says M. Saillens, 'from comparing him with our own French hero, Clovis.' 'He has a policy of his own—he plays the people against the chiefs, and so rules,' says Captain Moorsom. 'Prepossession, extremely agreeable in his address, I do not hesitate to call Radama a polite man,' says the representative of Farquhar in his interview with him. Such was the man on whom depended the success of those delicate and secret negotiations—for they were then secret—on which the English governor of Mauritius had embarked.

Already, from his native heights of Imerina, had Radama spread fire and sword through large and distant provinces, exacting submission from those who were allowed to live, and in all cases bringing considerable accession of territory to the Hovas. More than once he had descended on the coast regions, restoring authority to their native chiefs only on condition of suzerainty; and in this manner the petty potentates of Tamatave, Foule Pointe, and other ports frequented by European traders actually held rule at the time. If for no other reason, and there are others, it is idle to say that Radama was not then king of Madagascar.

No wonder that these Malagache seaport towns were attracting the slave-dealers to them. The sources of supply were indeed many. The lofty Radama was satisfied with a small capitation tax, which was used for revenue purposes. But his chiefs, and even their followers, were driving a roaring trade. 'You see my people,' he said to Captain le Sage; 'they are well clothed, you will find their homes supplied with necessaries and comforts. You ask me to cut off the sources from which all this comes.' Nor were these sources confined to intestine wars only. Debt swelled the miserable gangs, often consisting of fifteen hundred each, which were driven to the coast, to encounter a still more

terrible sea passage. Banditti lurked round the native villages, and swept off stragglers. Innumerable were the instances where natives stole from each other, prompted by greed or by malice. The dealers took all as they got them.

Captain le Sage conducted his negotiation with ability and success. It appears to have been a matter of argument from the beginning. Beyond the immediate and doubtful advantages of the trade, Radama himself saw larger and more lasting benefits to the empire he was consolidating. Early in 1817 Captain le Sage returned to Farquhar with the acceptance of the conditions of the treaty; toward the close of the year, it was publicly ratified at Tamatave. It came like a clap of thunder on the slave-dealers. Farquhar had offered to make good the capitation tax; Radama had stipulated that some native young men—his own two younger brothers among them—should be educated at English expense; for the rest, the king was to reconcile matters with his people. For Radama to say that he would do a thing, was to have it done; a breach of faith he rarely forgave, and never forgot. The trade was now declared to be illegal—death was to be the penalty for exporting any native from the soil which gave him birth—the gangs now on their way to the coast were loosed, and sent back to their homes.

‘No act,’ writes Mr. Ellis, ‘of Radama’s life will ever be regarded with so much satisfaction and pleasure; and when the attending difficulties are considered, it exhibits a firmness of purpose, a decision of character, and a confidence in the integrity of the British Government rarely surpassed. He appears to have determined to adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity to the spirit and conditions of his engagements, and it is impossible to contemplate his situation and proceedings at this period without feeling the liveliest interest in his progress and success, particularly when it is remembered that he had to contend with the prejudices, the inveterate habits, and the interests of his own family, as well as those of the great body of the chiefs and of the entire community, excepting the hapless slave.’

But soon Radama’s firmness and fidelity were to find a still more severe strain put upon them. The planters of Réunion saw those toils suddenly closed around them against which they had schemed and planned with such unscrupulous persistence. Alas! Mauritius itself could not reconcile itself to the counsels of its governor. Farquhar’s work was scarcely begun—in his great and noble purpose much was to follow. He was now in England following up that purpose, and a deputy held control in his place. Such was the pressure brought upon this individual that he

recalled the English representative at Tamatave, Mr. Hastie; acquainting him with the dissolution of the treaty, and actually entrusting his despatch to a deputation of slave-dealers for delivery. 'Who be now the Humanitarians'—was their natural taunt—'the enlightened English, or the 'savage Radama?' Mr. Hastie obeyed the summons, and returned to Mauritius. Radama refused to credit the intelligence, and held to the treaty under extreme pressure. At the end of a twelvemonth he gave way. The chiefs—the members of his own family, became urgent.

'The English had broken their faith—his nobles were impoverished, his own revenue was sensibly affected, and all for what?—The ports of Mauritius and Bourbon were crowded with slaves, who were being taken from the country without sale or capitation tax.*'

On the return of Farquhar to Mauritius the renewal of the treaty with Radama was entrusted to Mr. Hastie. His task was a difficult one. 'I have too good reason,' said the king, 'to be off with the English—I have none to break 'with my own people.' Eventually Mr. Hastie's arguments were successful. In the ancient capital of the Hovas—amid a vast assembly of chiefs and their followers—amid salvos of artillery the king affixed his signature to the treaty, prohibiting the exportation of slaves from all portions of the country. In this treaty, as in the former, Radama is styled King of Madagascar. An English representative took up his residence at the seat of government, Antananarivo; and Radama renewed his visits to the coast districts with an imposing force of 25,000 men, receiving renewed tenders of allegiance from the local chiefs, and assuring the English residents there of his friendship, and the interest he took in their pursuits.

We do not wish to disguise anything. This was a public demonstration on the part of Radama—he meant it to be such. The French had retired from these ports by order of Farquhar. Captain Moorsom, who represented the English naval strength on the coast at the time, says Radama went through these forms to mark his repudiation of French claims; and, at that very particular juncture, a French vessel appeared bearing communications to him from Reunion, which he publicly refused to receive. We do not know whether Radama did all this at the advice or sugges-

* 'Three cargoes had been imported during the preceding fortnight, notwithstanding all his efforts to forbid such illegal importation of slaves into the colony.'—General Hall to Lord Bathurst, 1818.

tion of the English governor of Mauritius; none of the gentlemen who conducted these negotiations give us a hint of such a thing. The French say they were no party to these affairs. Then the question is: What is the precise value of their claims when they took place? They cannot be stronger by aid of them; for this is what some extreme French writers wish they could make us believe.

Farquhar, on his part, lost no time in making public the precise nature of the English relations with Madagascar. When making proclamation of the treaty just renewed, and inviting the attention of English settlers to the advantages offered, he referred to it 'as the preliminary means now adopted to a permanent and extensive settlement of that great country.*' And, in response to the recent proceedings of Radama at Tamatave, he issued the following very clear and precise declaration:—

'(1) That he considered Madagascar as an independent power, at present united with the King of England by treaties of friendship and alliance, on whose territory no nation whatever has any right of property except such as the native government might be disposed to admit.

'(2) That it had been notified by this same power to the Government of Mauritius and to the commander of the British naval forces in these seas that it does not acknowledge any right of property in the soil of Madagascar on the part of any European power.'

Farquhar, it will be observed, when introducing the treaty to the consideration of his countrymen, makes mention of it as 'preliminary means' to certain future operations of settlement and developement. We have now to explain what these other steps were. One thing is sufficiently clear from his proclamation: the developement was to be *native* developement, aided by the instruction and resources of civilisation. He was dealing with a free and independent Madagascar, and the change was to be from within, not from without. How carefully these steps were laid, how fully he understood the materials at his disposal, the lasting success remains as evidence.

For some time previously, Farquhar had been in negotiation with the London Missionary Society, which had already identified itself with the Eastern Archipelago. A number of clergymen and school teachers were now on their way from England to Antananarivo. Portions of the soil

* 'Mauritius Government Gazette,' March 3, 1821. The treaty had been renewed in October 1820.

had been acquired by purchase by English residents at Tamatave and Foule Pointe; and a new English settlement, Fort Loquez, established some years before, was progressing under native encouragement. Such was the condition of affairs when Farquhar returned to England on the expiration of his government. He touched at Tamatave on his way home. Radama hastened from his capital to take his leave, but he arrived too late. 'My friend, my best friend, 'is gone!' was his exclamation; 'I shall never see him 'more.'

This was in 1823. Radama died in 1827; but the work begun by the friendly co-operation of himself and Farquhar had taken firm hold of the country. Schools for religious and secular instruction had been extensively established, and were largely attended. Christianity was supplanting the base and cruel system of idol-worship. Skilled English artisans taught the various arts of modern civilised industry. Everything was demonstrating the high and ready aptitude of the people for improvement. When, on a very recent occasion, it was necessary to disprove certain French statements, the Malagache Government issued two 'Red Books,' which have commanded the acceptance and surprise of older civilised states—and this among a people who a few years ago did not possess a written language.*

Such were the results. As regards the means by which they were brought about, it is to be expected, though with regret, that their international aspects should hold influence over individual opinion. But to those who can exercise a more independent judgement—who can place practical wisdom and broad humanity above the passing susceptibilities of country—there is left but one interpretation. When

* 'Inutile de dire avec quelle curiosité, lorsque ce recueil, en deux forts volumes in-folio, fut placé sur la table, les assistants s'empressèrent de le feuilleter; avec quelle surprise ils en constatèrent la bonne ordonnance et la remarquable exécution matérielle; avec quelle sollicitude surtout, j'oserai dire avec quelle anxiété patriotique, ils y relevèrent, tantôt l'existence de pièces qui ne figuraient pas parmi celles qu'avait publiées le gouvernement français, tantôt des différences de textes qui pouvaient faire supposer, d'une part ou de l'autre, je ne dirai pas des altérations, mais des inexactitudes par omission sinon par commission.'—M. F. Passey.

'They afford conclusive disproof of any charges of barbarism which may be brought against the Government of Madagascar, and give evidence that the ministers of Ravalalona III. are well skilled in the methods of civilised diplomacy.'—Captain Oliver.

schemes of conquest availed not—rather made that worse which was already deplorably bad—Farquhar, by tact, by conciliatory measures, by a skilful survey of the field before him, started an interesting and deserving people on the right road to civilisation. It became necessary to approach this people with some new form of Christianity: from that which had been offered to them they turned with fear and abhorrence. Here is not the occasion to discuss why Rome, in modern times, has lost her power with the heathen world. But so it is. The negroes of the United States, the New Zealanders, the islanders of Polynesia have turned coldly from the Catholic priest, and have embraced Protestant Christianity with the faith, the enthusiasm, and the numbers of the early Church. We must content ourselves with the broad assertion that the various denominations into which Protestantism is unfortunately divided, now represent primitive Christianity more nearly than the Catholic Church of to-day.

But, instead of continuing comment of our own on this turn of the affairs of Madagascar, we gladly transfer to our pages the spirited words of M. Saillens, who would save his countrymen from the false position they are assuming:—

‘As Frenchmen, we regret that our own Governor of Bourbon did not thus take the initiative, instead of the English one of Mauritius. But what did our Government? It gave its order “to take steps for the repossession of our ancient settlements; and to send thither a commercial agent with men sufficient to obtain respect for the French flag.” In other words, it insisted on a barren occupation, which could be maintained only by the great sacrifice of men and money. While Farquhar brought about English influence by good offices, we willed to establish ours by force of arms. The want of money, from which the Molé Ministry suffered, prevented the execution of this project, but the sequel proved on which side lay the wisdom. Happy, if we had learned, by this, as by so many other experiences, that the policy of mildness is the best when we wish to make France liked, and to further her intercourse with inferior races.

‘We may ask if the action of Farquhar with regard to Radama had the full assent of the British Government. We doubt his authority, when we see that, during his absence, his successor, General Hall, flatly refused to pay to the Hovan monarch the sum agreed upon in the treaty with Farquhar, and made common cause with the slave merchants, who, all joyously, brought his letter to the agent Hastie, recalling him to the Mauritius. True it is that, on Farquhar’s return, the species of tribute to which he had consented was regularly paid. On this occasion, Radama made proof of his fidelity, showing himself far above the common savage.

‘The Governor of the Mauritius, on his return, was eager to send

Hastie anew to Antananarivo; he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Jones, of the London Missionary Society. In these latter times, what has not been written and said of these English missionaries! Forsooth, the British Government trade on religion—these “Methodists” (just because, as clerical writers and Anglophobes tell us, that particular denomination had the honour to be the sole representative of Protestantism)—the Methodists are nothing more than the salaried agents of the British Government for preparing the way to the trader, who in his turn is followed by the soldier and the marine! Let us protest against this charge as absolutely calumnious, and supply our proofs. We, in France, are so accustomed to the proceedings of the Jesuits, that the very name of missionary awakens in many minds the idea of hypocrisy only. We call to mind when Père Etienne was sent to Madagascar in 1652 by the Oriental Company, and was ordered by the Government to aid the mission of the Lazarists, which brought about the ruin of the colony. We seek to find analogy between this fact and that of the arrival of the English mission to Madagascar. But the analogy does not exist. It is the very opposition between the results of those two missions which enlightens.*

We wish we could now proceed to a more hasty glance at later complications of the matter. But as a new order of French claims has grown out of this action of the Governor of the Mauritius, we do not wish to pass them over in complete silence. Generally speaking, it is the extremely shifty nature of these claims which is made to do duty for more substantial title. We have fine phrases, such as ‘ancient and immemorial possessions,’ ‘conquests,’ ‘cessions by treaty or purchase.’ But we are never allowed to examine one of these at a time; we must accept all or none. ‘Continuous occupation’ seems a fair title enough. But when we examine for ourselves, we find that, unless in the case of St. Mary’s Islet—and that not by any means ancient—there has been no continuous occupation at all. Again, as in the present instance, we are told that on the head of these doings of Farquhar arose a cession of the whole country of Madagascar to the French on the part of England. The line of argument is this: Farquhar ordered the French traders in the Malagache ports to depart, and they left accordingly. Protest was made, and England reversed the order of her governor. This amounts to an actual ‘retro-cession’ of the country.

The mention of a few dates and facts is quite sufficient to subvert this proposition. Farquhar’s order bears date 1817. Most of the French traders returned to Réunion; some of

* M. Saillens, p. 16.

them declared themselves to be English subjects, and, as such, held their ground in Tamatave and Foule Pointe. The French commercial agent, a certain M. Sylvain Roux, went back to France, and will again be met by us when we have to say a word as to the St. Mary's Islet claim. Réunion made protest to Farquhar, demanding the return of her traders to these Malagache ports. Farquhar replied that the matter was sufficiently important to consult the home government upon, which he accordingly did. The response of England was, that these residents might be permitted to return to the Malagache ports as commercial traders, and in that capacity only. This was in 1818. In 1821 we have seen Farquhar issuing his proclamation, inviting English artisans to place themselves at the service of the King of Madagascar, and declaring that country to be a free and independent one. Is it possible for a moment to suppose that the governor of an English colony, who proposed to take his instructions from headquarters in the matter of a few French traders, should, a couple of years after, set himself up against a formal act of England? If Farquhar had anything to give—which is doubtful—he ceded it to Madagascar itself. There was no French retrocession, nor anything in the nature of it.

French claims through St. Mary's Islet are particularly shadowy. French soldiers now occupy it, and there has been continuous occupation for some vague and indefinite period. This is really all that can be said, though said in more imposing form.* This small and narrow strip of land, lying outside the Bay of Antongil, was really the home of the pirates; during that and the previous period no claim of French occupation is made. These pirates, by native intermarriages, left a race of half-breeds, who, in several instances, afterwards exercised the office of chiefs. And so it was at St. Mary's. Here a certain Tamsimalo ruled for some time, and was buried in the islet, report adding that, according to the custom of the country, treasure had been buried in the tomb with him. A son of his, John Harre,†

* 'Malgré des vicissitudes, cette petite colonie a vécu jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Ici, la prise de possession a été suivie d'effet; il y a eu constamment un gouverneur et des résidents français. Aussi aucune puissance au monde, et Madagascar moins qu'aucune autre, ne songe-t-elle à contester nos droits sur cette île.'

† Laverdant calls him Zanhare. Ever since the age of the pirates, the language and manners of the natives represented an odd jumble of Dutch, French, and English, chiefly the latter.

of less competence and more circumscribed authority, held the nominal chieftaincy, having fixed his residence at Foule Pointe, about fifty miles lower down on the mainland. The real ruler of St. Mary's was the widow of Tamsimalo, and a daughter named Betia, who, in addition to personal attractions, possessed influence and conciliatory manners. When, in 1750, French settlers from the Isle of France found their way to St. Mary's, under one Grosse, Betia took part in the ceremony of occupation. This, it appears, was in violation of national usage, the widow occupying the place of the dead chief. Shortly the widow of Tamsimalo brought a grave accusation against Grosse, that of violating the tomb of her husband for the treasure there concealed. A furious attack on the new settlement was the consequence; the buildings were set fire to, and all the French massacred. News of the catastrophe reached the Isle of France on Christmas Eve, 1754. A French ship of war was there taking in her stores, and she was immediately despatched to the scene. Vengeance was exacted, as violent as it was speedy. While the troops ravaged the islet and slew all they met, the guns of the vessel were brought to bear on those who attempted to escape to the mainland. Among those were the widow of Tamsimalo and a boat's crew of her people, whom a well-directed shot sank. The daughter Betia was apprehended, and brought back to the Isle of France. She was acquitted of complicity in the transaction, and returned to her home, laden with presents. On the death of Betia and her brother, the chieftaincy was held by Hyavi. Thence the records of St. Mary's are obscure in the extreme, and no assistance is to be got from French writers. Copland, who was collecting materials for his '*History of Madagascar*' in 1780, and in that year personally consulted the French records in the Isle of France, says: 'The French formed a settlement at St. Mary's Isle about the year 1750. Benyowsky purchased it of Hyavi, who was then sovereign of Foule Pointe; but, in consequence of the expulsion of the French from Madagascar, it has now returned to its former dependency.' The wording here is probably inaccurate. The first French settlement of St. Mary's, we have just seen, utterly perished in 1754. Benyowsky did not appear on the scene until 1774, and in the latter part of the year—as, Laverdant is so fond of telling us, is the fate of the French commanders*—and then

* '*Toujours au plus beau moment des fièvres.*'

fixed his camp 100 miles from St. Mary's, on the mainland. But the main fact that, when Copland wrote, St. Mary's had returned to its native dependency on Foule Pointe, we must accept, in the absence of even an assertion to the contrary. Either this is the case, or Copland made a statement which he and others at the time knew to be false. Still, from other sources, we are willing to grant that there was something in the nature of a treaty and purchase of land about this time, that is, during the chieftaincy of Hyavi. But the 'continuous occupancy' must assume a still more modern date. When the French left the Malagache seaports, by the order of Farquhar, we have already stated that Sylvain Roux was the French commercial agent there, and that he returned to France. When the slave treaty underwent temporary suspension, Roux, with a few French from the home country, arrived at Réunion, and, increasing his numbers there, attempted a return to Madagascar. But Farquhar had now resumed his post of office at Mauritius; and Radama, on his part, was firmness itself. He refused, as we have seen, to hold correspondence with the French. 'Then,' said Roux, 'we will go to St. Mary's.' 'Certainly,' was Radama's reply; 'you have something in the nature of a purchase there,* but I am king here.' This was in 1825. Roux went to St. Mary's and died there, and was succeeded as French agent by a M. Dayot, who was in the islet during the expedition of Goubeyer in 1829. The continuous occupation, then, of St. Mary's, if it be worth anything—and we do not think it is—cannot take its date earlier than 1825. It has never been contended that French settlement on St. Mary's had any connexion with the mainland. Soon after these events, a native force took up position on the mainland opposite, to intercept connexion. The occupation of a similar islet on the west coast, that of Nossi-Be, is of still more recent date.† But long or short, what are they worth? As reasonably might it be argued that continuous occupation of the Channel Islands would in time create a claim to England.

Furthermore, as regards that mainland, the time was now at hand when neither French nor English could show occu-

* 'Vendue autrefois à cette puissance par les naturels.'—Henry d'Escamps, 'Hist. et Géog. de Mad.'

† 'Les menaces de guerre qui, en 1840, retentirent dans toute l'Europe, décidèrent M. Thiers à envoyer l'ordre de prendre possession de Nossi-Bé.'

pation of the soil. To Radama succeeded the narrow and cruel Ranavalona. It was a return from light to worse than the former darkness. Radama's ambition had been no less than to model his country after the fashion of a modern European state. The queen now joined her influence with the idol-keepers, and announced death to the subject who 'altered the customs of the country.' It is computed that 100,000 Malagase perished under this relentless mandate. The English missionaries and teachers, powerless amid this reign of terror, finally left the country in 1839; all other English and French residents had already quitted the shores, and traders to the ports were deterred by the hostile treatment. Having already depicted these scenes of modern Christian persecution in these pages, we need not here enter upon them.* England and France made a combined attack on the Malagache ports in 1845. The motive was not very clear, and the result was to rekindle the fires of religious persecution with redoubled ardour, and to close up the country against all foreign intercourse. When England and France withdrew from this disastrous 'demonstration,' it was with the understanding that renewed measures were to be taken only in concert—a fact which appears to have been forgotten on the part of France.

So ends the tale of these 'ancient and indefeasible,' but still shadowy and unsubstantial claims. We have dwelt upon them because they appear to us, paradoxical as it may seem, to constitute the real difficulty of a satisfactory solution. The Malagase have been prepared, are now prepared, to make great and even painful concessions to French demands. It is these vague, and therefore unlimited, French 'rights,' always held in reserve, which remove concession as a possible solution, and substitute the more terrible abandonment of their country in its place. It is thus that, three years ago, was appended to demands, sufficiently grave in themselves, the further condition, 'It is, however, well understood that these assurances cannot in any way question the general rights which France from all time has claimed over Madagascar, which rights the Government of the Republic, under the present circumstances, is bound expressly to reserve.†' The Malagache ambassadors refused to commit their country to this forfeiture of independence, and so matters have remained. The French authorities in

* Ed. Rev. 1867, 'Christians of Madagascar.'

† Malagasy 'Red Book,' 1884.

their 'Yellow Book' suppressed this passage, and thus the French public lost the opportunity of learning the position assumed for it.

Nor does the difficulty concern the Malagase only. It affects France herself. No doubt, the clerical party, in its resentment at the success of the Protestant missionaries, and the planters, in their desire for cheap coolies, have united in seeking the countenance of the French people. But how have they obtained it? Clearly by appealing to national susceptibilities—powerful intercessors, certainly, until reason and justice can make their influence felt. But the time is now come when these should have their hearing.

Later complications, still sufficiently familiar to our readers, we may here glance at. Ranavalona died in 1861. The silent growth of Christianity during these years of public suppression and persecution was well known; it had invaded the court, the queen's government, and the queen's family. With a new ruler, was awaited a new dawn, and a still brighter day of civilisation and the adopted faith. In England, too, the coming change had been earnestly and anxiously watched. It was even thought that a man of tact and discretion might revisit these scenes of interrupted labours, and prepare for their renewal. The choice wisely fell on Mr. Ellis. He made his way to the capital of the country, and was even accorded a public interview by the relentless, but not impolitic, queen. His conduct was necessarily circumscribed by his position, but he was able to report that the native accounts were by no means exaggerated.

These anticipations were fully realised. Darkest it certainly was before the new dawn; for Ranavalona passed away amid the most furious attempt at suppression which the country had yet seen. But the Malagache sovereignty has been since held by rulers who have placed themselves at the head of their people, in a generous and intelligent appreciation of Christianity and civilisation. When, in 1883, the present young queen, a Christian from her birth, commenced her reign, there were 1,200 Christian churches throughout the country, and the like number of schools. Governors had been appointed to distant provinces, a rural police had been established, a standing army had been organised under a limited service system, courts of justice were open throughout the land, and the affairs of state had been entrusted to a departmental ministry, consisting of eight members. The 'fantastic and visionary' dream of Benyowsky had been

realised. But, over the smiling prospect, were gathering, in fuller force, the dark clouds of French claims. When this youthful ruler ascended the throne, she gave utterance to these spirited words, in the hearing of her people, as is the custom: 'I call to your mind how Andrian of Imerina 'was lord of this land. How Radama caused his kingdom to extend to the sea. He left it to his three successors; they left it to me. Should anyone dare to claim 'even a hair's breadth, I will show myself to be a man, and 'go along with you to protect our fatherland.' These brave words, nor doubt we they find echo in those who heard them; pity they should ever come to be interpreted as the language of despair. For the present, let us take them for what they really are, the assertion of an independent people to their just rights. But, as already has been hinted, the native government is not insensible to the gravity of the position, and it rests solely with the French people to bring about so ungenerous and unnecessary a pressure.

In the face of this demand of 'general right over the 'whole country,' it appears needless to enter into examination of minor details; we shall merely state them in their briefest form. Three such matters of dispute had been dragging their slow length along, when the Malagese ambassadors took their final departure from Paris, under circumstances so differently narrated by the two parties to the conference. First, there was the Laborde affair, involving the more general question of rights of foreign subjects to landed property in the country. The heirs of a certain M. Laborde demanded compensation (300,000 francs) for manufacturing premises, alleged to have been granted to him by the native government. Against this, it was contended that the title deed was a forgery, and that native national usage did not permit alienation of the soil. However, the sum of 250,000 francs was offered, and declined; and there is no doubt of the willingness of the native authorities to make large modifications in the law affecting the soil, under more conciliatory treatment. But, as M. Saillens and Captain Oliver point out, this was not the wish of the French authorities.

Secondly, these authorities demanded compensation for loss of life and goods connected with the dhow 'Toale.' It was asserted that natives of the Sakalava tribe, on the north-west coast, had seized the cargo of this vessel, and assassinated the master and three of the crew; and to the demand was added these words:

‘By complying at once with these two requests (lodgment of money for (1) goods, and (2) lives) the government of the queen will prove to the civilised world that she knows how to make her authority respected, as well upon the west, as upon the east coast; in one word, throughout the extent of her kingdom; for, I repeat, the Queen of Madagascar should not allow that any such crimes could be perpetrated within her territory.’

Against this, it was contended, that the Arab crew of this vessel were in reality smuggling fire-arms into the territory, and that, on being called upon to desist, they had fired, killing one man; the fire was then returned, with the result complained of. The compensation demanded was paid, and thus this grievance was ended.

Thirdly and lastly, there are certain special claims over the north-west coast, in right of treaties with the Sakalava tribe. While the preceding claim was in dispute, this one appears to have been not so much as thought of; for, in the former, as we have just seen, the French authorities recognise the sovereignty of the Queen of Madagascar over the tribe. These local treaties date from 1840 to 1860. In some instances, the original documents could not be produced to the Hova authorities; in others, the right of the petty chiefs to make treaties, even on the part of the tribes they assumed to represent, was questionable; and, as regards all, it is admitted that France has not observed the engagements thus entered into.* The reply of the Hova authorities may be thus summarised. All the Hova sovereigns, commencing with Radama, had been acknowledged by France as kings and queens of the whole country of Madagascar. The Sakalavas had acknowledged this sovereignty, and paid tribute, through Hova custom houses throughout their territory. France had required the native government to more fully exercise its control over this territory. The French authorities had just exacted a heavy indemnity from the native government for an alleged outrage therein. English and other traders, through their consuls, had dealt directly with the Hova Government, and not with the French, in matters connected with the region over which protectorate is now claimed.

In reason and international usage, these replies, if verified, should be conclusive. But the Hova authorities are well aware that these matters are not to be decided by any such form of settlement. The French ‘Yellow Book’ states that the

* See the Lanessan Report of 1884, on the claims of France.

native government has already made offer of large concessions on this point, including the removal of its flags, garrisons, and custom-house stations from the portion of coast in dispute. The Malagese version is not quite in accordance with this. The Hova ambassadors affirm that the suggestion came from the French authorities; and that its effect was that the native government should consent, *for a few years*, to these concessions in the Sakalava district, in return for which France would waive the right of protectorate. But when the ultimatum was actually placed before them for signature it was entirely deprived of this temporary aspect, and the clause of general rights had been unexpectedly added. It is plain, then, from both accounts, that the Hova authorities are prepared to concede much, short of the life of the nation.

With the conclusion of the year the Hova ambassadors crossed over to London, where they concluded a treaty with the English Government, regulating and restricting the traffic in drink. Thence, arriving in America, they finally ratified a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce with that country, which contains the significant words, 'The dominions of her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar shall be understood to mean the whole extent of Madagascar.' From America, they visited Germany and Italy, and there concluded somewhat similar treaties.

The departure of the Hova ambassadors from Paris had been followed by instructions to the admiral of the French squadron to open hostilities, couched in that energetic language which the Republic has made familiar to the civilised world in its dealings with more rudely constituted states; to be followed by still more energetic action. The admiral's ultimatum contains the following words: 'These conditions are not presented to the government of Queen Ranavalona II. to be discussed, but to be accepted by yes or no within an interval of eight days. This period has been thus allowed for: three days to go from Tamatave to Antananarivo (120 miles); the same for return from Antananarivo to Tamatave; two days for consideration.' The answer was an emphatic no, and fire was opened on Tamatave by the six vessels composing the French squadron. Further events, up to the present, are little more than a repetition of the attacks on Tamatave and Foule Pointe, continued along the north-west, north, and north-east coasts. That is to say, the ports and native villages within reach have been shelled and occupied, the native garrisons retiring to a

safe distance. There has been no attempt to penetrate beyond the coast region; and, we may safely say, no such attempt will be made until the present French Chamber decides on a new colonial policy.

What that policy ought to be, must now appear clear to unprejudiced minds. In no acceptation of the term can Madagascar become a European colony at all; for, even with greater inducements than are possible, Frenchmen would not emigrate thither in sufficient numbers to occupy the country as a colonial settlement. The country itself is already peopled by native races, which, though friendly under conciliatory treatment, have never, at any period, shown a disposition to give place to foreign occupation, and have lately been acquiring an organisation and national sentiment which add force to the natural bent. The climate, especially along the coast where colonisation would make its first efforts, is unfavourable to European life. The work of reclamation and improvement is heavy and uninviting, as every French expedition has learned to its cost. When these grave, and practically insuperable, obstacles are contrasted with more favourable regions still open, it may be safely concluded that the stream of French emigration setting in in the direction of Madagascar will be scanty in the extreme. A trade and shipping commerce, with such settlement as may accommodate that, will amply satisfy European wants; and this may still be had if the proper course is pursued. No doubt relations between French and natives became unsatisfactory under the treaty of 1868, which dealt with such facilities. But it is only just to bear in mind that this 'general reservation of French rights' overshadowed the country, and that the French themselves, always acting under the instigation of the planters and the clerical party, sought its acknowledgement. Dispel this cloud—further, see what native concessions may appease French honour, and yet leave a national life and national aspirations behind—and Madagascar will be open to a fair and much more profitable enterprise.

Whilst these pages are passing through the press, an opportune telegram arrived, on the eve of a critical division in the Chamber, which enabled the Minister to announce that preliminaries of peace have been arranged between the Malagache Government and the French admiral; and although the terms of this negotiation are still somewhat obscure, and the ratification of them not certain, we trust that they will lead at any rate to the cessation of hostilities. That result

we believe to be no less desirable and desired by the representatives of France than by the native government of Madagascar. The material advantages of such a treaty of peace could not fail to be on the side of a great European power invading the territory of an African people emerging from barbarism. But the moral victory is not on the side of the invader; and the patriotism, courage, and policy shown by the Hovas in these painful transactions, have raised them in the esteem of all civilised nations. The concessions which may have been extorted by the arms of France in no degree change our opinion of the unsubstantial nature of the French claims, of the injustice of the war, and of its inadequate results. The war was in truth begun by the French Republican Government merely as an expedient to give relief to their home politics, and in this respect it signally failed, for no expedition could be more inglorious and unpopular. The French appear to have regarded Madagascar as if it were an unpeopled country open to colonisation, or a land of savages who might be subdued or exterminated. But Madagascar is neither one nor the other. It is populous and ill-adapted to European civilisation; and its inhabitants have established a legally constituted State, jealous of their independence. Their Government has concluded treaties with Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, and it will be the duty of those powers to take care that the commercial rights of their subjects under those treaties are not impaired by the intervention of France. The real motive which has inflamed the claims of the French to a passionate extent may be traced to the desire of the planters of the island of Bourbon (now Réunion) to obtain from Madagascar a supply of forced labour. In former times the island was the great market of the eastern slave trade; and although that abominable traffic is now condemned by the civilised world, the system of coolies or labourers hired on fixed contracts may be so worked as to produce a very similar result. The French Government will have to exercise a very strict control over the colonial authorities in Réunion to prevent it. We do not believe that French interests, properly so called, will derive more permanent advantage from the invasion of Madagascar than they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and the time will come when the expeditions to Tonquin and Madagascar will be regarded, like the expedition of the Emperor Napoleon III. to Mexico, as incidents which have added nothing to the power or dignity of France.

ART. VI.—*Victor Hugo: a Memoir and a Study.* By JAMES CAPPON, M.A. Edinburgh and London: 1885.

VICTOR HUGO was the last survivor of the vigorous generation that witnessed the Restoration, the foremost figure among the Romantic brotherhood, the most versatile author of his age, the most popular and successful writer of his country, in many respects the greatest poet modern France has produced. No man ever enjoyed during his lifetime in richer abundance or riper maturity the fruits of literary adulation. Few Frenchmen can yet view his works with dispassionate eyes. To English critics, on the other hand, his faults are peculiarly repugnant. His inordinate vanity, which rose to heights of absolute autotheism, tempted him to parade his incorrect science and uncritical erudition, to claim an inspired independence above order, relation, or proportion. His egotism was not the self-reliance of conscious power, but the self-complacency of ostentation. There was about him not only a want of balance, but an entire absence of that repose which suggests a reserve of controlled, unexpended strength. He squanders his splendid gift of language in an excess of metaphor, tumultuous rhetoric, or tasteless absurdities of expression. His vivid imagination riots in colossal images, grandiose descriptions, and whimsical conceptions. Delighting in violent antitheses, forced contrasts, moral paradoxes, he violates truth to nature, contradicts experience, and outrages historical probability. He promulgates his crude social theories with an aggressive combativeness which provokes resistance. He rejoices like a giant in his Titanic strength, but it lures him as often to rash feats of reckless adventure as to noble deeds of prowess.

Mr. Cappon is no fanatical eulogist of Victor Hugo. He is not blind to his enormous faults or to his less patent imperfections, but subjects both his plays and poems to a criticism which is often sound, subtle, and suggestive. Perhaps the most important feature in his study of the great French writer is his careful summary of the origin and tendencies of the phases which thought and literature presented at the commencement of the nineteenth century. He devotes considerable space to Hugo's plays, but relatively ignores his novels. Even as works of art, the last point of view from which admirers of Hugo's novels would wish them to be approached, they are, in our judgement,

superior to his plays. Be this as it may, the neglect of so important a side of Hugo's literary character, the side by which in England he is chiefly known, seriously impairs the value and completeness of Mr. Cappon's critical study. Some of our author's sentiments do more credit to his heart than his head. 'Scaffold, axe, hemlock, or fagot,' so writes Mr. Cappon, 'these have been the fate of the best of the human race since there has been any record of its doings. And perhaps the best still fall. Such a fact need not be without its weight on the fine balance of the human consciousness. It is the interest of humanity to disown rights so frightfully liable to abuse.' The same excuse must be pleaded for Mr. Cappon's well-meant but most ill-advised attempts to translate Hugo's poetry. His prose renderings are of the baldest kind; his verse often neither scans nor rhymes. 'Voyages' rhymes with 'sages,' 'auroras' with 'sonorous,' 'child' with 'foiled,' 'broils' with 'exiles.' The following lines from Mr. Cappon's translation of Hugo's fine poem on Paris in 'Les Voix Intérieures' afford an average specimen of Mr. Cappon's metrical ability:—

'City enveloped by the storm!
Day and night resound her drum and bell,
Waking giant Europe with alarm,
Who, whether he keepeth vigil well,
Or whether in slumber he drowzes,
Heareth the tempest that browses,
As when winds in the forest are high.'

The last two lines are neither a poetical nor a literal translation of—

'Il entend la cité difforme
Bourdonner sur sa tête énorme,
Comme un essaim dans la forêt.'

We fear Mr. Cappon's versions will not inspire many persons to acquire the French language in order to read Hugo in the original. To French scholars Mr. Cappon's interpretations are almost an insult. Unenglish expressions, such as 'avid of fame' or 'orienting itself,' are freely scattered over Mr. Cappon's pages. Whatever confidence in his familiarity with French these Gallicisms engender will receive a rude shock. 'Plus de pur-sang piaffant aux portes de donzelles,' writes Hugo of the society which Napoleon III. professed to save. Mr. Cappon translates the phrase into the verse, 'No more of blood royal mounting the damsel's stair.' Hugo in his most vituperative mood never accused Parisian ladies of the equine tastes of Semiramis. But if

Mr. Cappon sometimes fails to reproduce the music of Hugo's verse or the meaning of his language, he pays him the tribute of imitation, which is the sincerest form of flattery. Such sentences as 'Hugo is a prophet complicated by a Parisian' forcibly remind the reader of Hugo's oracular mutterings without the prestige of the mystic oracle. Blemishes like these are the more to be regretted since the volume contains much valuable criticism.

Hugo's faults are gigantic. Yet his irregularity and lawlessness, his exaggerations of style, his preference of colour to form, mass to order, accent to flow, his taste for melodramatic effects, his self-worship, may be to some extent explained, if not excused, by the intellectual tendencies of his day, the influences of his early boyhood, and the peculiar circumstances of his later life.

During the half-century of antagonism, doubt, and enquiry which preceded the Revolution, men of letters became less purely literary, grappled with social and political problems, aspired to influence, if not to reconstruct, society, attacked the whole line of existing civilisation. Literature was degraded from an end to a means, from an art to a weapon. The pamphlets of Siéyès and Camille Desmoulins, or of their opponent Rivarol, displaced the elaborate works of preceding generations; the dramas of M. J. Chénier, the epistles of Andrieux, the lyric verse of Rouget de Lisle were pressed into the service of the Revolution. In other respects the literary movement lagged far behind political changes. The style, vocabulary, forms of the classic school were preserved. No republic of letters was founded on the ruins of the ancient monarchy; the aristocracy of art was not dragged *à la lanterne* or the Versailles of language invaded by the vocabulary of the Halles; the Nine Muses were not forced to don the *bonnet rouge* or dance the 'Ça ira.' The Convention and the Consulate affected the republican air, and with it the classic tone of Greek and Roman heroes. Under the Empire the classic school retained its supremacy. Its literary forms were cherished as distinctive of the French nationality: foreign models were banished from the country. 'Votre dernier ouvrage,' said the Minister of Police to Madame de Staël, 'n'est pas français.' Napoleon himself aspired to rival the glory of Louis XIV.; he would have been

'Heureux si les muses divines
Sous lui reprenaient leur essor,
Si des Boileaux et des Racines
A sa cour habitaient encor.'

But when mental freedom was proscribed and literary experiment discouraged poets could not be raised by conscription. Only the exact sciences flourished. No works of importance were produced except by exiles like Madame de Staël or Chateaubriand. Critics took their stand *super antiquas vias*; dramatists followed in the steps of the classic masters. But the enforced calm was treacherous. The great upheaval of thought which the Revolution had produced was hardly felt till the exuberance of destructive fanaticism had subsided and the iron despotism of the Empire fallen. Then—in politics, religion, literature—all was found to be indecision, contention, and oscillation. The ancient landmarks had been removed, and every principle that had cemented society overthrown; there was no overruling bar of public opinion, no commanding voice heard above the hubbub of conflicting judgements. At the same time men thought earnestly and felt intensely. If no one creed predominated, the rapidity with which the old worship was revived is significant of the strength of the religious sentiment. The new spirit was alien to the traditions of classic art; it revolted against the expression of Christian ideas in the language of pagan mythology. Enthusiasm was substituted for dialectics; to proclaim the ideal became the only philosophy. To use the technical language of criticism the Hebrew spirit overpowered the Greek. Foreign literature, and especially the writings of Goethe, Kant, Schiller, Byron, and Scott, against which the Empire had jealously guarded the frontiers of France, contributed powerfully in the same direction. In France itself a new generation of writers—Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, De la Vigne, Guizot, Cousin, Villemain—prepared the way in different fields for the political, moral, and intellectual reaction against the revolutionary politics, religious scepticism, utilitarian ethics, materialist philosophy, and classic forms of the eighteenth century.

Vague visions floated in cloudy reverie before the minds of speculative dreamers; strange views of morals, daring novelties of religion, wild political theories, startling social panaceas struggled for expression behind the bars of the classic grille. For the first five-and-twenty years of the nineteenth century this seething mass of new ideas was confined within the ancient barriers. The classic school maintained the limits of its vocabulary, the academic conventionalities of its style, its decorous periphrases of language; it still imposed on the drama its Aristotelian fetters,

upheld its literary precepts, preserved the monotonous polish of its versification. In the struggle that inevitably ensued between the classic and romantic schools the theatre was regarded as the key of the position. The *parti grisâtre* and the *parti flamboyant* contended for its possession with a bitterness which in England is only aroused by political contests. But the principles on which liberty was demanded applied equally to every form of literature or art. When once the romantic movement had swept away the ancient barriers, the smooth canal-like waters of classic literature were forced back by a swirling torrent of action, narrative, passion, incident. In the collision of the tides everything rose to the surface; the waters heaved, swelled, and eddied. French poetry, drama, and romance were remodelled; vigour succeeded eloquence; reality displaced artificiality; animation expelled listlessness; action superseded narrative; the brevity of passion was substituted for declamatory harangues. Novelists and dramatists mustered by scores, and their productions were to be counted by hundreds. In the feudal world men were less conventional, and life seemed grander both in vice and virtue; mediæval history was ransacked for new materials; the habits, dress, and architecture of the Middle Ages were studied with antiquarian zeal, and reproduced with pre-Raphaelite fidelity. A host of historians, among whom are pre-eminent Guizot, Michelet, Thierry, Mignet, Thiers, were inspired to write by times palpitating with the deepest interest and thronged with astonishing events. Poetry, 'dont les chants des troubadours ont été l'origine, celle qui est née de la chevalerie et du Christianisme,' returned for its inspiration to the feelings which Madame de Staël considered the cradle of its birth; lyric and descriptive verse sprang into new life as they touched again their mother earth in religion and nature. Human speech shook off the classic fetters and, emancipated from the arbitrary rules by which it was long cramped and enfeebled, luxuriated in its new-found liberty.

But the romantic movement soon ceased, both in form and substance, to be a reform, and became, like its political prototype, a revolution. Its legitimate and salutary triumphs were stained with license and outrage. It had its 1793 as well as its 1789. Literature bore evident traces of a disorganised society and a chaotic public opinion. It was aimless, contradictory, inconsistent; artistic perfection was despised; everything was produced with the coarse rapidity of theatrical scene-painting. In the intellectual creations

of the day dignity and elegance, unity of intention, regularity of structure, harmony of component parts, were disregarded. In the last quarter of a century facts had beggared fiction; fancy was outpaced by history; the real drama of life proved more sensational than the representations of the stage, its changes more unexpected, its catastrophes more impenetrable. Fascinated by the terrible truths of the Reign of Terror, or dazzled by the Imperial conquests, novelists and dramatists addressed themselves to stimulate the jaded appetites of their audience; each strove to eclipse his rival in the novelty of his delineations or the horror of his incidents.

In Victor Hugo the Romantic movement was impersonated. He was at once its leader and its child. To the license which followed the acquisition of liberty, the chaos of literary taste which accompanied the overthrow of the old standards, and the factious vehemence of the literary contest in which the Romantic school was engaged may be traced many of his most characteristic defects. Led away by the excitement of conflict, he formulated inartistic theories as protests against the colourless tyranny of the *parti grisâtre*; the excess of reaction drove him to shun as vices the virtues of the classics, to practise as virtues all that they condemned. But if he represents the defects of the romantic movement he also embodies its excellences. The services which he rendered to French poetry are of incalculable value. He proved the capacity of the language for metrical effect; he gave variety and complexity to its monotonous versification; he endowed its vocabulary with a profusion of new rich rhymes; he abandoned the use of the meaningless *chevilles*; he practised that *enjambement* which French prosody proscribed. Not only the form but the substance of French literature was invigorated by his influence. He did not merely toy with cold conceits or trifle with the external garb of verse; his attitude was not that of a pessimist or cynical sceptic. He was an observant lover of nature, a generous dreamer of passionate dreams, an ardent believer in the mission of his art, earnest in his efforts to reach the heart of modern society, full of the poetry of life, confident in the possibility of reforming civilisation, trustful in human perfectibility and human destiny.

The influence of Hugo's early boyhood was hardly less powerful in forming his literary character. 'C'est mon enfance,' he says himself, 'qui a fait mon esprit ce qu'il est.' His father was a native of Lorraine, a soldier of the

Republic and the Empire ; his mother a Bretonne, an ardent Royalist, who, like Madame de la Rochejacquelein, had been a 'brigande.' Victor, their third son, was born in February 1802 at Besançon, a sickly child, 'deux fois l'enfant de sa mère obstinée.' Before he was five years old he had travelled from Besançon to Marseilles, from Bastia to Porto Ferrajo, from Elba to Paris. In 1807 he crossed the Alps and the Apennines, traversed Rome and Naples, to join his father at Avellino. When Colonel Hugo followed the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte to Madrid, his wife and children returned to Paris. There Victor and his two brothers lived with their mother in a house which before the Revolution was a convent of the Feuillantines. The garden—

'. . . grand, profond, mystérieux,
Fermé par de hauts murs aux regards curieux'—

is the scene of the 'Idylle de la Rue Plumet;' it appears in the 'Dernier Jour d'un Condamné;' into it in 1871 fell a Prussian shell. There, as Hugo says of himself, 'je vivais, j'y rôdais comme un enfant, j'y errais comme un homme, j'y regardais le vol des papillons et des abeilles, j'y cueillais des boutons d'or et des liserons, et je n'y voyais personne que ma mère, mes deux frères et le bon vieux prêtre, son livre sous le bras'—Larrivière, an ex-priest of the Oratory, from whom he received a desultory education. It was at the Feuillantines that Madame Hugo concealed General de Lahorie from the vengeance of Napoleon, and that Colonel Louis Hugo told his nephew the story of 'le cimetière d'Eylau.'

In 1811 Madame Hugo, accompanied by her three children, joined her husband at Madrid. At Bayonne they met the escort which was necessary to protect travellers through the hostile country. Madame Hugo headed a procession of a hundred carriages in an enormous chariot, drawn by twelve mules and guarded by Dutch grenadiers. On their way to Madrid they passed by Irun, Ernani, Salinas, Torquemada, Fontarabia, Bivar, Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, places which will awaken many associations for readers of Hugo's plays and poems. Burgos impressed him deeply ; the Punchinello, that told the time to the saints sleeping within the cathedral, first helped him to realise the admixture of tragedy with comedy, the fusion of caricature and solemnity, which became one of his literary canons. At Madrid General Hugo's quarters were the Masserano palace. Its huge gallery, hung with ancestral pictures, supplied the accessories to the portrait scene in 'Hernani.' Victor and his brother

were placed by their mother as *pensionnaires* in the Collège des Nobles. Many of its inmates reappear in his subsequent works. 'Corcova,' the humpbacked servant, is the prototype of Habibrah, Triboulet and Quasimodo. Belverana, a pupil whom Victor disliked, is the Gubetta of 'Lucrèce Borgia;' Elesperu, a hulking idiotic boy, is one of Cromwell's fools; Ramon de Benavento was a friend both of his boyhood and of later life; to him is written the ode 'Hélas! j'ai compris 'ton sourire.' In 1812 Madame Hugo with her two younger children returned to Paris. Victor was changed.

'Mes souvenirs germaient dans mon âme échauffée,
J'allais chantant des vers d'une voix étouffée;
Et ma mère, en secret observant tous mes pas,
Pleurait et souriait, disant: "C'est une fée
"Qui lui parle et qu'on ne voit pas."'

The recollection of Spain, the chosen land of romance, where the present is forgotten in the past, was never effaced from his memory. Spain was ever after his peculiar province; in it his artistic poetic nature found both real and ideal food. The impression never left him of the sharp contrasts of brilliant fantastic colouring unmodified by neutral shades or cooler tints; the southern glitter and almost oppressive warmth of tone; the rich architectural relics in which the genius of the East and West had embalmed a glorious past; the civilisation so backward, peculiar, and unconventional; the character of the people, in which the pride of the Roman seemed to blend with the gloom of the Goth and the fire of the Arab, and ordinary feelings to exceed in stature the most powerful passions of colder nations; the grave, sonorous language, which from its dignity was fitted, as Charles V. said of it, to be the vehicle of human prayer to God, and by its accent falls naturally into rude blank verse; the Ossianic magniloquence, the Cambyzes vein, and conventional hyperbole of the national speech. Above all the ballads of the country, which recounted the fabulous adventures of an Amadis de Gaule, or the more authentic exploits of national champions like the Cid, exercised over him an influence as lasting as it was strong. The brief energy of these martial songs, not diluted by verbiage or unmanned by sentimentality, but told with the artlessness of actors in the scenes they described, was yet tinged with that solemnity of tone which befits men who stake their lives on the issue of a holy crusade. The Spanish 'romanceros' determined the course of Hugo's literary career. It is not without reason that he has been called 'un Espagnol francisé.'

The subsequent events in Hugo's life need not be detailed. While his father defended Thionville against the allies, his mother in her green shoes trampled the Imperial colour in the mud. From the garden of the Feuillantines and indiscriminate reading in Royol's lending library Victor passed to the Pension Cordier and the Collège Louis le Grand. During these years he tried his paces in every sort of literary composition. Odes, satires, epistles, elegies, idyls, tales, a tragedy in verse, and a melodrama in prose were among '*les bêtises que je faisais avant ma naissance.*' All these early productions were imitative; there is no effort to stray from the beaten path; '*Artamène*' adheres strictly to the classic rules. In 1817 he was mentioned for the prize poem offered by the Academy; in 1818 he wrote '*Bug Jargal*,' and won prizes at the floral games of Toulouse; in 1819 he composed an ode on the death of the Duc de Berry, which Louis XVIII. was fond of quoting. In 1821 his mother died; he had been separated by family agreement from Adèle Foucher, who afterwards became '*le témoin de sa vie.*'

'Déjà tout est sombre et fatal dans ma vie;
J'ai dû t'aimer, je dois te fuir!'

For a whole year he lived, like Marius in '*Les Misérables*,' on 750 francs; but the struggle was short. In 1822 the '*Odes et Poésies diverses*' were published; on the money and the pension which he received for the volume he married Adèle Foucher. He was now the adopted poet of the Royalist party. The following year he published '*Han d'Islande.*' In 1826 his literary position was assured by the publication of the '*Odes et Ballades.*'

The most interesting feature of his subsequent life is his passage from royalism first to constitutionalism and ultimately to republicanism. From one point of view his espousal of the romantic cause seemed to unite him more closely to the Royalists, since the classic school was identified with the eighteenth century. Yet the first symptoms of his ultimate severance from his political friends are the views on literature which he promulgated in 1824. As yet he contemplates only a reform; in conciliatory language he disclaims the classic and romantic watchwords; he points out the changes in contemporary thought which recent political events had worked, insists on the necessity of literature representing the progress of its own epoch, protests against the cramping effects of blind adherence to tradition. The dismissal of Chateaubriand and the influence of his

father, the 'vieux soldat' whom he visited at Blois in 1826, contributed to extinguish his Royalist ardour. Popular feeling was rising against the Restoration Government; and Hugo, whose mind resembled an Æolian harp on which the breath of public opinion made its music, was sensitive to the change. Yet in 1826 as a supporter of the Monarchy he was decorated with the Legion of Honour and invited to the consecration of Charles X. at Rheims.

Hugo now assumed the lead in that literary movement which Vitet and De Vigny had heralded. As the Pleiade gathered round Ronsard, so Hugo in the Rue de Vaugirard became the centre of the Cénacle. To it belonged the two Deschamps, Nodier, De Vigny, Sainte-Beuve, Boulanger, Deveria, David, and others. Sainte-Beuve was the Du Bellay of the movement. In his 'Tableau Historique et Critique de la Poésie Française au Seizième Siècle' he endeavoured to find in Marot, Regnier, and Ronsard the ancestors of the Romantic school. Hugo had already, in the preface to the 'Odes et Ballades,' planted the flag of the romanticists; but it was in the preface to 'Cromwell' that he issued that manifesto of their principles which seemed to Gautier, then studying in the studio of Rioult, 'comme les tables de la loi sur le 'Sinaï.' In that famous preface he championed the cause of freedom against the despotism of systems and the dogmatism of rules. From literary to political and social liberalism was but a short step, and it was quickly made. His boyish faith in the Divine right of kings was shattered; his belief in Chateaubriand's ideal of happiness was overthrown; as his horizon enlarged he saw that in his youth he had 'trop peu vu la France et trop vu la Vendée.' The suppression of 'Marion de Lorme' still further alienated him from the Royalists. His sympathy with the Greek war of independence was almost Byronic in its fierceness: the same tenderheartedness which afterwards led him to oppose capital punishment, or champion the cause of the Italians or the Poles, made him feel with the masses. In this state of mind he welcomed the constitutional monarchy of 1830, but he accepted it only as a transition stage. The time was not ripe for a republic. 'Ne cueillons pas en mai,' he says, 'le fruit qui ne sera mûr qu'en août.' He mourns the fall of the House of Bourbon—

'cette race morte
Que rapporte l'exil, et que l'exil emporte.'

He classes Deutz, the betrayer of the Duchesse de Berry, in the 'groupe au louche regard' with Louvel, Leclerc, and

Judas; unwilling 'qu'on mette mon roi dans une bière nue,' he laments in a funeral ode the death of Charles X.

But the Government of Louis Philippe was neither a tradition of the past nor a promise of the future. The imminence of a new struggle is reflected in the mind of Hugo. Personal motives contributed to the change. The suppression of 'Le Roi s'amuse' in 1832 made him ask himself, 'Dans quel pachalik vivons-nous?' His mind began to turn from constitutional liberalism to republicanism, for his natural tendency led inevitably to democracy. In 'Marion de Lorme' he showed that human nature has an innate beauty of its own, however despicable the type. It was not long before he maintained the thesis that beauty belongs only to the lower types and the lower scales of humanity. Together with young France after the Restoration he worshipped the Royalist and Catholic ideal; in 1830 he abandoned it for a remoter dream of political and social happiness, to which the existing Government was but a stepping-stone. Hugo still proclaims, even in a twilight age of transition, his confidence in the future; he pursues philosophy and studies life that he may better the condition of society. He is full of pity for the suffering and oppressed; he despises the man who is absorbed in contemplation.

'Dans ce siècle d'aventure
Honte au penseur qui se mutile
Et s'en va, chanteur inutile,
Par la porte de la cité!'

The air was filled with wild visions of social reform and supreme happiness; the new idealism came into rude collision with practical questions. Once more with young France he asked, What if these ideals are within reach, if the time to act is come? He aspired to an active career. Again personal motives influenced his conduct. He was no longer the literary hero of Paris; in the field of politics he might recover the audience which had left him for Ponsard and Sue. He had not the necessary property qualifications for a deputy, but as a member of the Academy he might become a peer. In 1841 he was elected to the Academy, and four years later was made a peer of France.

In 1848 the storm broke; the people, profoundly dissatisfied with their condition, excited by the wild schemes of Fourier and Saint-Simon and the dangerous teaching of Proudhon, Louis Blanc, and Blanqui, maddened by the weariness of delay, broke out in revolution. At first Hugo belonged to

the moderate party; he could not accept the socialist programme. But, as his suspicions of the President increased, he inclined more towards the extreme left and his democratic principles became more pronounced. The *coup d'état* and his own exile embittered his feelings till he regarded society as the author of every human ill, the league of the strong against the weak, a system of oppression which hides tyranny under the specious name of law. Unlike many of his party he never made peace with the Empire; nor did he, with George Sand, seek comfort in quiet idyls of rural life. He continued, both in prose and in verse, to preach his proscribed and discredited principles. His hour of triumph came when, on the 5th of September, 1870, he returned to Paris by the last train before the Prussian investment of the city was completed.

The unique position which Hugo held in his own country explains, though it does not palliate, the extraordinary vanity which destroys his claim to true moral or intellectual greatness. 'Son plus grand tort,' said Sainte-Beuve, 'est dans l'orgueil immense et l'égoïsme infini d'une existence qui ne connaît qu'elle; tout le mal vient de là.' Englishmen are disgusted at his constant assertions of the grandeur of his aims or the prominence which he gives to everything that touches himself; they cannot pardon the inordinate egotism of such phrases as 'Il est temps que je désemplisse le monde,' or the self-esteem of his apostrophe to himself in the 'Ode à l'Olympio'—

'Toi dont le front sublime accoutumait à l'ombre
Les fronts inférieurs.'

Still more intolerable is the self-worship which prompts him to threaten God Himself with his vengeance. But it must be remembered that, while yet a boy, he was hailed by Chateaubriand as 'l'enfant sublime;' that before he was twenty-five he was saluted by the literary men of his day as 'notre roi Victor;' that for years he was accustomed to be spoken of as 'the Master;' that for more than half a century he lived in an atmosphere of incense among theatrical surroundings, which inflated his natural vanity and swelled the mystic grandiloquence of his apocalyptic utterances. In the first portion of his political career he had passed from the religious conservatism of the Bourbons through the constitutional liberalism of the Orleanists to republicanism. He, as well as his fellow countrymen, forgot how much personal motives had in each case accelerated the change. After the *coup d'état* he parted from the bulk of the nation

to make common cause with democracy. His previsions of Napoleon proved more keen than the common sense of the nation: the vituperative violence of 'Les Châtiments' was justified by events. The halo of exile had long lingered round his name; his new character of prophet added to its lustre. When he returned to Paris in 1870 he was hailed as the incarnation of those democratic principles of which he had been the chief confessor. To himself and to the nation his life seemed to bear a symbolic import. The Tyrtæus of the war, he set to music every passion which swelled or tortured the heart of France. In glorification of Hugo his countrymen gratified their instinct for display. Many revered him as a national monument, the representative of the literary glory of France; advanced theorists worshipped him as the apostle of humanity who had bequeathed to the world a Gospel of progress which would lead to the triumph of revolutionary principles; the Parisians idolised him partly because his pride in their city was boundless, partly because his melodious but incoherent rhapsodies on fraternity appealed to the sentiment which the cynical workman enshrines in the place of religion. Not only was he canonised in his lifetime, but after his death writers and orators from M. Floquet to M. Renan vied in his deification. His obsequies rather resembled an apotheosis than a funeral. But, in our opinion, the honours were paid more to the man than the writer; his personality, not his literary merit, gave him his extraordinary influence over his contemporaries. His faults are so enormous and so conspicuous that, when the present generation has passed away, the number of his blind worshippers will become, we venture to think, comparatively small.

Hugo was an indefatigable and versatile writer. The stupendous quantity of work which he produced during his long literary career is hardly less embarrassing in variety than in amount. A tyro in politics, his theories on government or society are too unpractical to be taken seriously; his democratic opinions flew to his head; his republican illusions were embraced more fervently as his disenchantment became more complete; his vague socialism and credulous humanitarianism were the outcome of tender-heartedness rather than of the intellect. As a critic or an historian his authority will be accepted by few. If, as one of his warmest eulogists has stated, his God was the abyss of the Gnostics, whom he silently but tremblingly adored, his theology scarcely repays close attention. But there still remains a voluminous

mass which it would be impossible in the limits of an article to criticise in detail.

It is on his plays, his novels, and his poems that Hugo's fame must finally depend, and it is under these three heads that we propose to offer a few remarks on the character of his genius.

The Old French drama sprang from an obsolete state of society, to which the tragi-comedy of the nineteenth century was wholly inappropriate. Even its masterpieces reflected the refinement, the listlessness, the gallantry of a court; it could not become an impressive instrument to instruct or arouse the national mind. In the hands of the pseudo-classics Corneille's marble became a plaster cast. System had starved invention; dramatists copied copies or reproduced types which Greece or Rome had created. Elegant, lifeless, cold, the classic drama was without animation or action; in frigid commonplaces it analysed instead of depicting passion. Academic fastidiousness required an extreme politeness of language, which could only be maintained by elaborate periphrases; words were proscribed which were inconsistent with conventional propriety. The question in 'Hernani' of Don Carlos, 'Quelle heure est-il?' and the answer of Don Ricardo, 'Minuit,' were greeted with shouts of derisive laughter. Dramatic diction was stiff, formal, pompous, a written language different from the speech of ordinary life. No infringement of the unities was tolerated, no latitude of action, no intermixture of comedy. Stage personages had their characteristics as clearly defined as the pieces on a chess-board; if they admitted of some combination and transformation among themselves, their movements were fixed by invariable rules. The classic drama made no attempt to paint men as they are, but raised them to a tragic dignity. Harmony with antiquity was preserved by glaring anachronisms, which abandoned all the advantages of local colouring. Hugo truly said of the cramped, enfeebled, timorous drama, 'La cage des unités ne renferme qu'un squelette.'

The new school took a wider grasp of time and presented a broader picture of life. It embraced human nature, not merely the higher classes of society; it filled its space with carefully studied individuals; it consulted historical propriety, the accessories of local colour, and appropriate costumes. While the classic school shuddered at the sight of a chronicle the romantics ransacked mediæval records. They substituted action for narrative, passion for declama-

tion; they employed a language easy, unfettered, familiar; to impart probability to the plot and smooth abruptnesses they associated subordinate action with the principal events. Not content with imitation, they invented and created. They studied individual characters and local colour, not general truth or universal types. They mingled comedy and tragedy, the horrible with the ludicrous. In the name of nature they protested against the slavery of the stage. While the classics adhered to the elegant regularity of Racine the romanticists imitated the livelier independence of Shakespeare. The former school—by the assertion of a Papal infallibility in its models, the defence of antiquated errors, the perpetration of needless formalities—brought its system into contempt; the latter, professing its scorn for authority, sacrificed the decencies of their predecessors and ran into extravagant license.

Victor Hugo headed the *émeute* against the *ancien régime* of the stage. The preface to 'Cromwell' protests against classic restraint, pleads in favour of liberty. The mission of the dramatist he considers to be the representation of nature. Natural truth could not, he insisted, be attained without the introduction of the grotesque element, which classic tragedy proscribed. Without it there existed only types of beauty or deformity, abstractions of vice or virtue. The rigorous separation of tragic and comic elements necessarily entailed the sacrifice of reality. As the characteristics of the modern drama he demands the union of the sublime and ridiculous as they are mingled in real life; the preservation of local colouring, not by a few bright patches, but by the general atmosphere; a verse, not fettered in its movements, or prudish in its expressions, but Protean in the forms it can assume, passing naturally from grave to gay; a prosody in which the monotony of the alexandrine is interrupted by a varied cæsura, and the couplets broken by the interlacing of the lines; the use of strong rich rhymes, made by words which contribute to the sense, and not consisting in a feeble repetition of similar sounds produced by otiose adjectives; finally, a language not fixed, but ready to accept new words, for from the day when, at the bidding of 'nos Josués littéraires,' language stands still, it commences to decay. Of these principles 'Cromwell' is an exaggerated illustration; but the theory surpasses the execution. It was commenced for Talma, who complained, 'I wish to act Shakespeare and they give me Ducis.' The great tragedian died before its completion, and Hugo abandoned the idea of its

presentation on the stage. It is a hybrid composition, three times the length of an ordinary play, neither historical drama nor historical novel, but dramatised history.

Hugo's acted plays are, in the order of their representation, '*Hernani*,' '*Marion de Lorme*,' '*Le Roi s'amuse*,' '*Lucrèce Borgia*,' '*Marie Tudor*,' '*Angelo*,' '*Les Burgraves*.' In his later life he published '*Gallus*,' a piece of exquisite workmanship, which forms the dramatic portion of '*Les Quatre Vents de l'Esprit*,' and '*Torquemada*,' a powerful play which holds its own with those of the second rank.

The preface to '*Cromwell*' became the manifesto of the Romantic school. It was in vain that the Academy and the veterans of literature denounced the younger generation as Vandals. Not only were Scott and Byron extensively read, but new beauties were discovered in Shakespeare when, as Eugène Delacroix wrote to Hugo, '*Hamlet lève sa tête 'hideuse' on the Parisian stage*.' Hitherto Shakespeare was unknown except in the travesties of Ducis; now, acted in their unadulterated form by an English company, an extraordinary excitement was aroused by the tragedies of the '*sauvage ivre*.' The death of Talma and the retirement of Duchesnois deprived the classic stage of its great tragedians. In the place of the heroic appeared the historical drama. Dumas led the way with '*Henri III*.' Hugo followed in June 1829 with '*Marion de Lorme*,' which was originally entitled '*Un Duel sous Richelieu*.' But the Government prohibited its representation on the ground that it tended to degrade the monarchy.

'*Marion de Lorme*' was ultimately played in August 1831. Between its prohibition and representation '*Hernani*' was produced at the Théâtre Français in February 1830. The story of its struggle and its triumph, of Made-moiselle Mars and '*mon lion*,' of Hugo's distrust of the hired '*claque*,' of the red cards inscribed with the word '*Hierro*,' has been often told. Théophile Gautier, with his hair worn long in the style of Albert Dürer, his pearl-grey trousers decorated with a broad velvet stripe, and his scarlet waist-coat, led the bearded barbarians who assembled, burning to combat '*l'hydre du perruquinisme*.' No better type in real life could be presented of the jostling, picturesque, grotesquely-dressed throng of mediæval figures before whom fled '*the pale swarm of Electras and Iphigenias*' and the Daniel Jovards of the classic school, '*voltairiens, prêtres-phobes, esprits forts*.' But the combat was not concluded on the first night. Before the play was withdrawn every

line was hissed. 'The two best hated men in France,' said a newspaper editor to Hugo, 'are M. de Polignac and your-self.'

In 'Hernani' Hugo breathes his native air of Spain. The language and versification are nervous, pliant, poetical; the expression terse and vigorous; the local colouring, which is spread over the actors and the still life of the play, is harmonious; the interest of the conclusion, though the situation is exaggerated, is undoubtedly striking. But the dramatist has thrown all his strength into the situation; the characters are forced and unnatural. The Charles V. of history is not the Charles V. of 'Hernani.' Grave, cold, and sombre though he ultimately became, he may have been at nineteen the reckless adventurer of the first three acts. But there are no gradations in the steps by which 'à la place du cœur il n'y a qu'un écusson.' No adequate motive is even suggested for the abrupt transformation of the romantic lover into the cautious politician. From the first Charles has felt the spur of ambition and luxuriated in visions of empire. No new motive supervenes to explain his resignation of Dona Sol to his rival. The transformation is one of those sudden wrenches in which sensational writers delight. With similar inconsistency Charles abandons his vindictive feeling towards Hernani; but the change might have been prefaced by some incident more calculated to awaken generosity than the discovery of a dagger in the hand of his would-be assassin. Even the fine speech over the tomb of Charlemagne is marred by the intrusion of an entirely modern sentiment respecting the sovereignty of the people. One fault of Hugo's later plays is spared the reader. Charles V. triumphs over the outlaw Hernani; the dramatist is not yet so far the victim of his political dreams as to use the opportunity of blackening the highest classes in the social hierarchy. Nor are the characters of Hernani and Ruy Gomez less contradictory. The long-hoarded desire of vengeance drops from Hernani like a worn-out mantle at the theatrical clemency of the king; with equal abruptness the lively, talkative, generous Gomez passes into a sullen, cold blooded fiend.

'Marion de Lorme' was produced more than twelve months after the Revolution of 1830. The circumstances under which its representation had been delayed were well known and were sufficient to ensure its success. It is greatly to Hugo's credit that he postponed its production for a year rather than win a cheap triumph over the exiled

King. In spite of the weakness of the characters, the play is extremely effective, full of striking situations, and, in our opinion, stands next to 'Ruy Blas' among Hugo's dramatic compositions.

The title of 'Le Roi s'amuse' excited the liveliest curiosity. At the end of 1832 the popularity of the Citizen King was waning. Was Hugo returning to his Royalist and Vendean illusions with a satire on Louis Philippe? After one representation the piece was prohibited. Half a century elapsed before the play was again acted in Paris. No more effective scene of the horrible kind has ever been conceived than that where the maddened jester discovers his victim to be his wronged daughter, Bertha. There are other forcible and striking passages. Highly pathetic is the transition in Triboulet's appeal from fierce indignation to the pleadings of entreaty. But the pathos is marred by the inhuman character of the jester. The dramatic power is squandered on an unprofitable subject; the whole tone of the play is needlessly horrible, and the hoarse, despairing shriek of the climax is beyond endurance.

'Lucrèce Borgia' was acted with the most brilliant success at the Porte Saint-Martin in February 1833. The Lucrèce of Hugo is a human tigress in whom are concentrated all the vices of Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia, a monster of depravity whose only natural feeling is maternal love. The subject is revolting, its details gratuitously improbable, the character of Lucrèce unnecessarily repulsive. Yet it is impossible not to recognise the dramatic power with which Lucrèce is prevented from divulging to Gennaro the secret of his birth; every step she takes makes it more difficult; every move in the play draws the dramatic knot more closely round her. 'Marie Tudor' was also acted at the Porte Saint-Martin in November 1833. It deservedly failed. The plot transforms Mary Tudor into a Messalina, outrages historical truth, and only secures coherence by the most improbable devices. 'Angelo' succeeded better at the Théâtre Français, with Madame Dorval as Catarina and Mademoiselle Mars as Tisbe. These three plays are all in prose.

At the suggestion of the Duc d'Orléans the Romantic school obtained a theatre. 'Avec le Théâtre Français voué aux morts,' said the Duke, 'et la Porte Saint-Martin vouée aux bêtes, l'art moderne est sur le pavé.' The Théâtre Ventadour was turned into the Théâtre de la Renaissance, and there 'Ruy Blas' was played in 1838. 'Ruy Blas' is

the most skilfully constructed, the most originally conceived, and the most truly dramatic of Hugo's plays. In Europe during the seventeenth century, and especially in Spain, there is nothing impossible in the love of the valet for the Queen. Our pity is genuinely aroused for Marie de Neubourg, immured in the cloister of a court. Her love of the tragic Figaro is not unnatural, and it is bestowed on no unworthy object. But the striking feature of the play is the skill with which comedy relieves the intensity of the tragedy. Don César de Bazan is the only dramatic character that Hugo can be said to have created. By the side of the cold-blooded demon, Don Salluste, this king of Bohemian beggars is placed in effective contrast. The ragged Mercutio, whose careless gaiety interrupts the tragic gravity of the play, is a fresh and original being, whose creation is a legitimate triumph of Romantic principles.

'Les Burgraves,' the last of Hugo's acted plays, was produced in 1843. The times were unfavourable for its production. A classic reaction had commenced against the excesses of the Romantic school; Ponsard's 'Lucrèce' was the success of the day; in Rachel Corneille and Racine once more found an interpreter. As an acting play 'Les Burgraves' failed. Till the third part there is hardly any dialogue; the action is continually suspended by the lyric monologues in which the plot is developed. Each of the principal actors delivers a speech of inordinate length. So involved is the construction of the play that its coherence is only secured by a series of miraculous coincidences. In other respects 'Les Burgraves' is a remarkable composition. Hugo in 1842 had published letters describing his visit to the Rhine. Full of the contrast there presented between the mediæval and the modern world, he wrote 'Les Burgraves.' Some of the descriptions have all the fire of ballads, and it almost seems as if Hugo's original intention was to utilise his materials in this form of poetry. The granitic, patriarchal figure of Job, round which concentrates the interest of the play, is strikingly conceived; but his crime mars the picture. Manfred, driven by a sense of guilt to premature death, is more impressive than Job, who lives a life of remorse to the age of a hundred.

As a play writer Hugo undoubtedly displays command of a wide range of abilities, but the pictorial overpowers the dramatic faculty. He is rather a great creator of scenes than a great dramatist. He cannot be called an immoral writer; he is always in earnest, and urges his convictions;

his strong, coarse-flavoured writing is infinitely more wholesome than the sickly prurience of his successors. His instinctive perception of all that is stirring in human life enables him to create scenic effects of extraordinary power and to crowd his plot with incident. If his situations be granted they are handled with a force and a vigour which has been rarely rivalled. His powers of versification are happily displayed both in rhyme and rhythm; his sway over language enables him to stud his plays with epigram, as well as to produce eloquent passages like the speech of Charles V. over the tomb of Charlemagne; his archæological industry supplied him with all the accessories of appropriate surroundings. The threads of the plots are firmly held, and the climax is reached through a rapid series of developments. Qualities like these raise his compositions above those of the ordinary playwright. But though his plays are brimful of action, movement, and sensation, the portraiture of character is superficial or theoretical; the situations, though forcible, are startling rather than impressive; probability is disregarded wholesale. His plays are devoid of wit; they contain few touches of irony or humour, stand little on merits of expression, and are barren of profound or elevating thoughts.

If his characters are historical, he is prone, as in the case of Mary Tudor or Charles V., to violate truth; if fictitious, he is dominated by false theories. Mix up, he says, some physical or moral deformity with a pure sentiment, and the deformity becomes touching or lovely. Implant virtuous love in the breast of a Marion de Lorme, inspire a Lucrèce Borgia with a mother's love, make a Triboulet feel as a father, and nothing hideous or repulsive remains. If two opposite natures are skilfully blended this may be true; but, with that contempt for probability that is bred by theories, the moral deformity is thrown into a sharp, unmodified relief, which no shade or neutral tones are permitted to soften. No distinction is made between that which shocks the eye and that which outrages the mind, between moral and physical hideousness. Apart from this apparent confusion, it is not by a moral sentiment, but by an instinct which belongs to beasts, that he seeks to elevate Lucrèce and Triboulet. Pity for either is impossible. On the other hand, Marion de Lorme is touching because the feeling by which Hugo strives to raise her is moral and not animal. If Hugo's object is to show the redeeming virtues of maternal or paternal instincts, or to trace the

dawn of a higher character, then he altogether fails. Lucrèce plans the death of her son's friends, Triboulet plots to gratify his vengeance without a trace of those moral resolutions with which they should be inspired by their love. But Marion is elevated and refined; the value of her sacrifice for Didier is measured by the effort which it costs her to extinguish the spark of virtue. Again, these embodied antitheses of vice and virtue are either impossible or exceptional. But dramatic passion, to be true to nature, must be general. An audience is affected only by what is common to humanity. Hugo selects psychological curiosities, gives to exceptions the importance of rules, seizes on a detail and makes of it a character. Such exceptional creations may be striking; they are not moving, they remain inhuman. In proportion as they deviate from nature they become monotonous, mere mouthpieces of the poet's sentiments. The dramatist has no standard by which to measure the phenomenal; hence such exceptional beings are always exaggerated. Individuality is lost in the strength of the typical outline. Passion, whether it be Guanhamara's thirst for vengeance, or the pride of Gomez de Silva, or the fanatical gallantry of Don Guritan, becomes superhuman; Gomez is not pride personified, but pride idealised.

It is this deficiency of human interest which forces Hugo to rely wholly on the situation. From the old tragic expedients of terror or pity he is excluded by the nature of his characters; he is driven to rely on the 'imbroglio,' which is properly a trick of farce. And here his wealth of invention is often only an abuse of credit. Everything happens that is most unexpected and most convenient to the exigencies of the plot, till every other feeling evaporates except curiosity as to the climax. Hugo twists and tortures events to his purpose by main force. Probability was a canon of the classic school which he altogether despises. Nothing can be more improbable than the steps by which the *dénouement* is reached in 'Lucrèce Borgia' or 'Les Burgraves.' Prolific of invention he undoubtedly is; but fertility in surprises is not the sign of dramatic genius. The creation and delineation of characters, or the development of a natural coherent plot, are worth more than a series of *coups de théâtre*. Such repetitions of the wonderful are wearisome. His plays are always melodramatic, because their appeal is not to the intellect but to the senses; they startle without affecting the audience; instead of stimulating thought they produce physical sensations; the characters are

inhuman, the situations feverish ; Hugo's true rival was not Shakespeare, but Van Amburgh and his lions.

Hugo flatters the taste of his audience by stimulating their jaded appetites. All his plays are sombre in colouring, heavily charged with storm clouds. In the first scenes is heard the ominous mutter of the yet distant thunder ; as the play progresses the roll approaches with lightning rapidity, trebling and quadrupling in volume as it advances ; in the last scene it bursts overhead with the concentrated crash of the climax. His imagination, which in lyric verse is uniformly bright, sees nothing but dramatic nightmares. He and his school professed to do for France the work of Shakespeare and of Scott. But his political prejudices determined the spirit in which he approaches his subject. Shakespeare had no views of society or politics to enforce or assail. His mental neutrality enabled him to see in the gloomiest scenes some gleam of humanity. Hugo's conviction of the progressive development of humanity was best justified by insistence on the magnitude of mediæval crime. He looks upon the past through the distorted medium of deepening prejudices ; under fictitious representations of former days he insinuates his own social theories. Scott spreads over his pictures of the past a brilliant glow, passes lightly over misery and crime. But Hugo's democratic theories forbade him to see anything in feudalism but royal tyranny, aristocratic oppression, and priestly treachery. Hence, both as an optimist and as a democrat, Hugo's dramatic gallery is uniformly gloomy : it leaves an impression of unmingled atrocity. He regards history and historical characters from one side only, and that the meanest and most despicable. There is an entire lack of spirit-stirring notes. Even the gaiety is sinister. Gubetta is Satanical ; the bacchic song of the Burgraves is false to the mediæval spirit and breathes the cynical tone of the nineteenth century. His passion for popularity leads him systematically to degrade the higher classes and flatter the mob. It cannot be an accident that he treats the severely chaste Queen of England as a courtesan, and elevates the vices of a Marion or a Tisbe into virtues ; that a Queen of Spain loves a lackey and a Ruy Blas rebukes the proudest aristocracy of Europe ; that courage and honour are found not in armour but in livery, not in high-born nobles but in bastard foundlings ; that the amusements of a king are represented as the anguish of his subjects ; that the mediæval Church is impersonated in a ' Lucrèce Borgia.'

It was in the name of truth and nature that the romantic school had triumphed. But when his characters are imaginary Hugo is false to nature; when historical, false to truth. He despises the logic of facts no less than the consistency of character; he does not scruple to break the chain of events or interrupt the natural sequence of circumstances. The leader of the Romantic school departs further from reality than the classic dramatists whom he endeavoured to overthrow.

French literature from 1830 onwards presents no more striking feature than the exuberant growth of works of fiction. Novelists may be counted by scores and their works by hundreds. The rapid increase of a reading public created a demand for this class of literature; the romantic movement indirectly produced the supply and dictated its form. Men of talent were diverted from the drama to the novel by the uncertain issue of the contest raging on the stage. Novels gave the freest scope for minute reproduction of nature in the past or in the present, offered the most dramatic form under which to discuss political questions, ventilate utopias, or assail the social hierarchy. Balzac and George Sand represent the two main directions in which romanticism diverged; the one a patient observer and exact painter of things as they are, whose pessimism is relieved by instinctive admiration for greatness in vice or virtue; the other a dreamer of dreams, an eloquent declaimer against social realities, whose novels contain a strange union of poetry, elevation, and wild morality.

Hugo's first three novels belong to that chaotic period before literary tendencies had taken any definite direction. In his fourth, '*Notre-Dame de Paris*,' he attempts to present, without any ethical purpose, such a picture of mediæval Paris as Balzac painted of the modern city. In his later novels he carries to its extreme development the side of the romantic movement which in its earlier stages George Sand had represented.

'*Han d'Islande*' and '*Bug Jargal*' bear traces not only of early youth, but of a disordered state of literature. Both novels are sensational, remarkable for the spirit of the descriptive passages as well as for the force with which the more striking episodes are depicted. '*Han d'Islande*' was published in 1823. It is allegorical. Ethel is Adèle Foucher; Ordener a young man '*non tel que je suis, mais tel que je voudrais être*;' Han d'Islande the obstacle which, when he commenced the novel, prevented his marriage. '*Bug Jargal*,'

composed for a wager in 1818, was rewritten and published in 1826. It purports to be an extract from a work called 'Contes sous la Tente,' which, like 'Quinquengrogne' and 'Les Fils du Bossu,' was promised but never appeared. 'Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné,' published in 1829, is the waking dream of a poet who chooses to fancy himself condemned to death. It is the first of that long series of attacks on capital punishment which at least attest Hugo's tender-heartedness. All three novels promise the merits and the defects of his later style. They contain the same strange antitheses and combinations of virtues and vices, of moral and physical deformities, the same love of the horrible, the same strain upon the imagination, the same contempt for probability. But with these faults are combined poetic imagination, command of language, instinct for scenic effects or description, and a power of mental analysis which foreshadows such triumphs as the 'Tempête sous un Crâne' or 'Gauvain pensif.'

'Notre-Dame de Paris,' published in 1831, strikes a higher note. It was written under peculiar disadvantages, for Hugo's notes and MS. were destroyed during the revolution of 1830. Pope, in later life, persuaded himself that his epistles were part of a complete philosophical system. Wordsworth compared his poetry to a Gothic cathedral leading up through its various portions to the Holy of Holies. Similarly Hugo, thirty years after the publication of 'Notre-Dame,' linked it to his prose epic of Humanity as the first part of the trilogy which it formed with 'Les Misérables' and 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer.' In this scheme it represents religion, the first of the three Anankés, to use Hugo's word, with which man is condemned to struggle. The formation of such a scheme is foreign to all we know of Hugo's mind in 1830. The novel is not absolutely inconsistent with such a preconceived plan, but the conscious purpose is not obvious. It is probable that the first portion of the so-called trilogy was completed before the central idea which was to permeate the whole was formed in the mind of the author. The inclusion of 'Notre-Dame' in the subsequent plan is an afterthought aroused by the desire of symmetry.

Criticised by ordinary canons, 'Notre-Dame' is the finest of Hugo's novels. In its extreme elaboration of detail it displays a wide and curious learning. But the antiquarian lore is well digested. The fiery breath of Hugo's imagination calls the dry bones of history to life. He has made the

past a vivid reality to himself. He has rebuilt old Paris with its palaces, its dungeons, its torture chamber, its forest of towers, pinnacles, and belfries. He has repeopled it with personages who are not his own contemporaries masquerading in mediæval attire; he has overcome that barrier between the mind of his own age and that which he portrays; he has accomplished that feat of intellectual expatriation so essential to the historical novelist. The language aids the illusion; it is full of words swept together from mediæval glossaries, which give local colour and lend an archaic tone. His representation of the populace which swarms in the narrow, winding thoroughfares is almost Shakespearian in its power. Over the whole scene broods the cathedral, a spectator of all the events, almost an actor in the mediæval history. Hugo presents a powerful but a lurid picture of fifteenth-century Paris; patches of light relieve the gloomy background, here revealing the shadows that lurk in its depths, there throwing into prominence the misery and crime that fringed the borders of its glittering society. But except Quasimodo the fictitious characters are types. The deaf, one-eyed, humpbacked bell-ringer is the one original creation. He alone has a soul, which love can elevate and refine; this hideous Caliban, 'qui n'était guère qu'un à 'peu près,' is ennobled by his passion for a new Miranda and becomes a 'delicate monster.'

Hugo's later novels require to be judged by a new standard of criticism. To this class belong 'Les Misérables,' 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer,' 'L'Homme qui rit,' and 'Quatre-vingt-treize,' which appeared respectively in 1862, 1866, 1869, and 1874. His conception of a novel 'à la fois drame et épopée, pittoresque mais poétique, réel mais idéal, vrai mais grand, qui enchâssera Walter Scott dans Homère,' differs widely from older models. In old romances the human will is everything, nature nothing; the characters are creatures of events which they themselves control rather than of circumstances by which they are constrained; the actors are individuals isolated from all those surroundings of birth, education, prejudice, by which in real life they are so powerfully affected. Hugo endeavours to occupy a wider field, to be more true to reality. He insists on the smallness of the personal element in life, the powerlessness of the human will in the face of inanimate forces, such as superstition, society, or nature; dogmas, codes, and things; religion, prejudice, or the elements. He personifies these forces, gives them feelings, souls, and passions, throws over them something of

that horror with which we invest the supernatural. Man is not supreme, but a powerless unit in a crowd. Hugo's theme is the predestined fate of human existence, the struggle between man and destiny; he insists upon the compulsion of circumstances, the tragic force that overrides the human will. 'A triple fatality—dogma, law, and nature—oppresses 'man,' and on each Hugo has written his commentary. In his so-called trilogy 'Notre-Dame' displays the force of superstition, 'Les Misérables' the pressure of conventional standards, 'Les Travailleurs' the power of elemental nature. So again in 'L'Homme qui rit,' he enlarges on the resistless tyranny of social laws; in 'Quatre-vingt-treize' the monster with which man vainly struggles is that Frankenstein of his own creation, the power which he has unloosed and cannot bind, the French Revolution. Thus life presents itself to Hugo as a struggle with a fate inexorable and remorseless, a power inert, unreasonable, destructive. Man is surrounded by bands of mysterious forces, who wage with him unending warfare. Love ceases to be a motive power. It contributes an episode to 'Les Misérables;' it plays a subordinate part in 'Les Travailleurs;' it hardly appears at all in 'Quatre-vingt-treize.' His novels aim at new effects, are woven from material which was previously disregarded. Religion, society, nature, revolution are personified; they throw their vast shadows over everything; they become living forces, irresponsible principles, principal actors in the narrative. Hugo's view of life is so comprehensive, his subject so complex, his treatment so panoramic, that he requires a colossal canvas. His conception naturally leads him not only to subordinate the human element, but to treat his novels as a succession of episodes which bear more or less directly upon his proposition, a series of illustrations often apparently disconnected from the main purpose. Whether Hugo's view of life is true or false in fact, there can, we think, be little doubt that the attempt to express it in a novel is false in art. His theory of novel-writing is to include in a picture everything which he sees; he attempts an impossibility and necessarily fails. Yet, in applying to his novels the conventional rules of criticism, his different standpoint should never be forgotten.

'Les Misérables' is a novel with a purpose. Except in the latter portion it bears little resemblance to ordinary romances. The story opens with the exquisite picture of the Bishop of D. The original of the portrait is said to have been Mgr. Miollis, Bishop of Digne, in Provence. His saintly life

and character are painted with Meissonier-like minuteness of detail, in order to prepare for the act of devotion which proves the turning point in the career of Jean Valjean. Jean Valjean has been an innocent son of toil; he is now a brutalised galley slave. The Bishop's charity saves him from moral death, stirs his dim and frozen mind, arouses his conscience, makes him hate his past, and gives him hope for the future. At each supreme crisis in his subsequent career he hears the Bishop's parting words, 'Jean Valjean, mon frère, vous n'appartenez plus au mal, mais au bien. C'est votre âme que je vous achète.' He is reclaimed from vice to virtue. Yet, in spite of a life of the purest self-denial, he cannot right himself with the world; society watches at every turn to arrest his advance; his perseverance in well-doing only prepares for him fresh refinements of cruelty. The first great trial in his upward career comes with the opportunity to conceal for ever his former life. With singular force and rare power of mental analysis, Hugo describes Jean Valjean swayed from side to side by the tempest of his emotions, now bending before its fury, now defying its fiercest blasts. As he oscillates between duty and self-preservation, his useful career, and above all the recollection of Fantine, a victim, like himself, of social laws, plead strongly against the self-sacrifice which dooms him again to the ignominy of the galleys. The internal tumult is effectively contrasted with the calm of the sleeping outer world, the pettiness of the trifles which intrude upon his mind with the magnitude of the consequences involved in his decision. In intensity of interest few passages of fiction can rival 'Une Tempête sous un Crâne' and 'Les Bâtons dans les Roues.'

Hugo's analytic power is extraordinarily great. He can analyse mental phases with the subtlest skill; but he fails to draw men and women with the completeness of real life. He seizes upon a condition of the mind with the same vigour with which he treats a situation. But his men and women are types of classes, not individuals; they want the flesh and blood, the roundness of outline of real life. They are too logical to be natural, too consistent to be true. Jean Valjean is artificial; he is created for a purpose which is throughout apparent; his virtues are overdone. In painting him Hugo was naturally tempted to exaggerate. As Valjean is the symbol of self-reform, so the other characters embody abstract ideas. Javert is the type of fidelity to duty; Bishop Myriel personifies charity; Marius represents youth; Cosette,

like Esmeralda, is the incarnation of girlhood. The *gamin* Gavroche is the only original and really successful creation.

The novel bristles with nonsense and unnecessary horrors; it parades the crudest notions as the foundations of law and order; it recognises no canon of literary propriety. The plot has little cohesion; it is flimsy, improbable, overladen with collateral and irrelevant details. Its sequence is continually interrupted to ventilate social and political quackeries, in which moral truth is sacrificed to prejudice. Its interest languishes under interminable digressions on convents, Waterloo, or the sewage of large towns. The incidents are improbable, far-fetched, and tortured to suit the exigencies of the plot. Yet the force and volume of the work taken as a whole is such that it remains, in spite of these defects, an impressive and striking production. It abounds in masterly delineations of various phases of the human soul, ranging from such storms of passion as the agony of Valjean to the dreamy spell which the dawn of love exercises on the youthful mind of Marius. If Hugo fails, as fail he does, to draw men and women of ordinary life, if the book contains no superhuman creation like Quasimodo to evoke his Titanic strength, he brings to bear on children all the graces of his style and all the tenderness of his nature. The pictures of the children of the Thénardiens, Cosette, and Gavroche and his little brothers, in the bronze elephant, suffer only by comparison with Georgette in 'Quatre-vingt-treize.' 'Les Misérables' contains scenes of Dantesque grandeur, conspicuous proofs of Hugo's pictorial power, passages which breathe the loftiest sentiments, pages of exquisite pathos. His potent imagination triumphs over situations which are not only improbable but farcical. Though his manner is often pre-Raphaelite in its excessive realism, he yet throws a concentrated force into single words, and gives those unlaboured touches which burn his descriptions on the memory.

'Les Travailleurs de la Mer' is a prose poem on the sea, which is designed to illustrate the power of elemental nature. The plot is skilfully devised to display in prodigal profusion Hugo's descriptive powers. Nature is to him no goddess to be sensuously worshipped, no pure spirit to be austere reverenced, but a cruel power with which man wrestles in eternal conflict. The merciless sea is the principal figure among the group of inanimate actors. The terrors of the outer world, unlike the so-called injustices of society, are essentially the province of a poet. Hugo is entirely free to paint

Nature and her inexorable forces, which man may resist but cannot hope to mollify. He lavishes on his theme an imagination, a poetic enthusiasm, and an almost rhythmic swell of eloquence, which he has never surpassed. On the other hand all the faults of '*Les Misérables*' are present to mar his work. There are the same tedious digressions, the same incoherent rhapsodies, the same exaggerated minuteness of local colouring, the same sacrifice of truth to effect. The plot is encumbered with disjointed essays and interrupted with wearisome digressions and pages of rhodomontade.

The one view which Hugo has kept steadily before him is the absorption of the interest not in the actors, but in the action, the subordination of the human element to what are generally considered the accessories. Deruchette is a beautiful, shallow, volatile girl, with no more character than Cosette or Esmeralda. Gilliatt is a solitary being; of his inner feelings nothing is revealed; his passion for Deruchette is mute. So entirely is the interest concentrated on external nature that the conclusion of the book becomes weakly sentimental. But this fault is compensated by the tremendous effect of the central picture. Gilliatt, the naked gladiator who sits alone on his solitary reef, surrounded by a seemingly boundless ocean, with the sea birds circling wonderingly round his head, is thrown by his isolation into the barest possible relief. We know little of the nature of his love, and care little for its object. Nothing distracts attention from the coming conflict. The allied forces of Nature, with whom he is about to engage, are personified, receive souls, feelings, passions; they become a living army. The mists, the clouds, the rain, the spray hide the human incidents; the indistinct murmur of the gathering hosts, the tramp of the legions of the winds, the rush of the swirling waves, the roll and crash of the thunder, silence the loves and aspirations of the human actor. Year after year, as an exile on the shore, Hugo watched the sea, its races, reefs, and rocks, till he made its every mood his own; he let his imagination dive into its secret caverns, build up its mysterious crypts, people its depths with monstrous inmates. In his bitter mood he finds in the sea, as he found in society, nothing but sternness. It is the highest representative of that relentless force of nature which is man's implacable foe. The '*pieuvre*,' like the creature found on Prospero's island, is a '*strange fish*;' but no one can question the extraordinary power with which it is described. Its struggle

with Gilliatt is a parable of the central idea of Hugo's novels. It epitomises the conflict which man wages against fatality. The true horror of the situation consists in the contrast between the two opponents, the combat of human will and intelligence with a cold, bloodless, unfeeling beast, whose ferocious instinct of destruction can in no way be modified or subdued.

'L'Homme qui rit' attacks aristocracies in the name of universal equality. It is a book which only Sir Thomas Urquhart could have translated into English. The loss is small. The unprincipled craving for effect shows itself in a mass of artistic and historical blunders and, for the first and only time in Hugo's novels, in a passage of voluptuous pruriency. Yet it is impossible not to recognise the skill with which the novel is adapted to its social purpose. Gwynplaine's hideous mask illustrates Hugo's moral by a living example of the cold-blooded cruelty with which man, for selfish ends, brands his fellow creatures, usurps their birthright, tampers with nature's laws, and disfigures the divine image. Dea, the blind girl, is Gwynplaine's purer self, his better angel. To her—for she is blind—the monstrous butt of the crowd is the model of manly perfection. Her love is the only strain of tenderness which relieves the density of the atmosphere. Her picture, painted with a few seemingly careless touches, is the most natural and attractive he has presented of womanhood. But neither this original portrait, nor the exquisite passage in which her death is described, nor the power of many of the scenes, nor the occasional eloquence and sparkle of the language can redeem the faults with which, in addition to Hugo's ordinary defects, 'L'Homme qui rit' is overburdened.

'Quatre-vingt-treize' shows no such misuse of his powers as that exhibited in its predecessor. The war of 1870 and the Jacobin outbreak of 1871 directed his mind back to the Revolution of '93, in which he finds an appropriate theme. He adopts the fatalist view of the revolutionary drama. To him, as to Thiers, it is no popular outburst, but its course has been decided in the councils of the 'Unknown.' Like Burke, he clothed the movement with supernatural awe and might; he sees in it an inexorable, appalling power, destroying all who crossed its path, whether friends or foes. On all the actors of the story presses the heavy hand of fate; over all the scenes broods the vast shadow of this personified, irresponsible agent of an unalterable decree. The struggle of the gunner with the gun on board the

'Claymore' is, like the conflict between Gilliatt and the pulp, an abridgement of the central idea of the book—the conflict between the human will and blind force, between man and the Revolution.

The striking background of his picture of the Revolution is formed by the silent, mysterious, interminable forests of La Vendée, in which was waged the 'guerre de géants.' In the foreground stand three ideal figures, types under which Hugo realises '93. But the real interest of the story centres in the three children René Jean, Gros Alain, and Georgette. Transported into the child world, Hugo is always natural, charming, impressive, and never maudlin in his sentiment. The contrast within and without the castle of La Tourge—without the fierce tumult and the glare of the burning tower, within the babble of unconscious children absorbed in their discoveries and their serious triflings—is as daringly conceived as it is skilfully executed. The little figure of Georgette, sketched as firmly, in lines as clear and definite, as a Quasimodo, is one of the highest triumphs of his art.

The eccentricities of Hugo's volcanic genius have given to his novels a wildness of outline which fascinates by its irregularity. To them may be applied his description of the Convention—'rien de plus difforme et de plus sublime.' At the first glance the deformities appear overpowering. The incidents of his stories do not follow naturally; they are far-fetched, improbable, even impossible. Nothing deters Hugo from an effect. Episodes which are so remote as to be wholly irrelevant are introduced; patches are inserted whose purple splendour does not hide the coarseness of the stitches. His plots are crowded, like the narratives of garrulous rustics, with collateral details, unnecessary information, inopportune digressions. He perpetually leaves the main track of his story to follow up remote by-paths; he does not attempt to construct a well-compacted plot, but is content to string together by a slender thread a series of striking incidents. Not only is the action continually suspended, but the evolution of character is uniformly neglected in order to afford space for the display of his descriptive powers. In the descriptions to which so much is sacrificed every detail is studied with equal care, so that they often become caricatures of pre-Raphaelitism; they are so needlessly minute and accurate that their sharpness of outline is marred, so overburdened with metaphor and loaded with images that the eye wanders from the real object to its substitute, so crowded with trifling particulars that the true

proportions are lost and the relative importance of the subjects is inverted. He never detaches himself from his work in order to regard it as a whole; he has observed a number of beauties successively but not in their due relations; he sees them hyperbolically and not truly. His almost feverish strength tempts him to forget that force depends not on size but on symmetry. The passionate interest of his novels is lost because the characters are often self-contradictory, untrue to life and experience, creatures of paradox and sentimentalism. It is unnecessary to dwell upon his whimsical compromises of judgement and perversions of history, or to attack his Utopian republic of sentimental license; but his false parade of learning compels us to notice the errors which deface his works, from the granite towers of 'Notre-Dame' to the 'Bug pipe' with which Gilliatt serenades Deruchette, the 'falaise première des quatre' which represents the Firth of Forth, 'Tom-jim-jack,' the familiar nickname of Lord David Derry-Moir, or the 'wapentake' with which the English constable is armed. His literary taste permits him to compare Jean Valjean's mental struggle to the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, to explain Bonaparte's defeat at Waterloo by the phrase 'il gênait Dieu,' to illustrate the relative speed of light and cannon balls by 'la supériorité de Jésus-Christ sur Napoléon.' His obtuseness to the ludicrous and the grandiloquence of his poetic transcendentalism frequently brings his novels perilously near the abyss of the ridiculous. He often defaces the beauty of his language with tawdry finery, hyperboles, and extravagances, by excessive epithets and abuses of antithesis. Some of his faults arise from his peculiar conception of a novel; others are, to apply his own phrase, his ananké.

But these formidable defects are, in our opinion, outweighed by the touch of a genius as indisputable as it is undisciplined. His originality is irresistible. The fire of his descriptions, the glow of his imagination, the blaze of his poetic passion, kindle an enthusiasm such as no other writer can create. At his best his style swells with nervous strength, sparkles with epigram, surprises with fine observation, or satisfies with the peculiar felicity of its phrases. His situations are chosen with an admirable instinct; his power of throwing his materials into a picture and his resourceful ingenuity of mechanism produce unrivalled effects. His workmanship is often as exquisite as it is at other times tasteless and florid, his colouring as splendid as it is sometimes meretricious; his magical command of language as

often enthrals by its beauty as it bewilders by its exuberance. Isolated passages are full of moral depth and penetration, breathing high aims and lofty sympathy with all that is good in humanity. Before his background of stern ethical purpose pass scenes of stormy passion and exquisite pathos, shadows of colossal forces to which he has given shape and form, busy crowds of mediæval or modern Paris, figures of grotesque enormity like Quasimodo, the blind girl Dea, children like Gavroche and Georgette. Nature in her loftiest moods is his slave; in the sombre heights of imagination or the lower levels of delicate sympathy he is a master; even 'love, like a bird, comes loyal to his lure.' Of childhood he is the chosen and intimate friend. Deformities cannot destroy, though they undoubtedly deface, the grandeur of his work.

Hugo's poetry constitutes, in our opinion, his best title to immortality. No adequate idea of its power can be conveyed by analysis, nor will space permit the illustration of its various moods by quotation. Two great periods may be distinguished in his poetical career. To the first belongs the poetry of his youth, the 'Odes et Ballades,' 'Les Orientales,' 'Les Feuilles d'Automne,' 'Les Chants de Crépuscule,' 'Les Voix Intérieures,' 'Les Rayons et les Ombres.' In these volumes he is content to listen to the voice of his inspiration; he abandons himself freely to his poetic impulse; he is dominated by no iron theories of life or of art. 'Les Contemplations' and 'Les Châtiments' mark the transition from his lyric to his epic manner, when he has become a transcendental philosopher and a democratic prophet.

Poetry was Hugo's earliest passion. The composition of his odes extends over a period from 1818 to 1826. He began to write in the springtide not only of his own but of national life. For France the winter of sterility was ended; a new season was commencing. The earlier odes are mainly political; they are tremulous with the waves of popular sentiment; they celebrate public events in a strain of real enthusiasm, with something of the exaggeration which is incidental to poetry of this class. 'D'un peuple entier je feuilletais le livre.' His vigorous personality had not yet asserted itself: he expresses the sentiments of the Royalist and Catholic party, to which he then belonged; he is the Lamartine of politics; by the side of his brother in arms he fights 'pour les mêmes autels et les mêmes foyers.' The only political figure which appears in the chasm between the fall and the restoration of the monarchy

is that of Napoleon; but he is treated less as a national hero than as the scourge of Europe. His inspiration is indignation at the crimes or pity for the victims of the Revolution; he writes elegies on innocent sufferers like Louis XVII., or 'messéniennes' on the Royalist martyrs of Quiberon. Loyalty is his religion; his odes are sacred hymns, aflame with an ardent spirit of attachment to the Throne. The ode to Louis XVII. would be fulsome if it were not written by a champion of Divine right. Like Chateaubriand he mourns the assassination of the Duc de Berry; with Lamartine he celebrates the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux. But the odes and ballads are not entirely inspired by political events of the times. They reflect everything that is uppermost in contemporary life or thought, whether it is the religion of loyalty and Catholicism, the Napoleonic legend, or mediæval idealism. Among them are odes of fancy and of personal experience, love songs, descriptive pieces, odes of tender feeling or Horatian playfulness, and stirring, rattling ballads like 'La Chasse du Burgrave' or the 'Pas d'Armes du Roi Jean,' which have caught the true spirit of the Middle Ages. The 'Pas d'Armes' deserved to be sung by Gautier and his followers as the 'Marseillaise' of the romantic school, for it has not been surpassed in the maturity of his powers.

These early flights reveal the poet at once contemplative and sensitive, keenly alive to the brilliancy of the present world, yet lingering tenderly over the relics of the past. They are marked by the freedom, freshness, and inexperience of youth. The keen sensibility, high aspirations, and passionate nature, the rich language and brilliant imagination, the beauty of the rhymes, the easy flow of the metre, give promise of future triumphs. But they bear no trace of the wild fancy or morbid taste for the horrible which had already appeared in 'Bug Jargal' and 'Han d'Islande.' Nor do they give any hint of coming change in his religious or political views. He is still a zealous Catholic and ardent Royalist.

'Les Orientales,' published in 1829, are composed from new materials, the choice of which betrays the influence of Byron and of Spain. Hugo is impressed with the contrast between the East and the West. But depth of thought is not his characteristic. He does not seek to compare Asiatic calm with European restlessness, or the intellectualism of the one with the industrial pursuits of the other. He seizes mainly on the pictorial points in which they differ; he makes no effort to penetrate from the surface to the signifi-

cance. For this very reason, while in richness and variety of colouring he has caught the brightness of Oriental poetry, he has missed its spirit. The tone of Moorish song is better struck than that of the East. In '*Les Orientales*' appears the first symptom of the revolutionary poet. He is inspired, as were Delacroix and Scheffer in the kindred art of painting, by the cause of Greece. Canaris, the captain of the fireships, is one of his heroes; it was on the report of his death that the singular poem '*Les Têtes de Sérail*' was composed. In his art Hugo has advanced; his compass is wider, his touch firmer, his language richer. Among the splendid specimens of metrical dexterity which the volume contains the '*Djinns*' is a remarkable triumph of versification. With consummate skill the sound is wedded to the sense, as the sound of the approaching demon crew, first heard in the far-off distance, increases rapidly in volume, till it rises to a roar while the black battalion passes overhead, and then dies away again into silence.

If '*Les Orientales*' seem to hint a coming change in Hugo's opinions, in '*Les Feuilles d'Automne*' he appears to return to the earlier sources of his inspiration. The autumn leaves were scattered to the winds of the revolution of 1830. Hugo was then twenty-nine. Sitting, as it were, among the ruins of his old associations, he looks around to see what remained, or what had taken the place, of the sentiments which had kindled his odes. It is this which renders '*Les Feuilles*' the most natural and touching of his lyrical collections. His religious and political faith had indeed been undermined; but in their place he sings of hearth and home, of wife and children, of Nature with her mysterious horizon, of his country walks; her flowers, that seem to say to one another, '*Tiens, c'est notre amoureux qui passe;*' her trees, that murmur, '*C'est lui! c'est le rêveur.*' The volume is full of deep and tender sentiment, expressed with unstudied perfection of language and wedded to melodious verse. But, as he looks back across the path which he has traversed, his youth is already far distant, and life full of sorrow and disenchantment.

The same note of tender feeling is sustained in '*Les Crépuscules*' (1835). '*Date Lilia*' is an exquisite tribute to the wife and mother. But the whole collection is of a more sombre character. It is not only the domestic hearth and Nature that occupy his heart. Life wears a gloomier aspect; the fresh dew of the morning is fast disappearing in the noonday heat; if moisture still clings to the flowers

it is often from a tear. In this and the two following volumes, 'Les Voix Intérieures' (1837) and 'Les Rayons et les Ombres' (1840), Hugo is conspicuously 'le corridor où passe le vent.' He pays for his wider outlook by a sense of the fragmentary nature of all creeds. It is an age of transition and experiment, of doubt and disillusion, a twilight time of half-beliefs. A faint flush tinges the horizon; but 'c'est peut-être le soir, qu'on prend pour un aurore.' There is no fixity of thought; the poems are full of contradictions, a medley of opposite feelings, conflicting fragments of many philosophies of life; pantheism contends with his earlier faith, naturalism with supernaturalism. The love of liberty goes hand in hand with admiration of the Imperial conquests and tenderness for the ancient monarchy. He exults in the revolution of 1830, curses those who dared 'chicaner un tombeau' to the ashes of Napoleon, gibbets with his scorn Deutz, the betrayer of the Duchesse de Berry. His sympathy with the misery of the people is large and tender; he feels the wild throb of that millennial hope which began to agitate the nation. He looks beyond the present suffering to the rise of liberty and the social regeneration of mankind.

' Oh ! l'avenir est magnifique !
 Jeunes Français, jeunes amis,
 Un siècle pur et pacifique
 S'ouvre à vos pas mieux affermis.'

The three volumes contain some of Hugo's most perfect poetry, such as 'Dans l'Eglise de B.,' 'Oiseaux envolés,' 'Une nuit qu'on entendait la mer sans la voir,' 'Sunt lacrymæ rerum,' 'Tristesse d'Olympio,' 'Nox Oceano,' 'Regard jeté dans une Mansarde,' 'La Cloche,' and that exquisite piece of lyric verse 'Gastibelza,' in 'Les Rayons et les Ombres.' If the attitude of the poet is sometimes self-conscious, the sentiment occasionally false, the thought wide rather than deep, there are passages of delicate pathos, or grave meditative beauty, effects of harmony as happy as they are new, noble thoughts clothed in rich language, expressed with crystalline clearness, or illustrated by striking images.

'Les Châtiments,' which appeared in 1853, mark an important crisis in Hugo's life. They give fierce expression to feelings which made him a frenzied partisan of the democratic cause, and gave a definite purpose to all the literary compositions, whether in poetry or prose, of his later life. Subsequent events lend the volume a permanent interest

which rarely belongs to vituperative writings inspired by political animosity. As a piece of magnificent invective 'Les Châtiments' is undoubtedly a powerful work. But it is not satire. It is written in a transport of rage which is almost epileptic in its strength. Blows are rained at random, without dignity or restraint. Not Napoleon only, but the whole nation is attacked: the aristocracy, the middle classes, the people, the army are assailed. It is Hugo 'contra mundum' on a question, not of religious principle, but of political expediency.

'Pour soutenir le temple il suffit d'un pilier ;
Un Français, c'est la France ; un Romain contient Rome,
Et ce que brise un peuple avorte aux pieds d'un homme.'

Wrath and faculty of expression do not make a satirist. Hugo is devoid of humour; he cannot be cool or dispassionate; the iron of exile had not yet entered into his soul. The most effective satire he ever wrote on Napoleon consists of the few lines of disdainful scorn in 'L'Année Terrible' with which he dismisses his old enemy. Hugo's indignation glows fiercely enough, but it has not yet reached that white heat which marks the intensity of passion. But 'Les Châtiments' cannot be judged wholly as a satire. It contains in 'Le Chasseur Noir' one of the finest of Hugo's ballads; it utters a stirring cry of defiance, breathes an elegy over those who had died for the Republic, chants high a song of consolation for the convicts of Cayenne and Algeria, or for 'les bannis opiniâtres' for whom 'la France est loin, la tombe est près.' In 1853 the volume struck a discordant note in the heart of the bulk of the nation; in 1870 France echoed back his scream of hatred. Then his fiery appeals to arms were inappropriate; now they stirred Paris to her depths. His solemn oath never to flinch from the struggle with the Emperor, 'et s'il n'en reste qu'un, je serai celui-là!' rang in the ears of the nation when he returned to Paris after Sedan. Henceforth he seemed to himself and to many of his countrymen to personify France.

Three years later he published his 'Les Contemplations.' It is a record of his life for the past twenty-five years, followed by philosophical and metaphysical reflections. If 'Les Châtiments' supplied the motives which impelled Hugo to abandon his former inspirations and devote himself definitely to democratic epics, 'Les Contemplations' exhibit the early stages of the mental process by which the change was accomplished. The most touching lines are those to the

memory of his daughter Léopoldine, who was drowned in 1843 with her husband, Charles Vacquerie. But the interest is mainly autobiographical. 'Autrefois' records how one by one his old illusions vanished.

'. . . une erreur, chaque année,
S'en va de mon esprit, d'elle même étonnée.'

In 'Aujourd'hui' looms in vague shape the vast philosophy which transformed the Hugo of 'Les Feuilles d'Automne' into the Hugo of 'La Légende des Siècles.'

As a lyric poet Hugo was distinguished by his many-sidedness. The variety of his moods is infinitely changeful; his impressions take their colour, like iridescent bubbles, from every passing object. His mind is a reed, swaying to the breeze from whatever quarter it blows. The reflective mood of the philosopher is wholly overpowered by the pictorial faculty of the artist. His nature was as versatile as it was passionate; there is in his lyric *boutades* no one pervading purpose, no single leading line, no definite enthusiasm. Many of them display originality, inventiveness, audacity, but they exhibit none of the self-direction of the epic poet. Like Dante, Hugo learned in exile to attempt a loftier flight. He had never been a trifler, but exile severed him from his ephemeral pursuits, threw him back upon himself, fostered the sterner side of his nature, developed that reflective faculty which he had previously neglected or only employed as a theorising power. Henceforward the indeterminateness of his wandering fancy is replaced by a more definite purpose; he poses as a prophet or a thinker. But he remains deficient in real depth of thought. Though he seeks to interpret the riddle of life he offers no solution; he floats away from his subject into the cloudy abyss of the infinite. Even the increased strength of mental texture cannot be counted entirely as gain. The tenderness and grace of his earlier poetry evaporates; the gay music of the lute and the guitar is rarely heard; the soft features of his lyric verse take more rugged lines; melody is replaced by emphasis, cadence by accent. Like his own giant, he seems to say—

'Ces plaisirs enfantins pour moi n'ont plus de charmes;
J'aime aujourd'hui la guerre et son mâle appareil.'

Unlike Goethe, Hugo displays no insight into the intellectual significance of external facts. He seizes upon the broad outlines of historical movements with marvellous skill,

handles their superficial aspects with all his unrivalled pictorial instinct, throws them upon his canvas with the bold flowing treatment of a master. But he is deficient in the essential power of synthesis. 'Pro jure contra legem' is the motto of his epic of Humanity. No part of the social fabric escapes impeachment. Every idea on which rests the structure of modern society is criticised, every institution assailed by this confessor, apostle, and prophet of the democratic legend of progress. His presentment of facts is marred by the continual intrusion of his aim; history is tortured to his purpose, stretched on the Procrustean bed of his theory. But political prejudice is not the synthesis of the epic poet. His philosophy is at once too vague and too shallow to compensate the sacrifice of truth. He is enlightened by no divine illumination; his revelation is wild and chaotic; he offers only the theories of a poet, whose sympathies are engaged exclusively on one side, and who claims the license of his art in dealing with the mechanism of moral and social forces. The promise of the legend is fulfilled by infinity.

At intervals, in communion with Nature or with childhood, he returns to his earlier manner. It was with a prodigious struggle that he had mounted the epic hippogriff,

'—le grand cheval de gloire,
Né de la mer comme Astarté,
A qui l'aurore donne à boire
Dans les urnes de la clarté.'

In 'Les Chansons des Rues et des Bois' (1865) he turns the monster out to grass. 'Les Chansons' are not a collection of the love songs of the nightingale, the morning hymns of the lark, or the converse of the invisible spirits that laugh and sigh in trees and brooks. It is a gallery of little pictures of youthful gallantry, an arabesque of figures, grotesque masks, birds, fruits, and garlands. Hugo paints his pictures without the classic disguise of Anacreon. Pan pipes in the Bois de Meudon; the satyr spies Jeanne or Babette in the thickets; 'je te fais molosse, ô mon dogue.' The versification is throughout a marvellous specimen of Hugo's metrical skill. With perfect delicacy and purity Hugo traces the union in the youthful heart of roguish tenderness and shy confidence which precedes the ecstatic development of deeper feelings; but it is characteristic of Hugo that he produces little or nothing which is perfect in its entirety. He is too self-confident to be critical of his own work. At times all that is soft, pure, and delicate is marred by the opposite faults, combined with loose and inappropriate pleasantry;

nothing remains of the charm except the music. 'L'Art 'd'être Grand-père' was published in 1877. No man is better versed than Hugo in the ways of children: to him they have all the individuality of his own contemporaries. Unlike Wordsworth, he talks to them or of them without becoming himself a grown-up child. Even their unintelligible babble conveys to him a meaning.

' Ces mots mystérieux que Jeanne dit à George,
C'est l'idylle du cygne avec la rouge gorge;
Ce sont les questions que les abeilles font,
Et que le lys naïf pose au moineau profond.'

The volume contains a fable told by an epic poet, a song written by a master of music to be sung to a dance of fairies, many touching and graceful thoughts felicitously expressed, and many exquisite pictures of child life. But the child world is no longer sacred from the intrusion of that 'lob of spirits' his own personality. Even in the contemplation of childish innocence Hugo cannot forget his personal antipathies or let slip the opportunity of proclaiming the hatred of priests.

More closely connected with the theme of 'La Légende 'des Siècles' are 'L'Année Terrible,' 'Les Quatre Vents 'de l'Esprit,' or the poems in which he attacks dogmatic theology. 'Revolution,' the epic quarter of the four winds, is powerful in conception, daring in design, and finished in execution. The style is all bone and muscle. Veteran as he is, Hugo wields his weapon with sinewy strength and a self-restraint which he often fails to show. From the abrupt opening which introduces Henry IV.—

' Le cavalier de bronze était debout dans l'ombre '—

down to the tragic conclusion, the attention is riveted on the mysterious cavalcade of royal horsemen who in turn obey the mysterious voice—

' Va voir si ton fils est encore à sa place !'

Except by the unnecessary digression on the caryatides of Germain Pilon, the eye is never distracted from the central figures. The note of mystery is sustained throughout as the sepulchral group pass in the dead of night through the silent streets of the sleeping city. The political prejudice which is conspicuous in the characterisation of Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Richelieu, is almost the only blot on this powerful composition. In 'L'Année Terrible' (1872) Hugo chooses a magnificent subject for an epic poem, but he com-

poses without unity of plan. In the tremendous events of 1870-71 he finds an approximate theme for his burning love for France and his ardent sympathy with her sufferings. Either his tender-heartedness is so indulgent, or his political views so prejudiced, that he cannot condemn the excesses of the Commune. There are in the volume passages of rare power and exquisite tenderness, such as only a true genius could produce. Yet even a patriotism so excessive as to approach vulgarity cannot repress the egotism of Hugo. Many of the poems are disconnected with the main subject of the volume. Those which, like 'Une Bombe aux Feuillantes' or 'Petite Jeanne,' intermingle some softer gleams with the lurid scenes of the terrible year are in the highest degree artistic. They are the doves that perch on the buttresses and break the sombre lines of feudal architecture. But no such excuse avails for pages of digression like those on 'l'évêque qui m'appelle athée,' in which Hugo is the principal figure. Still more offensive is the intrusion of his religious ravings. If God has mocked the world, if man is after all deceived, Hugo promises—

'J'irais, je le verrais, et je le saisisrais
 Dans les cieux, comme on prend un loup dans les forêts,
 Et terrible, indigné, calme, extraordinaire,
 Je le dénoncerais à son propre tonnerre.'

It is by 'La Légende des Siècles' that Hugo's epic genius must finally be judged. He has lavished upon the composition a mass of quaint and varied material, gathered from remote storehouses of learning. To illustrate his theme the legends, myths, and traditions of many nations and creeds, which symbolise stages in human progress, are joined in fantastic but striking juxtaposition with epochs of history, both sacred and profane, new and old, which have been moments in the growth of humanity. With much that is arbitrary and inexplicable both in the choice and treatment of the subjects of his dwarf epics, the keynote of the whole is clearly struck in the prose preface. The purpose of the legend is the development of humanity, 'l'homme montant des ténèbres à l'idéal, la transfiguration paradisiaque;' its tone, ostensibly historical, is rather prophetic or apocalyptic; its plan leads from the creation to the 'pleine mer' and 'plein ciel' of the twentieth century and 'la trompette du jugement.'

In the first part (published in 1859) Hugo reviews the world's history in its social aspect. To prove the advance

of mankind towards his democratic Paradise he represents society in the past as a hell. The colour is uniformly gloomy. He scarcely recognised the humanising influence of Christianity; he leaves unnoticed the culture of ancient Greece; he barely touches on the civil and military virtues of Rome; he represents the poets, sages, and organisers of Western civilisation only in shadowy paladins of mediæval romance or the imaginary one-sided portrait of a Ratbert. Such omissions might, if they stood alone, be justified by the general scope of the poem, which is the social rather than the ethical or artistic progress of mankind. But in treating of the historical relations between rulers and ruled he betrays his political purpose. As he omits from his history of progress the civilising influences of the past, so he represents all princes, temporal and spiritual, as melodramatic demons. Throughout the legend there is most poetry where there is least purpose. Few readers will linger over subjects ostentatiously chosen as vehicles for Hugo's sympathies or anathemas; fewer still will grapple with his philosophical musings or transcendental perorations. But when, as in '*La Rose d'Infante*,' '*Aymerillot*,' or '*Les Aventuriers de la Mer*,' his poetical instinct overpowers his retrospective pessimism, when he effaces his personality and appears as the simple disinterested chronicler, or, careless for the time who provides the philosophy of the people, writes a stirring ballad, his animation, brilliant fancy, originality, and realistic force silence all objections.

Nearly twenty years elapsed between the publication of the first and second parts of the legend. Happier than Dante in his fortune, he returned from exile to pluck the chaplet of fame in the country of his birth. The second part fills up a few of the gaps which the first had left in the history of social progress. More generally its design may be supposed to be the religious aspect in the transfiguration of man. This is the moral both of '*La Suprématie*' and '*Les Titans*.' In the latter poem the gods also typify a selfish aristocracy, the giants a downtrodden people. '*La Vision d'où est sorti mon livre*' serves both as preparation and apology for the absence of order and system. The choice of his illustrations often appears as arbitrary as it is boundless; but through many of the subjects chosen runs the democratic idea of progress. In '*Les Trois Cents*' the contrast is between a Xerxes and a Leonidas; the fate of the world trembles in the balance when the hosts of the Oriental despot march upon Thermopylæ. In '*Majorien*'

Hugo bridges over the gap between the ancient and mediæval worlds; with terse dramatic force he brings out the irresistible power of the barbarian hordes whom Attila leads to break the bonds of imperial Rome. 'Welf, Castellan of 'Osbor,' is a shield interposed between the people and their tyrants. The 'Cid' is a champion of popular rights greater than King Sancho or Alphonso of Castile. 'Montfaucon' satirises the tyranny of priests and kings; the ghastly chaplet of skeletons which hangs from church and palace scares from the world the pure spirits of the dawn that descend to minister to mankind, and drives them to wing their homeward flight to heaven.

As before it is when Hugo forgets himself and his purpose that his true poetic genius is displayed. The three most perfect poems in the collection have least necessary connexion with the central design. The 'Cimetière d'Eylau,' told with the brief simplicity of a soldier, the touching episode of the 'Guerre Civile,' and 'Petit Paul,' in which Hugo attains an intensity of pathos that even he has rarely reached, mark no stages, religious or social, in democratic progress.

It is by 'La Légende' that Hugo's epic genius will finally be judged. His admirers claim that the composition supplied the gap in national literature which the 'Henriade' fails to fill, and that by its production Hugo's place is assured at the side of Dante and of Milton. The Legend is an attempt to give unity to ubiquity and universality. Hugo is rather attracted than repelled by the vastness of the subject; nor does he pause to consider whether he possessed the knowledge of the whole history of man which is essential to its adequate treatment. On a theme so vaguely infinite it is at the outset almost impossible for any man, however gifted, to compose a complete and perfect epic; but Hugo is deficient in the very powers which are absolutely essential for the production of a consistent, homogeneous poem. He is gifted with unusual grandeur of conception; his command of action and situation is absolute; he possesses invention and realistic force to an almost unequalled degree; he is a magician of language, a master of melody and pathos; he is stronger as an objective than as a subjective poet; he not only reflects but narrates. On the other hand he has not the requisite self-direction or the necessary power of constructing a complex poem. To his prodigious subject a slight general sequence is imparted by the prevailing ideas of social and religious progress; but

the connecting link is too slender to give the poem the simple massiveness of a well-compacted plan. No one great thought predominates the whole. Political feeling may lend a unity to the dwarf epics of which the component parts consist, but no finely woven fabric can be created from the coarse thread of party prejudice; democratic partisanship is no substitute for the epic synthesis. As his prose epics are disfigured by digressions, so the Legend lacks that consistency and connexion which only high powers of combination can impart. Like them, again, it is abnormal, reckless of the proprieties of taste or the canons of composition. Even if, in particular passages, the dominating idea which fires his imagination is clear to himself, his thoughts present themselves to his mind not in a natural chain of ideas, but in a capricious succession of images remotely connected with one another. Images are word-situations. But as in the drama he prefers situation to character, so in his poetry he relies on visions rather than on thought. So powerful is his associative power that without an effort he piles image upon image; he sets his diamonds in jewels, so that the contrast of simplicity is lost and clearness of outline exchanged for barbaric profusion of ornamental detail. His passion for sonorous phrases lures him into further excess. The delight of a sounding sentence appears irresistible; it fascinates him as the words 'les orangers de Grenade et les citronniers' 'des trois rois maures' enthralled Madame de Staël. When this taste is exercised on catalogues of names, his enumerations are Homeric in their power. As the host of Xerxes thunders by, the forgotten peoples of which it is composed gain individuality without losing the general impression of multitude. So too the hundred barons who are the counsellors of Ratbert defile before us with echoing tread, each individualised by a striking epithet, till every figure in the procession stands out in clear-cut, bold relief. But he also gratifies this passion for sound by stringing together sonorous sentences which more often mean little than much. He seems to throw them together in the hope that their collision may elicit a spark. To some minds these sounding phrases appear the mystic mutterings of an oracle; to others they give a vague, sensuous pleasure; to ourselves, when their meaning is tested, they appear intrepid nonsense. The very vastness of the design of the Legend, the great spaces which he has to fill, create a sense of strange grandeur and mystery; but they also develop Hugo's taste for the grandiose and the colossal. He champions the cause of the giants

against the gods; his earthly Paradise is burdened with pelasgic walls and peopled with the gigantic figures of Phtos and his brethren. His imagination magnifies the proportions of the objects upon which it is fixed; to see clearly he exaggerates. Sometimes the effect is singularly powerful; more often it is only monstrous.

In addition to these defects the Legend is disproportionate, extravagant, and redundant, full of bombast and antithetical conceits. Yet throughout the wild and lawless poem we feel in the presence of a genius as mighty as it is strange. Few poets rival Hugo in grandeur of conception, poetical inventiveness, mastery of language, or richness of imagery; fewer still are his equals in variety of mood, grasp of broad outlines, or power of direct and forcible representation. There are in the Legend thoughts of singular beauty and suggestiveness, verses that charm the ear by the stately music of their march, passages in which the vastness and daring of the conception are expressed in words of concentrated force, scenes depicted with a depth and intensity of colour as rich as it is harmonious. The variety of his moods is astonishing. He catches the reckless spirit of a sea rover in a careless barcarole; or reproduces in short, rugged metre the rustic brusqueness, the simple pride, the loyal fidelity of a Cid; or dedicates a classic ode to love, in which the strophes rise and fall in rhythmic time to the beat of the wings of the Attic bee. He is master of a descriptive power which summons an army before the mind's eye, and gives it the individuality of a living crowd together with the magnitude of an unnumbered host. He sounds on the horn of Roland a blast as loud and clear as that of Roncesvalles; or enshrines a butterfly in full flight for ever in the amber of his verses; or raises humble, hackneyed subjects to the power and dignity of the profoundest tragedy. Gifts so great and varied redeem many of the faults of the Legend, but they cannot raise it to the first rank of epic poems. It has not the simple massiveness, the unimpaired unity of the 'Divina Commedia' or the 'Paradise Lost.' Many of its detached details are exquisite; but it altogether lacks the grandeur of a comprehensive plan, lofty in conception, daring in design, and sustained in execution.

Regarded in the mass, the effect of Hugo's work is stupendous. The eye, wandering upwards from the level plains of ordinary literature, is fascinated by the irregular, fantastic outline of his volcanic range. In the wild, broken chain hill rises above hill, mountain overtops mountain, height

peers over height in unsymmetrical but picturesque confusion. If the higher summits are often veiled in mist, the peaks disclosed by lifting clouds seem the more majestic in their shadowy altitude. In none of his work, taken separately, is perfection to be found. Those whose sense of form and finish is more keen than their sympathy with grandeur and originality will be shocked and repelled by Hugo. He treats a situation, an episode, a phase of mental feeling, with a power which is rivalled by few writers, ancient or modern. But patience contributes no element to his genius; he despises literary skill, and displays little capacity for connected thought. He is partly unable, partly unwilling, to compose a natural plot, delineate a complex character, construct a compacted epic, or finish to complete perfection a lyric poem. In all these respects he has been surpassed by many of his contemporaries who cannot pretend to a tithe of his creative genius. Both his moral defects and his mental excellences contributed to mar the finish of his work. His vanity tempted him to pay premature homage to his own genius, to neglect system, order, and proportion for the pursuit of his own whims, to permit no modifications in the vigour of his favourite theories. His imagination was too tempestuous in its strength, his mind too fervid in its flight, his energy too comprehensive in its scope, his genius too impulsive in its volition, his fancy too exuberant in its luxuriance, to seek perfection. Had he been a man of juster balance or more sober judgement, had he ever disciplined his powers in close hard thinking, had he retarded production for the sake of finish, had he even stooped to learn from the classic school the acknowledged canons of his art, he might have risen to the place which is claimed for him by the most indiscriminating of his eulogists.

ART. VII.—*Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1879 to enquire into the Condition of the Cathedrals of England and Wales, and the Duties of the Members and Ministers thereof.*

IT pleased Lord Beaconsfield, half a year before his fall and just after making a speech in the House of Lords about a dispute in the Chapter of York arising from a Crown appointment of a canon, to issue a royal commission 'to inquire into the condition of the cathedrals, and the duties of the members and ministers thereof, and other matters connected therewith; and whether any further legislation with respect to the same is necessary or expedient, and whether further powers should be granted for revising from time to time the statutes of the several capitular bodies, and if so, by what authority such powers should be exercised.' We have given all the material words in full, in order that it may be seen at once whether the Commissioners had authority to make or to propose themselves any new statutes for any or all the cathedrals.

The Commission was a singular one to appoint even for the purposes in their instructions; but it would have a still more wonderful one to appoint as general statute-givers for the cathedrals of England. It consisted of one archbishop, who did not live through more than half the time, and was not replaced; one bishop (of Carlisle); Lord Beaconsfield's Secretary of State for War; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (who never acted and soon resigned); one Queen's Counsel, not in the ecclesiastical line, who also did not live to sign any of the new statutes; Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. C. Dalrymple; to whom Mr. Gladstone added, after he came in, Lord Blachford and Sir Walter James (whom he afterwards made Lord Northbourne). The two last were also put by him on that Commission about Ecclesiastical Courts whose doings we commented on just two years ago. If Bishop Wilberforce had lived a little longer, he would have repeated with still more emphasis the remark, which he quoted from somebody else in his diary, respecting Lord Beaconsfield's profound ignorance of ecclesiastical matters. For it is hardly credible that a minister who paid any real attention to them could have forgotten that a former ministry of his own had issued a commission in 1852, almost identical in words and quite in substance, to a much stronger body of commissioners, and of a much more usual kind for important ecclesiastical inquiries; and that it had made a

most complete set of reports, with the fullest information about the cathedrals, admirably arranged and summarised in a way which the late Commission did not emulate.

Those commissioners (in 1852) were, not one archbishop for half the time, but both archbishops for the whole time; not one bishop, but two, and those generally regarded as the two most powerful, Blomfield and Wilberforce, and three who afterwards became bishops, Jackson, Wordsworth, and Villiers; Sir John Dodson, Dean of Arches; Sir John Patteson, whose name needs no addition; the (subsequent) Lord Chancellor Hatherley; the late Duke of Marlborough (by whose name, as Lord Blandford, an important Ecclesiastical Act goes); the late Lord Harrowby; Dr. Hook, the most eminent of parochial clergymen (not yet one of the poorest deans), and Canon Selwyn of Ely, by whose influence all the non-residentary canonries in England were saved from being extinguished for ever by Bishop Blomfield's Church Commission and the Act of 1840, which finally only 'suspended' their endowments, but left them all their other privileges and statutory duties. Nor should the secretary of the 1852 Commission be unnoticed; for he was a professor of political economy and a writer of well-known ability, the Rev. Richard Jones, of Haileybury. The secretary of the late Commission was Mr. Arthur Beecher Ellicott, as we are reminded in full, many times over, both in large and small type, in the reports on every cathedral and the general ones besides. Mr. Jones's name we had to look for, being moved thereto by the excellence of the summaries and arrangement of all the statistics of the cathedrals up to 1854.

The Commissioners of 1879 did not even take the trouble to add up the expenditure returned on the fabrics, which comes to nearly two millions, and lumped Gloucester and Bristol together as if they had one fabric fund; nor did they remember that Truro had already figured in their own reports at 60,000*l.*, though the present bishop states the expenditure and liabilities as close upon 100,000*l.*; and they put down York, with all the late rebuilding of the south transept, at 5,000*l.* less than the report of 1854 had put it at; and ignore St. Albans altogether, though it has been under restoration for a long time at a cost of nearly 100,000*l.* already. They preferred moralising in the prize-essay style on the difficulties of their task, and their success in surmounting them, and in finding their way through the intricacies of the discovery that 'there is a broad distinction ' between the old and the new foundations; that is to say,

‘there are cathedrals, which existed as such before the ‘time of Henry VIII.,’ and some that did not, in many more words than we have patience to copy. Then come some more broad distinctions and ‘differences, various in kind and ‘important in character, which distinguish one cathedral ‘from another. Some cathedrals, for example, never possessed a body of statutes’ (and got on very well without); and some had statutes; whereof some are obsolete (but do no harm), and some are not. Then some more lamentation that ‘the difference of constitution in the cathedrals has been ‘by no means the only, nor, perhaps, even the chief difficulty ‘with which we have had to contend;’ but what the others were remains a secret. The public will doubtless be surprised to hear, too, that ‘the cathedrals differ in their local ‘circumstances. In some cases they are in small towns ‘with almost village surroundings,’ and sometimes in large. ‘Bristol and Norwich may be contrasted with Ely and St. ‘David’s,’ when we have nothing better to do. ‘Durham,’ we are informed, and fully believe, ‘stands in a populous ‘and wealthy district,’ which some other cathedrals do not. ‘St. Paul’s, London, stands in a position so peculiar that,’ in short, it is peculiar; and the climax of remarkable ‘things ‘not generally known’ is, that ‘Oxford differs from all ‘others in being not only a cathedral but a college chapel.’

Then we learn—that is, the writer of this essay learnt—what everybody else knew forty-five years ago, that the difference between endowments was greater before the Act of 1840 than it is now, and so on; but is still too great. Nevertheless they ‘have not considered it within the limits prescribed ‘to them, to propose any general rearrangement of capitular ‘incomes;’ and then another long explanation why they did what was far more clearly outside the limits prescribed to them, viz. propound twenty-eight new codes of statutes, which they justify by saying, that ‘it was the only satisfactory way of expressing their recommendations.’ No doubt it was, if they had been commissioned to make recommendations in detail for each cathedral, or if those ‘broad distinctions’ between old and new, large and small, obsolete and living statutes, which were so difficult to contend with, required different settlements of the pressing general questions about cathedrals, such as their relations to the bishop, the control of the services and the fabric, or the proper authority for making new statutes, which clearly was not to be this commission, nor the chapters themselves without their bishops; that at any rate was clear beyond

all question by their instructions. It had come to be understood, and the Commissioners acknowledge it, that the primary problem to be solved in any fresh legislation about cathedral chapters is their relation to the bishops, who are their visitors and the general representatives of their first founders or heads. There is a general impression that, whether for better or worse, the bishops have somehow been squeezed out of their ancient and natural position in their own special churches, and in what were and are constantly called their own councils, apparently a *non consulendo*—or *conciliando* either sometimes. That being so, it does seem the oddest contrivance that could be invented for settling such a question, to refer it to a commission in which every chapter was represented by its dean and a canon, while one archbishop was ostentatiously excluded, and every bishop except one. We are quite correct in saying every bishop but one, because the other besides Carlisle was not there as Bishop of Truro, but as Dean. He was not by name there at all, for his cathedral has no chapter beyond a visionary one, which will very likely never become a reality. Still we are glad that he and his statutes were there, for reasons which will presently appear.

The first is that in the altered circumstances it gives us the judgement of this prelate who is now the Primate of all England on the proper relations of a bishop to his dean, unbiassed by his own position, as he was both bishop and dean at once, if there is one; for we do not see how Truro had any *locus sedendi* in the Commission at all any more than St. Albans, Newcastle, Liverpool, or Southwell, which were all silent, unrepresented, and statuteless. By Order in Council under the 'Truro Bishopric Act,' the bishop was authorised himself to make rules for his honorary canons; and he has made them, and they need no more legislation. The subsequent 'Truro Chapter Act' has raised no chapter yet. The Commission itself rightly prints them as emanating from the bishop alone, as it does the Lichfield statutes given a few years ago by Bishop Selwyn, as the right had never been lost or fallen into disuse there. His predecessor, Bishop Lonsdale, did so too, with the concurrence of each of the several bodies belonging to the cathedral, as appears in his 'Life.' Why could they not simply recommend an act authorising all the bishops to do so, as of old, within the general limits already defined by sundry acts since 1839, and any more that may be requisite now? Lichfield has been certainly no worse governed than any other cathedral. Another reason why

we are glad to see this Truro code is that the differences between it and all the others are so striking. They are far more significant than any argument would be of what might have happened to every other cathedral with a differently contrived commission. For instance, the statutes proposed for all the others may be generally said to concede to the bishop a right to preach on giving reasonable notice to the dean, and not interfering with the ordinary rota of preachers, and to use his cathedral for ordinations and confirmations, appointing the preachers thereat, and the right to be the chief ministrant at the Communion, with a few minor privileges sometimes, and of course the old right of periodical visitation. The visitor's powers of punishment were all destroyed, probably *per incuriam*, by the Clergy Discipline Act, and he has lost the power of preventing anything being either erected or pulled down in his cathedral, as he can in every other church, where a faculty is required for all alterations, and making them without one is *ipso facto* an ecclesiastical offence, as Deans of Arches have declared. Let us see how some of these anomalies are dealt with in the one cathedral where the dean and the bishop were 'two single gentlemen rolled into one,' not likely to quarrel in their lifetime, but having to provide for their separate successors, whenever 'Pol, Tre, and Pen' are inclined to find the money for the luxury or glory of possessing a genuine dean and chapter.

The bishop then is to preach whenever he thinks fit, 'giving due notice of his intention to *supersede* any other preacher;' exactly what he may not do by most of the other codes. He may order special services and name the preacher after consulting with the chapter; whereas in the others he must have their consent; which is a very different thing. 'The dean is to have the next place and voice after the bishop in choir and chapter, and the casting vote if the bishop be not present,' i.e. the bishop is to be (as he was originally) the real voting head and president of the chapter, as his own statute and others also say, though we do not see any express giving of a casting vote to him besides. Probably the writer made the common mistake of fancying that every president has it by natural right or common law; whereas the law is just the contrary: where there is no special enactment of a casting vote, a motion is lost if it is not carried by a majority. As the saying is in the House of Lords, and in all appeal courts when equally divided, *Semper præsumitur pro negante*, or for leaving things alone.

Then comes a most extraordinary and unheard-of piece of legislative power for the bishop of this 'Church of the future.' He may assign any duties, in addition to those prescribed by the statutes, to any canon when he appoints him, and the canon is to be bound to perform them as if they were in the statutes; and the bishop will decide as Visitor whether he does obey them. That is simply dropping canons into curates, and something worse; for curates are merely liable to dissolution of partnership by consent of another authority, the bishop; but these canons will be liable to the degradation of being turned out as breakers of their ultra-statutable promises. It does not make the matter any better that almost the same power is given by some of the other codes to the bishops with the concurrence of their chapter; and that some bishops now make stipulations with their nominees as canons, which they have no kind of right to do, any more than to stipulate that they should give something to a charity, which would probably be simony.* Nothing is nicer than to be liberal with your successor's money or rights; and it is very dangerous to allow official tenants for life to legislate them away, reserving their own privileges. It looks very self-denying for canons to consent that canons shall be obliged to reside eight months instead of three, and therefore to forfeit all other preferment, and to undertake any fine-sounding duties that a bishop may prescribe; but it is altogether the contrary when the sacrifices are to fall upon their successors, and only the glory of making them upon themselves.

Whether it is done by consent of present holders or not, these schemes for keeping four canons in constant residence in a cathedral close, to do nothing that they could not do quite as well scattered over the diocese—and indeed to do nothing that the reformers can define—would only tend to lower and not to raise their character, by limiting the number of persons that would take such places. For that reason the late Dean Blakesley refused to sign the proposed Lincoln statutes; as several others did because they saw that they had no right to make them. Moreover this is an entire change of the laws of the realm, and not of mere cathedral statutes, and the Commission had no business to meddle with it in that way.

Returning to the peculiarities of the one code recom-

* It seems that an engagement to the patron to marry a particular person was once held to be simony. (Phillimore, p. 1118.)

mended for an entirely new cathedral, of which there are now five and may be six or seven, we find this, of which the substance and the language are equally remarkable. ‘Considering the exility and tenuity of the means belonging to our Church of Truro, it is one first duty of her sons the canons to move pious persons to attend to the low estate of the Mother Church, and not to suffer her poverty to continue,’ &c.; which injunction to mendicancy from pious persons is stimulated by this remarkable provision, that as soon as any canon is mendicated up to 300*l.* a year the bishop may deprive him of any other preferment he is holding within two miles, and any beyond that is to be absolutely forfeited. We are inclined to think the canons of Truro, when they approach 300*l.* a year, had better disobey this funny statute of mendicancy. Hitherto the law of pluralities has been always fixed by Parliament; but Acts of Parliament are not to ‘run’ so far into the west. For in like manner the bishop is to have power to deprive of his canonry a canon made an archdeacon, if he likes; a thing doubly in the teeth of Acts of Parliament, which deal with that matter in their own way, clumsy and stupid enough in some respects, but not to be amended after this fashion.

We find also in this pattern code for the very new cathedrals some rules which are rather of the nature of new rubrics to the Prayer Book than cathedral statutes, and some dealing with such trifling details as are scarcely worth employing the machinery of an Act of Parliament and an Order in Council to establish as the law of the Church, notwithstanding the weighty reason which we shall see is given for them. Thus, ‘When the bishop celebrates the Holy Communion the gospeller shall be an archdeacon, or else the member of the chapter highest in order present, and he shall bring the *oblation of bread* to the bishop.’ (What business had they to introduce a very questionable piece of theology like that into statutes?) It is consoling to know that ‘a vicar *may* read the Commandments,’ but puzzling to be next informed that ‘the precentor shall be ready in his office’ (to do what?), ‘and the chancellor shall minister the book to the bishop’ (what book?); and ‘whenever the bishop reads the second lesson the chancellor is, not to minister, but to present the book to him.’ Here we do know what the book is, and pity the poor chancellor accordingly, unless they keep a light ‘presentation copy’ of the New Testament for such occasions; and that would not be

pleasant to read from. One would have thought that it was the business of a verger, if the book was to be moved, and the business of nobody if it was there already.

One yet legally unsolved *cruæ* of ritualism is the proper preaching vestment. Here is the new solution of it for at least one cathedral; and if this is the proper 'ornament 'rubric' for one, surely it is for all, and ought to be appended to the Prayer Book, or at least to the twenty-fifth canon, which orders a surplice if it orders anything. 'Preachers 'not cardinal to the church preach in gowns.' Does that mean to assert that ultra-Protestants, whose pet bit of ritualism that is, also face south-west or south-east, and not cardinally south? Canons must be cardinal, because they always preach in a surplice. Are archdeacons cardinal, then, who are not members of the chapter? If a strange preacher comes without a gown, and with a strong opinion that it is not a preaching vestment by the law of England, will he be stripped of his surplice by the cardinals, and told that this piece of sham mediæval rubbish has altered or settled the law?

The precedence of archdeacons in processions seems to be another puzzle in cathedrals, because, whether they are cardinal or not (a mystery altogether beyond our apprehension), they are not members of the residentiary chapter, though they rank in the world above the greatest canons. This processional and *locus sedendi* question is solved for the future 'dignities' of Truro in a manner neither so explicit nor so comfortable as might be wished. 'On great occasions 'the two senior dignities (is an archdeacon one?) shall walk 'one on either side of the bishop in the procession, and sit 'in the throne with him,' unless his chaplains follow him; and then the dignities are dethroned in favour of the chaplains, who, it is to be hoped, will be as remarkable for 'exility and tenuity' as the endowments, seeing that a bishop by law has six, and there is no provision in the statutes for selecting two sitters. The Truro throne will have to be a very polyhedron of sedilia. Some of our readers may be acquainted with a very curious polyhedric throne in ruins in the garden of the old and partly restored palace of another new cathedral, Southwell; and if not they ought to go and see it, with that beautiful though small choir.

The order for archidiaconal precedence proceeds: 'The 'archdeacons shall follow the other dignities (therefore they 'are dignities) before the rest of the canons, or if they will,

‘ may follow the bishop next before the chaplains. None but the dignities, archdeacons (therefore they are *not* dignities), and his own officers and chaplains attend the bishop so far as the throne, and then to their several places ;’ the grammar of which ordinance is a little shaky, though the meaning is more obvious than of a ‘ non-cardinal preacher.’ Lest any profane person should call all this very childish playing at mediævalism for legislation, it is added, ‘ All which is here set down that none may trouble themselves and others of small matters when they would be about greater things.’ And therefore it is all to be read over to the assembled chapter, for fear they should forget it, once a year, together with its long ‘ proem ’ or preamble ; which is certainly worth reading—once, at the cost of $6\frac{1}{2}d$.

As jurisdiction over the fabric is not such a very small matter, it is worth while to see how that is dealt with in the one case where the bishop carried the dean and chapter *in gremio suo*. It has often been wondered how deans and chapters have contrived to oust the bishops of the jurisdiction over the structure of their cathedrals, which they clearly had in the days when we read of everything being done by the bishops, and never by deans, even as late as Bishop Hacket’s rebuilding of the great spire of Lichfield after the Rebellion ; and how it has come to pass, according to the decision on the Exeter Reredos case, that a bishop and his consistory court have not more but less authority over his own cathedral as a building, than over every parish church. It seems a probable explanation that his authority in that respect was so much a matter of course that nobody thought of putting it into the statutes, which were mostly of old given by the bishops themselves ; and as they could not well grant faculties for alterations to themselves, there are naturally no records of them. Then for a long time so little building of consequence was done to the cathedrals, and the bishops were so little inclined to trouble themselves about it, that it was all left to the deans and treasurers as the ordinary statutable curators and managers of repairs, so that all episcopal interference fell into disuse and oblivion ; and as there had never been any written authority for it, it was gradually treated as non-existent, even by the courts of law, as they had nothing to go upon the other way. But it is the more singular, because there is no doubt that the bishops are not only visitors, but ordinaries of cathedrals, as much as they are of parish churches. A few deans seem inclined to dispute that proposition, but a strong opinion in support of it from

Sir R. Phillimore and Dr. Tristram, quoting Dr. Lushington, and the admission of some other deans, together with common sense, will probably leave little doubt in the minds of most people that it is so, and that, as it has become necessary to declare the law on that point and not leave it to tradition any longer, it ought to be statutably declared or made the same for cathedrals as it is for other churches.

Here again, there is a striking difference between the mode of dealing with this subject, which this Commission adopted for Truro and for all other cathedrals. For them they leave the matter as it is, and rather confirm than take away what some persons think the usurped dominion of the deans over the fabric; at any rate they give no jurisdiction to the bishop. But the Truro statute is to be, whenever a statutable body comes into being: 'No faculty shall be necessary for anything to be done in the cathedral, but all shall be done after the manner of cathedrals by the authority of the dean and chapter, with the assent of the bishop himself;' which is exactly contrary to the manner of cathedrals now, whatever it may once have been. It is remarkable too, that the bishop is here given an absolute veto, which he has not over alterations of parish churches; for in them he acts through his court or chancellor (as the Queen does), who himself can only exercise what is called a judicial and not an arbitrary discretion, and is subject to appeal besides. Probably no chancellor ever does overrule the bishop's opinion on mere discretionary matters, to whom all applications for faculties go first, unless he sees that it is wrong. But he may have oppositions to deal with on legal principles, for which a court is a much more trustworthy tribunal than an ecclesiastic sitting by himself *in camera*. Lord Penzance said substantially the same in his separate report under the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, and we are convinced that Archbishop Tait would have agreed with him. Our article of January 1884 had lamented the serious loss of his powerful hand in the middle of the work of that Commission also. It was answered solemnly by high authority that he had agreed with all the principles of that report before he fell ill and died. But it was speedily replied in the 'Record' that their own printed minutes proved that the Archbishop had disappeared for ever from their meetings before they had even begun to consider the principles of their report; and that if it was meant that he had privately given utterance to any such

principles before that, or before his death a little later, he must have entirely changed his mind since he expressed it openly in his writings, and plainly indicated by his questions while he sat in that Commission that he had not changed it.

We have said so much about the Truro statutes, not for the purpose of making them out to be either better or worse than the others, but in order to show how on every material point they would probably all have been different from what they are under a properly constituted commission. Of course none would be infallible; but no proper commission would have erred so uniformly in one direction as this has done, except in the single case where the bishop had entirely his own way. There is no lack of correspondence from 'dignities,' in the widest sense of the word, standing up for either ancient rights or modern expediency, as it suits them, after the fashion of mundane reformers and orators on the stump; from deans and canons, corporately and individually; from canons 'rifled' of all but their duties, for which Bishop Blomfield refused to leave them a penny; honorary canons, with no duties, but wanting some, or at least the cathedral franchise; minor canons, with views of their own on various points; organists, mostly wanting more salary; lay clerks, or vicars, or singing men ('*quovis cognomine non gaudent*')—'protesting against the interference of organists'—according to a frequent item in the indexes—and wanting fixity of tenure, pensions, more pay, more 'recreation,' being overworked, and yet more opportunities for making more money in recreation times. Vergers do not seem to have been recognised as 'cardinal' by the Commission, though they might etymologically make good their claim to that title as doorkeepers.

As the Commission itself considered it one of its first duties to 'endeavour to establish harmonious co-operation 'between the bishop and the chapter,' which evidently means specially the dean, it is natural to reflect on some of the inharmonious incidents which either their correspondence or the newspapers have brought to light. The northern province seems to have been far the most prolific of such disorders. The latest arose from the Bishop of Chester taking a cardinal position to the cathedral in the Ante-Communion service at right angles to the decanal one, and unquestionably to the legal one for that part of the service, though Lord Cairns set them as free as weathercocks for the later part: which is the one thing that we may be sure the rubric-makers did not intend, whichever direction or position

they did intend. We find in a drawer, where such rose-leaves have been left to dry, a speech of a translated Dean of Carlisle, regaling his diocesan conference, *coram episcopo ipso* apparently, with some pretty hot abuse of the bishops in general who did not agree with him; and as the report is official and corrected, it is more likely to be mitigated than intensified from the original. For some time one could hardly take up a 'Guardian' without seeing the present Deans of Manchester or Durham denouncing the (alas) late Bishop of Manchester for *defending* a lawsuit, in which he turned out to be right, and which they had nothing in the world to do with, and were committing a contempt of court in writing about while it was *sub judice*. At York we need only write the words, Convocation, Luther, protests in the minster about unauthorised services, canonry appointments, structural alterations, rights of preaching, accumulation of offices, and they will all suggest to cultivators of recent cathedral history a great deal more than we have room to discuss.

It is not surprising, then, that the York proceedings of this queer Commission did not pass off without what boys would call a spicy communication from the excluded metropolitan, which appears in the appendix among the aforesaid grievances of honorary and minor canons, organists and lay clerks. The world would have missed this significant and amusing document if he had been inside the chamber, as 'a fellow counsellor,' instead of being kept 'waiting at the door almost amongst pursuivants, pages, and footboys,' like a still more famous personage of the other province. We shall see how much attention the Commission bestowed upon it, though we can only deal with a few extracts from it. The function of cathedrals, in which the public are the most interested, is the general arrangements for worship. 'It was 'never claimed' (says the archbishop in 1879) 'until the last few months, that the dean, independently of the chapter, could make alterations in matters of worship at his own uncontrolled discretion.' And we infer from an opinion of Mr. Charles, Q.C., in the Durham appendix, that the dean of that cathedral too claims unlimited control over the services, and has it, though in nothing else has he either a veto or a casting vote; and the control of the whole chapter over the services was never doubted till the present dean's accession, which is collaterally confirmed elsewhere.

Not even this Commission, assuming that they were to make statutes at all, would allow such claims as those. But they have settled them by no means uniformly, and in nearly

every other case have given the dean not less but more power than he has at present, or had long been understood to have. At York, they propose that—

‘Subject to the rights reserved to the archbishop [to order the services and preachers at his ordinations, &c., with suitable notice to the dean], the ordering and control of the service in the cathedral shall rest with the dean, or in his absence the canon in charge. In the event of the dean desiring to make any change in the accustomed ordering of the services, he shall submit the same with due notice to a meeting of the chapter. In the event of the proposal being *rejected by two-thirds* of those present, *i.e.* by every canon (which is equivalent to giving the dean four votes at once), it may be adjourned (for the dean to try again) to a subsequent chapter specially summoned, at which, if the objection be still maintained by a majority of those present, they may (not even then forbid it, but only) require the dean to submit it to the archbishop, whose decision shall be final, unless some question of law be involved.’

Now then let us apply this refined piece of law-making to the case of a dean wanting to introduce some novelty into the ordinary service, or to have a new one of his own invention at some other time of the day; and remember that the new statutes are intended to have the force of an Act of Parliament in the cathedrals, and would therefore be confidently argued to override the Act of Uniformity, which legally contains the rubrics of the Prayer Book. So there is lawsuit No. 1 prepared for. Then comes No. 2, as to whether the chapter can interfere at all if the dean leaves the common services alone, but thinks fit to order a new one either fished up from some ancient ‘use,’ or invented afresh like some of the fancy litanies that we have heard of. Thirdly, suppose he only wants to make an alteration in the services, without transgressing the Act of Uniformity, and that three out of the four canons object to it. Hitherto they could prevent it in every cathedral in the kingdom, unless the new claim of the Dean of Durham is well founded; and if they came to a fight, the visitor and the proper courts would support them, and the strongest dean would be worsted. But the moment these new statutes are ratified, all that will be changed. A dean must be a poor creature if he cannot cajole or bully one *fidus Achates* of his canons to side with him, as the faithful Vice-master Walker did with Bentley, who thereby defied and beat all the other seven seniors of Trinity, and worried two or three bishops of Ely into either defeat or death.

“Walker, our hat;” nor more he deigned to say,
But stern as Ajax’ spectre stalked away.’

Observe too that the dean is given no less than three chances of winning against the whole chapter; for if he is beaten twice by all the canons and they require him to go to the archbishop, which they must not do themselves, it is by no means clear how they are to make him; and after all he may succeed in persuading a weaker archbishop than the present one to let him alone 'for the sake of peace and quietness,' that most disturbance-making of all motives by which feeble men are influenced. And there is even something more. The very next statute to the one we have quoted professes to say generally that the dean is to have no veto, but only a casting vote when they are equal. We suppose these amateur law-givers did not see that they had just given him an absolute veto on any change in the cathedral services which every canon in the church, and the bishop into the bargain, may desire. Only let the worst practice, in any direction you please, once get into a cathedral by the contrivance or connivance of the dean, and all England could not get it out again without either his consent or a new Act of Parliament, which there would not be the least chance of passing. We should like to know how many of the Commission knew that they were doing this.

It is true that the York pattern for making deans supreme is left unique: a fact which, by itself, tells the tale of how these codes were made. But a good many others deviate entirely from the present and the ancient rule of the chapter at large, entirely in favour of the dean, not merely against the bishop but against the canons, who are all as yet co-ordinate with him, and in most of the cathedrals he has not even a casting vote. Without going into small variations, the favourite type of cathedral service rubric or statute with these Commissioners is this:—

'The dean shall order, arrange, and regulate the service (and further on the precentor is put under him, and made a sort of "marking-in" clerk, as they say in colleges, instead of one of the *quatuor persone*, or "great officers," as the Archbishop of York designates them). . . . Should he propose any change in the services, he shall give notice to a chapter. If any three canons (at York it is all four, since three is not two-thirds of five) object to it, they may, after giving notice to the dean of their intention, conjointly seek the opinion of the bishop, whose written decision, after communication with the dean, shall be accepted as conclusive, unless some question of law be involved. If the dean shall refuse to adopt any recommendation made by at least three canons, they may refer it to the bishop, whose decision shall be conclusive.'

In a few cases, such as St. Paul's, no such exalted theory

of decanal rights prevails as in some others, and the dean's power over the services is allowed to remain under the general control of the chapter. In none, however, of the new codes is the bishop made anything more than an arbitrator, and he has and is to have no more voice than an honorary canon by way of original jurisdiction. There is a letter to the Commission from an archidiaconal canon of Peterborough, of quite touching solemnity, on the sad futurity of a canon who will be doomed to sit, *eternumque sedebit infelix*, through a service which he does not like, under an arbitrary dean. He laments his fate as follows:—

‘May my lords and gentlemen the commissioners be pleased to allow me to introduce to their notice a canon having no voice of any avail in the services, except by appeal to the visitor after plotting and conspiring with his brother canons (*i.e.* plotting and conspiring to get three to go to the bishop). See him first as he will view himself. Why am I here? he will ask. Why did I ever receive part or lot in this church? What is my responsibility with respect to it? I am not here to settle how the services will best promote the glory of God and the good of men. The dean settles that. I am not here to perform the services. The minor canons do that. To preach one sermon on Sunday. Is this all? Then bury me in peace, Mr. Dean, for I am already buried by you.’ And so on.

Whether this dirge of a canon wanting Christian burial, like an unquiet ghost, is strictly logical or not, it might have occurred to him that it would be at least as good in the mouth of his bishop. We may conceive him saying, either now or under the absolute dean of the future, ‘Why am I to come and sit here in what is called my throne, when it is really the footstool of the men I make canons? I have no part or lot in the management of this church or its services. The dean, this archdeacon says, “may shock and disquiet the other clergy in the church and the city by celebrating evening Communion” (which in his grief he forgets that the first Communion ever celebrated was, and an innumerable multitude of other primitive ones), and I must not say a word, or I shall be told to mind my own business. I am not here to settle how the services will promote the glory of God or the good of man, though foolish people take for granted that I must be. I am not here to perform any of them unless the dean asks me. The canons, major and minor, do all that. I am not even here to preach, except by permission of the chapter, though they call me “bishop by Divine permission,” and I ordain preachers and put them here as canons. The vergers have

‘ more recognised part and lot in the services than I have.
 ‘ If my Archdeacon of Northampton wants burying in peace
 ‘ for all that he has to bear, and thinks he has already one
 ‘ foot in the grave through it, surely I may say, like the
 ‘ ghost of Palinurus, with better reason to the Pius Æneas
 ‘ of the deanery—

‘ Eripe me his, invicte, malis; aut tu mihi terram
 Injice, namque potes.’

Not only do the Commissioners complacently flatter themselves that their legislation about the ordering of services will ‘ promote earnest and harmonious co-operation between ‘ the bishop of the diocese and the cathedral body,’ and ‘ secure him his legitimate influence and position,’ but that they have ‘ got rid of a difficulty which has arisen in the ‘ cathedrals of the old foundation from the apparent contradiction between recent legislation and the ancient cathedral constitution, by recommending that a residentiary ‘ canon shall always hold one of the ancient prebendal ‘ stalls.’

To those who happen to have been obliged to consider that very difficulty legally, there is something particularly amusing in this placid statement. It is no exaggeration to say that no two lines of that sentence could have been written by anyone who understood even what the difficulty is which has arisen in different forms several times between the Crown, the archbishop, the chapter, and successive canons of York in this matter. Fortunately it is very little more than an unsubstantial technicality which has been thought too small for litigation, though opposite legal opinions have been given on it. Small as the grain of sand is however, it has been enough to generate considerable friction and consequent heat in the machinery of one cathedral, and may at any time in any other of the old ones, except St. Paul’s, for which a special clause was inserted for the benefit of the Crown in the Act 4 & 5 Vict. c. 39, that ‘ the holding of a ‘ prebend or canonry shall not be necessary for holding the ‘ residentiary canonries of St. Paul’s, which are in the direct ‘ patronage of the Crown.’ There was no such second Act passed for any of the other old cathedrals; but there was express power given to the bishops of Lincoln and London alone to create another residentiary canonry in their own patronage. It would take more space than it is worth to explain the legal difficulties in the other cathedrals arising from the contradictory enactments on this point, evidently

made in ignorance. Any lawyer can see that these commissioners have neither understood nor cured them. The contradiction can only be cured by a general Act, declaring either that the holding of an old canonry or prebend shall *not* be necessary for being made a canon residentiary, as at St. Paul's; or else, conversely, that one of the old prebends or canonries *shall* be annexed permanently, as soon as any become vacant, to any residentiary stall which is now without one, and that any prebend now held by a residentiary shall remain annexed to his residentiary stall; for a stall he has expressly by the Act of 1840, whether he has a prebend or not.

'The *legitimate* position and influence of the bishop' is necessarily matter of opinion; but according to the opinions of the late Dr. Lushington and the other lawyers whom we have already quoted, there seems no doubt that as a matter of history and fact the bishop was originally in substance as well as in name the actual head of the chapter, as much as the heads of colleges are of theirs, without any express legislation beyond the name of Head, even in the new cathedrals, and *a fortiori* in the old. It is worth mentioning that he also was himself a canon with a prebend in six of them at least; and by what is rather absurdly called the Ecclesiastical Commission Act 1873, such prebends will all be hereafter severed from the bishoprics. Those stalls are a complete answer to the technical and imaginary objection that the bishop could not be both visitor and a member of the chapter, because he would then be visitable by himself. *Solvitur ambulando*; for, as a matter of fact, all those bishops were. So are the judges the visitors of the benchers of the Inns of Court, and yet they are mostly, and soon all will be, benchers themselves. The Dean of St. Paul's, an old cathedral, says, 'The bishop's part in the government has been much modified by usage. He has long ceased to take part in the chapter (as he originally did). The history of the cathedral shows examples of his enjoining ordinances and authorising statutes.' If so, we do not see how it has been lost, if it has been; but it certainly has been lost in so many cathedrals that nothing but legislation could restore it generally now. The 1854 report says that 'in the conventual cathedrals it was declared that the dean and prebendaries shall be incorporated and *united with the bishop* for all future time; and in the new ones (Henry VIII.'s five new ones) the chapter is declared to consist of the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, and there is no definition

‘of his rights except as visitor’—which is an external right that might be given to anybody.

The degree of displacement that has been suffered by the bishops from what the Commission rightly considered their proper position as to the use of their own cathedrals seems to vary considerably. The Archbishop of York, for instance, though he is metropolitan as well as diocesan, tells the Commission that his dean and chapter have taken care to impress on him that he ‘ministers in his minster at all only by sufferance,’ and the statement goes uncontradicted, though his dean and a canon sat on the Commission and print his letter. On the other hand, the (late) Dean of Winchester says: ‘The bishop is considered to have the right to officiate in the cathedral, either in the pulpit or otherwise, whenever he is disposed,’ though there is no more special provision for it in the statutes there than in any of the other cathedrals where the chapters have established the contrary doctrine, through the carelessness of the bishops themselves in the days when it was the fashion for them to do as little as possible. Nearly all the chapters now seem willing to concede the bishop’s right to preach and use the cathedral on giving reasonable notice; but the degrees in which the proposed statutes do so vary a good deal; whereas the bishop’s rights in that respect plainly should be uniform and declared once for all by law, though it is not necessary that all things should be uniform. In some cases it seems to have been intended to make any assertion of the right as difficult as possible. Without going into the variations, the substantial meaning of the best of them should be enacted as follows:

The bishop shall have the use of the cathedral, with all customary attendance and facilities for the service intended, for consecrations, when desired by the archbishop of the province, ordinations, confirmations, and visitations, and the right to appoint the preachers thereat; and also to take such part as he pleases in any of the cathedral services, including preaching with reasonable notice, and not superseding any previously appointed preacher without special reason to be assigned. All other special services are to be agreed on between the bishop and the chapter; and the appointment of any preachers, not officials of the diocese or the cathedral, shall be subject to his approval in like manner as in parish churches.

This last clause about strange preachers ought not to be necessary, as it is only an affirmation of what is really law for cathedrals and for other churches, and of the 43rd canon too; but we infer from some of the correspondence that even that has been disputed of late. Indeed a very strong

illustration of it is within the memory of many persons, though the two actors in the scene are gone. A great prelate, who was universally understood to have been promoted because he was one of the greatest preachers in the kingdom, was complimented on his first appearance at any great diocesan function in his cathedral by another bishop of inferior rank being invited by his dean to preach over his head. Nobody doubted that it was done for doubly personal reasons; and whether it was or not, nobody was surprised that things never ran very smooth between the palace and the deanery afterwards, and that other grains of sand were continually getting into the machinery. The late Dean of Lincoln, we see, objected to the bishop having power to supersede any other preacher in his appointed turn, and refused to sign the new statutes on that and other grounds. But as in most, and probably in all cathedrals, the rota is fixed either by statute or a long time beforehand, the bishop must be allowed this power, but not to be exercised without good reason assigned; or else he may as well be excluded at once from any right to preach except in his own few statutable turns—the very thing which most of the chapters now admit by their new statutes to be wrong and indefensible. At York the only turn assigned to him, according to the diocesan calendar, is the ‘black fast’ of Good Friday, when the musical services are least attractive.

We have already spoken of the comparatively modern extrusion of the bishops from all jurisdiction over the fabrics, which in old times, and as late as two centuries ago, were always described as having been made what they were by the bishops, and never by the deans. The Archbishop of York carries the account of modern usurpation a little further. He ‘hopes that the labours of the Commissioners may end in the re-establishment of the old system, by which the dean and chapter (jointly) may have the general conduct of the worship of the church, and the care of the fabric. The general tendency seems to have been, not merely in this cathedral, but in others, that all the duties should be assumed by the dean.’ The way the labours of the Commission did end in this respect (except at Truro) almost reads like a practical joke, if not a further intentional snub of the archbishop. The office of treasurer there, to which the care of the fabric was specially attached in the old cathedrals, was abolished long ago; and the precentorship was conferred on the late dean—of course at his request—by Archbishop Longley, not only in the teeth of

general law, but of a particular York statute which annexed it to the prebend of Driffild. And now, to prevent all question for the future, these Commissioners propose to enact (if Parliament will let them), that 'the ancient dignity of either precentor or chancellor shall be tenable 'with that of dean;' only, with surprising moderation, they will not let him be all three together. Treasurer he has become already, or curator of the fabric; precentor he would have been still if the late dean had lived, and consequently canon of Driffild besides; precentor or chancellor he may be any day, if this 'definition and establishment' of duties is enacted. One of the 'great offices' or *personæ* alone there is, which neither decanal nor commissarial ingenuity could make tenable with the deanery, and that is—that the dean should also be sub-dean, or his own deputy in his own absence.

The archbishop's description of the gradual absorption of all the other capitular functions is too good to pass over. To the above account of the precentorship amalgamation, which he terminated at the next vacancy, he quaintly adds that 'the late dean did not among his 'many merits reckon any knowledge of music.' It is right to say however that Dean Duncombe, *per se aut per alios*, did get the musical service done very well; and so did Dr. Hook at Leeds, who professed entire ignorance of music.

Of the chancellorship (which we may inform unlearned readers is very different from the judicial office of chancellor of the diocese), he says that it has certain duties attached to it by the statutes, and that as a fact, though not necessarily, three successive chancellors—viz. two residentiaries and Dr. Vaughan, while Vicar of Doncaster, were able and willing to perform their statutable duties, but found that it was so contrary to the established order of things that they saw it would be resented as an interference. 'He is anxious' (he says) 'to appoint only residentiaries to the great offices,' but hitherto it has clearly been of no use: 'he has put the 'question in a meeting where many canons were assembled, 'What were their duties as actually discharged? (i.e. the 'duties of the few office-holders), and the answer was purely 'negative.' Further on he says:—

'Of late years the jurisdiction of the bishop has become more complete over the whole diocese by the Clergy Discipline Act (which ousted the diocesan chancellors of all that jurisdiction), by the abolition of peculiars, and by the withdrawal of all direct jurisdiction over the clergy from the archidiaconal courts. At the same time there is

one church, over which he is especially installed as head, where endeavours are made to impress upon him that he ministers only on sufferance; that he cannot claim to direct even those services which are the especial work of the bishop, where he is in danger of wounding some susceptibility at every turn.'

We need not pursue that subject; and it is time that we said a word for the deans, which this Commission has not said, except in the most vague and useless way, with reference to a more practical matter than that of jurisdiction, on which they have taken such good care of themselves. The 1854 Commission made a kind of suggestion to amalgamate the deans with the bishops, which would, in plain English, be destroying them. But if cathedrals and chapters, or cathedrals without chapters, are to exist, they must each have some principal manager or rector, with a great deal less of other work to do than the bishop of a diocese; and that person will be, in fact, the dean, whether he is called dean or by some new fancy title which nobody will care for. We believe that the financial treatment of the deans by Bishop Blomfield's commission and their Act of 1840 is very little understood. We call it *his*, because his name is embalmed with it by Sydney Smith as long as English literature may last. Lord Russell, who was one of those commissioners, said to a well-known clergyman, not long before his death, that he thought they had done too much, but that 'it was all Bishop Blomfield's doing,' as indeed everybody knew at the time.

He and his episcopal colleagues were frightened out of their senses at the outcry about the abuses of cathedral patronage and the weakness of the parochial system, besides being honestly anxious to strengthen it. The world knows better now than then that such men, when they are once frightened into setting up for reformers and bidding for popularity, are more inclined to take 'leaps in the dark' than anybody, and more intolerant than anybody of followers who hold back and are disposed to look before they leap.

What they did, shortly, and omitting exceptional variations for reasons which they could not resist, was to disendow all non-residentiary prebends or canonries (which only existed in the old cathedrals) of all their property, both joint and separate; refusing even to allow them a pittance to pay their expenses of coming to perform their statutable duties at the cathedral. Bishop Blomfield wanted, and the Bill proposed, not only to disendow, but to destroy them. He could find no excuse for resisting that amendment which

Canon Selwyn had the credit for devising, and which is called in the Act 'suspending' the canonries, which meant stopping their incomes; but he paid them off in that way, by making them do their statutable duties for nothing. That is very naturally dilated on as a grievance still by several chapters and many prebendaries to the late commission, but, as far as we observe, in vain. The 1840 commission also reduced all but four residentiary canons in (nearly) every cathedral to the same condition; for 'residentiary' was only an adjective applied from time to time to individual canons, either new or old, and not a substantive; and the four residentiaries were and are required to reside three months each, and the deans, for the first time, eight.

But then comes something more complicated and indefensible. Most people believe that the Commission reduced all the deaneries which were above 2000*l.* a year to that amount, except Oxford and Durham, and raised all that were below 1000*l.* to that sum, leaving intermediate ones alone. In a certain way that might have been defensible, though the defence would have been a poor one for reformers acquiring a very large surplus. But they did much more than that. There is nothing like inventing a rule. You have then only to tell people who find fault that you have done every kind of iniquity or absurdity 'by rule,' though you made it yourself, and they are expected to be satisfied. Bishop Blomfield found he could get more for his 'Holy Innovation' (as he called it, almost imitating 'the Holy Inquisition'), by confiscating all the separate property of deans and canons, and leaving them their shares of the corporate property, than by doing it the other way. At any rate, he did it, and then set up that as the rule of the Commission, as if it had been imposed on them by Act of Parliament. *A priori*, one would think it more natural to leave a man his individual property than his divisible share of joint property, if there was to be a distinction. But there was no reason for making any distinction at all. The only rational thing to do was to reduce all the deaneries above 2000*l.* a year to that sum, and to raise all below it to the same, especially when they were to be prohibited from holding anything else except a small living in the cathedral town—if they could get one. What does it signify either to a dean who has to live in the way that is expected of him in a large house—and some of the poorest deans have the largest houses—or to the Commission, who pretended to do justice and to keep deans alive, where their income comes from? Ultimately it all comes from

the general funds administered by the Commission, and it was a mere piece of financial conjuring to invent this trick for reducing some of the richest deaneries to the poorest, while pretending only to reduce the superfluities and to raise the poor ones. Some of them are now reduced still more by the universal fall of rents.

This Commission says all this cannot be rectified now without an Act of Parliament. Of course it cannot. But not a single thing that they have recommended can be done without an Act of Parliament. That was plainly an excuse and not a reason. Even such amateurs as they were must know that they have only been playing at statute-making until Parliament turns their playthings into realities, which they have three times tried to get done. Canons were treated in the same absurd and unfair way in 1840, only substituting the figures 1000 and 500 for 2000 and 1000; but with these very material differences from deans, that they can hold other preferment, that much less is expected of them; that their houses are smaller; and they have to reside little more than a third of the time then imposed on deans. It should be mentioned too, that Bishop Blomfield and the bishops took for themselves every bit of patronage belonging to deans and canons individually, and even condescended to rob the lay diocesan officials of a few scraps that belonged to them; and that though they let decanal incomes vary in the ratio of two to one, they raised all the low episcopal incomes of the ordinary bishops nearly to the same standard, and reduced the few great ones of superior rank to reasonable amounts. By a mistake, not discovered till too late, the Ecclesiastical Commission arbitrarily took and sold a special property which was not theirs, but held upon a special trust under an Act of James I., who gave it in exchange for old York House to provide a London residence for that archbishop, which unluckily for him had never been done, except that the income had paid his rent. It is odd that no archbishop has made a stir to get that cool appropriation redressed. Surely he needs a London residence more than a Bishop of Ely, whose house in Dover Street represents the old Ely House near Holborn in the same way. The present Bishop of Winchester magnanimously gave up Winchester House to be sold for 40,000*l.* towards founding the see of St. Albans, which would never have been done without it. We shall have something more to say about the new sees afterwards, which were part of the subject of the 1854 Commission.

As the proposal of the 1854 Commission practically to abolish deans is unworkable and merely destructive for nothing, and this last Commission seems to have had no ideas beyond giving them more power and no more real or useful work, perhaps it is allowable to propose something of another kind. There are constant demands for more bishops, either diocesan (with original jurisdiction) or suffragan with only deputed episcopal functions under the 26th of Henry VIII.; and there is no pay for them. That Act suggests that the Crown should provide for them out of its own patronage; which somehow the Crown has never done in any single case yet, and the bishops who commission them have very little means of doing so; some of them absolutely none, having no canonries; which, by the bye, both commissions have recommended that they should have, by exchanges with the Crown—if the Crown need keep canonry patronage at all.

We may as well correct a common mistake, that a bishop needs the consent of the Queen to have a deputy or an assistant, because he cannot have a suffragan consecrated for him without it. The Suffragan Act may be described as an Act for generating bishops with merely titular sees, who may be employed by commission anywhere in the same province, just as far and as long as any diocesan likes to do so. But he may employ any ready-made suffragan, or any ex-colonial bishop who happens to be here; and the late Bishop of Ripon and several others have done so. The bishop who wants a suffragan created by royal authority has to recommend two persons, of whom the Crown selects one, and it is always understood beforehand which it is to be. Thus far no dean has been a suffragan; but several canons have; and there is not the smallest legal reason why nearly every dean should not be made a suffragan to his diocesan. For without any alteration the Act provides for twenty-six, and there are only twenty-eight cathedral deans altogether, of whom Oxford and Durham have university duties and are very unlikely to become suffragans; nor do all bishops want one, even if he were gratuitously generated for them. There is, however, this difficulty, that the Prime Minister makes deans *ex mero motu*, but not suffragans; and it is clear from what we have already seen, that some deans would not be used by their diocesans as commissaries, if they were ever so ready, and also that some never would be ready. Still there is perhaps a solution for that difficulty, viz. that some considerable proportion of a dean's salary—

assuming them all to be raised to what they ought to be, and would have been if rationally treated by the Act of 1840—should depend upon his acting as suffragan or commissary to his own or some other bishop. There would always be a few cathedrals where either decanal infirmities or unwillingness or incompatibility of temper would divorce the diocesan from his authorised suffragan; but a few exceptions would not signify. Generally they would work together as well as any other pair of officials who either had or had not made their own marriage, such as bishops and archdeacons; provided always there is no ‘grandmotherly legislation’ made for them after the fashion of these times to teach the bishop on the throne and the bishop in the stall how to suck their eggs. The legislators of the Tudor times, who could draw acts and college and cathedral statutes that would work for more centuries than ours do for years without cobbling, wisely left the diocesans absolute discretion as to how much use they would make of their suffragans. Possibly too, the knowledge that deans are generally to be suffragan bishops would make prime ministers attend rather more than they often do to their theological and less to their political or social qualifications. And it can hardly be denied that a dean with both work and income suitable to his position is a more desirable functionary than one with neither, but simply a poor and learned—or unlearned and undistinguished man—in ‘a very wide house,’ with no visible public duties, except going to church daily for eight months and ‘keeping hospitality,’ according to the canon, which Bishop Blomfield’s Commission chose to make impossible for half of them, and nearly so for a good many more.

Turning to the recommendation of the 1854 Commission on additional bishops, which it was expressly charged to report on, it is singular that Lord Beaconsfield’s Government not only ignored it, as in appointing this last Commission, but reversed it, and very likely neither remembered nor looked at it when they took so much credit for introducing bills allowing other people and bishops to found half a dozen new sees by subscription and giving up their own houses and incomes. Even the 1840 Commission, when it founded two bishops, did not starve them down to half the normal income. The estates of the Manchester and Ripon colleges were not even episcopal, any more than the Southwell ones. These three were all exactly alike, except the peculiarity that the Southwell chapter had no head unless the Archbishop of York was, from whose province it has been

absurdly divorced, and the new see attached to Canterbury. Yet two of those bishops were made genuine ones, with the normal income and a residence, while the other, and all the other new ones (of the Sir Richard Cross foundation), are 'one-horse' bishops with half a salary, and of the order of Jonadab the son of Rechab, 'not building any house nor 'having any,' except in one case by donation of a charitable Quaker—a fit climax for such a story. Yet the 1854 Commission had advised that 'no new see should be 'created unless a suitable income and a sufficient residence 'be provided, partly by local contributions or out of the 'episcopal property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commission;' of which there is now a large surplus, though there was none at all when Ripon and Manchester were founded.

But even that is not the worst they did in those new bishopric Acts for St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield—when it comes; which ought to have been Beverley with that glorious minster ready for it and the whole of the East Riding and part of the North for a diocese, along which a railway runs from the Humber to the Tees. They not only provided and required no residences for their new bishops, but positively stuck a clause into their own Act prohibiting the Ecclesiastical Commission from doing anything to get them. The most desirable house or site may be offered them at a moderate price, and with no means and little chance of securing it hereafter; they may entirely approve of it themselves; and then at the last moment their lawyers have to tell them, 'No, you can't 'buy it, because there is a clause in the Act prohibiting you 'from contributing a farthing out of the Common Fund;' which appears to be so called because it is not 'common;' for new bishops are to have no share of it, but only new parochial incumbents, though a great deal of it comes from episcopal estates. The 'benevolent reader' who likes to find excuses, as others like to find fault, may be exclaiming, 'Oh! that was probably forced upon them by the House of 'Commons.' No, it was not. It was nothing but a piece of the modern cowardly habit of committing suicide for fear of an attempt at murder, and a love of 'making things 'pleasant' by a pretence of liberality at other people's expense. The commissioners may not even anticipate their own means of purchase, where there are some, as for Rochester and St. Albans. Rochester is now without a palace because the Bishop of St. Albans was allowed to keep Dan-

bury with the Albanian part of his former diocese. But when he vacates it is to be sold and the proceeds applied—how? Most people suppose, and it was publicly asserted once, equally between the two halves of the old diocese, of which the Albanian ‘half’ is very much the larger in area, in benefices, and in clergy. But again nothing of the kind. Not a penny can be spent in building, buying, or securing a site for a St. Albans residence until (1) Danbury is vacated; (2) sold; (3) the proceeds muddled away by architects, surveyors, and lawyers in providing a palace for Rochester; and then (4) they may go to work with the residue, and try to make up the required difference and buy and build for St. Albans, which is therefore not likely to have a bishop’s residence in less than four years after Danbury is vacated, even if money is subscribed for it. Surely a commission reporting on cathedrals and the relation of bishops to them might have found something to say of that exploit of ecclesiastical legislation. But probably not one of them knew anything about it.

On one point they have preferred a golden silence to silvery speech. We are glad to see none of the usual diocesan conference platitudes about the essentiality of a chapter to the complete making of a genuine bishopric. While it is so difficult, as this repetition of commissions shows, to know what to do with existing chapters, people are not likely to subscribe another 80,000*l.* at least to make a new one anywhere. Stealing a canonry from an older cathedral and cutting it up into little bits, and calling the assignees of the little bits chancellors, precentors, treasurers, and even deans, is only playing at chapter-building, like children with wooden bricks. Instead of ‘ptochogonies’ of that kind, as Sydney Smith called them, what is wanted in all the (very) new cathedrals is the reality of a proper income for the three or four clergy who have to do the necessary work of the cathedral and the parish, whether they are called (as they well may be) a dean and minor canons, besides the ‘honorary’ ones, or a rector and curates; and also for the choir. In these times it is difficult enough, if not impossible, to attain even that; and so it is still more absurd to fritter away any small means that there may be on mere shams; and the greatest of these is chapters, to elect a bishop, and then to counsel him, which are sometimes solemnly put forth as reasons for their existence. In one of the new dioceses we read lately that nearly a hundred pounds had actually been subscribed to generate a chapter, and

then called a *nucleus*—about as solid as that of a comet, according to astronomers.

After so much criticism of the work and proposals of this last commission, we are glad to finish with an expression of entire concurrence with their opinion, that the preservation of the cathedral fabrics is the primary claim on the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which are principally derived from them. They even go so far as to say, after some beating about the bush in the literary style of the whole report, that ‘the requirements of the fabrics have ‘not in all cases received the consideration which their importance would seem to have demanded.’ One concrete visible case is worth more than any number of lines of abstract suggestion such as that. The only defence of a practical kind that was made last winter for not attempting a real restoration of the grand old Norman tower of Peterborough Cathedral, which was coming down if it had not been taken down in time, and for which the architect had discovered enough of the original features, was that it would cost more than had been subscribed (20,000*l.*) or was thought likely to be subscribed in these bad times, when the richest man in the diocese, if not in England, only gave 100*l.* If the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had recognised what this very mild-spoken Commission on cathedrals at last ventures to call their primary duty, that difficulty could not have been pleaded by the obstructives. The absolutely necessary work would have been done out of general cathedral funds, and what may be called the architectural luxury of a grand restoration of the tower to its original state would have been covered by the subscriptions; for which, it was said by the dean, who wished for it, more conditional promises kept coming in while there was a chance of the proper thing being done. So we spoil a great cathedral for ever for want of 20,000*l.* to restore it as it was in its best days, and would have been still but for accidents.

ART. VIII.—1. *History of Art in Phœnicia*. By G. PERROT and C. CHIEPIEZ. Translated by W. ARMSTRONG. London: 1885.

2. *L'Imagerie Phénicienne*. Par CLERMONT-GANNEAU. Paris: 1880.

3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Paris: 1881.

IN the opening chapter of his great work, the writer, whom, in spite of recent attempts to invalidate his authority, we will still venture to call the father of history, narrates the following tradition. The Phœnicians, says Herodotus, transported the merchandise of Egypt and Assyria to various countries, among which was Argos. Here they tarried five or six days, at the end of which time, the sale having been finished, the Greek women, among whom was Io, the daughter of the king of Argos, came down to the shore. On a given signal the Phœnicians carried off Io and some of her companions, and set sail for Egypt.

This mythical tale of traffic followed by kidnapping resembles in its main features more than one story in Homer, and is in accordance with the statements of several ancient historians. In the state of society described by Homer, the buccaneer and merchant were constantly combined in the same marine adventurer, and of these daring cruisers the Phœnicians were, as far as we know, the first to explore the shores of the Mediterranean from east to west, and to venture on the unknown Atlantic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. How early this took place we have no sure means of ascertaining, but from a variety of statements in biblical and classical authorities we may infer that the Phœnician settlements on the coast of Syria had been established not later than 1600 B.C., and probably even much earlier. Two of these Syrian cities, Tyre and Sidon, were already celebrated for their commerce and maritime ascendancy in the time of David and Solomon, and possessed then a civilisation which could hardly have been so matured in less than two or three centuries. Notwithstanding the pretensions of the Tyrians as to the immense antiquity of their temple of Hercules, founded, as they told Herodotus, 2,300 years before his visit, the best modern authorities incline to think that Sidon was the older city of the two, though, perhaps, younger than Byblos. The other cities on this coast were Arvad or Arad

(now Ruad), Marath (Amrith), Gebal (the Byblos of the Greeks), Berytus (Beyrouth), Sarapta (Sarfend), Aco (Acre), Joppa (Jaffa).

Of all these cities, once so flourishing, none, except Beyrouth, has retained any semblance of its ancient prosperity, though Sidon and Tyre, Acre and Joppa, are still centres of administration and of local trade. The district along which these cities were planted is a narrow strip of coast between Lebanon and the sea, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from north to south. Along part of this coast the spurs of the mountains run so close to the sea that communication along the coast by land must have been difficult in all seasons, and after the autumnal rains had swelled the torrents must have been almost impossible, till roads were cut into the face of the rock. The same range of Lebanon which served as a barrier to protect the Phœnician cities from incursions of the tribes in the interior of Syria must for a long time have greatly impeded their inland commerce. On the other hand, the sea, swarming with fish and other maritime products, must have early invited them to carry on communication by water. At first their navigation would have been limited to short coasting cruises round the headlands and to the islands lying nearest the coast. Their next venture was probably to Cyprus, which was visible on a clear day from the mountains along the Syrian coast, and it would not be long before they found their way to Crete and those groups of islands in the Ægean which have been called the cradle of ancient navigation. Thence to the mainland of Greece their passage was easy, and we may track them from Cyprus to Rhodes and the Sporades, to Crete, to Thera (Santorin) and Melos among the Cyclades; to Cythera (Cerigo), to Corinth and Argos in the Morea. The myth of Cadmus attests their presence in Bœotia, and in Thasos Herodotus still saw the gigantic remains of their mines. These enterprises in the eastern Mediterranean are ascribed to the Sidonians. Gaining more nautical experience by each successive venture, these fearless navigators crossed the Adriatic and visited certain points in southern Italy and Sicily. The sacking of Sidon by the Philistines, B.C. 1000-900, gave more scope for the developement of Tyre, whose princes, Abibaal and Hiram, were successively contemporaries of David and Solomon. Long before the Greeks got a footing in Italy, the Tyrians had commercial relations with the native races there. In the Latin language we may detect a curious evidence of this early intercourse in the

word *Serranus*, the ancient Latin name for the people whom the Greeks and Romans afterwards called *Tyrians*; in this relic of archaic Latin we may trace the original Semitic form *Tsar*.

A little westward from Italy lies *Sardinia*, an island in which the fine natural harbour of *Caralis* (*Cagliari*), and its mines, presented peculiar attractions for the *Phœnicians*. From *Sardinia* to the *Balearic* islands, and from the *Balearic* islands to the western extremity of the *Mediterranean*, where the rock of *Calpe* (*Gibraltar*) marked the entrance to the *Atlantic*, they gradually felt their way along the southern coast of *Spain*. It was not till after much hesitation that they dared to pass through that strait to which the Greeks in after times gave the name of the *Pillars of Hercules*, and to enter on the unknown ocean beyond. This is said to have taken place as early as 1100 B.C., when they planted a colony on the little island of *Gades* (*Cadiz*), which like the mother colony of *Tyre* lay close to the mainland. Fortifying themselves in this new outpost, the *Phœnicians* soon entered into friendly relations with the neighbouring tribes of *Hispania Bætica* (*Andalusia*), and thus opened up new sources of commerce. It was to this distant emporium that the ships of *Tarshish*, built like our old *Indiamen* for long voyages, sailed to and from *Tyre* freighted with rich cargoes, a portion of which they never failed to offer on their return at the shrine of their tutelary deity, *Melkart*, the *Hērakles* of Greek legend. On the north coast of *Africa* the *Tyrians* were equally active. After establishing themselves at *Hippo*, *Hadrumet*, and *Leptis*, in the territory of *Tunis*, they founded about 800 B.C. 'the new city' (*Kart-Hadasat*), better known to us under its Latin name *Carthago*. After two centuries of unclouded prosperity, the calamities foretold by *Ezekiel* overtook *Tyre*. After losing the protection of the great Egyptian dynasty of *Rameses* and his successors, *Syria*, from the ninth century onwards, had passed under the dominion of the *Assyrians*. *Tyre* alone resisted, till forced by *Sennacherib* to receive a king of his choice. After the fall of *Nineveh*, an alliance with *Judæa* and *Egypt* emboldened the *Phœnicians* to resist the *Chaldean* conqueror of *Asia*; but the defeat of *Apries* and the taking of *Jerusalem* enabled *Nebuchadnezzar* to lay siege to *Tyre*, which he blockaded for thirteen years. The naval power of the *Tyrians* enabled them at last to make terms with their enemy, about 574 B.C., but at the cost of a ruinous interruption of their trade. Meanwhile new rivals sprang up in the

Mediterranean. As early as the ninth century the Greeks had already expelled the Phœnicians from most of the islands in the Ægean, and had got permanent possession of the harbours and headlands of the coast of Asia. Thence, steering boldly westward, they followed in the track of Phœnician enterprise, first getting a footing in lower Italy and in Sicily, where they founded Syracuse, B.C. 733, while they entered into commercial relations with the Saite princes of Egypt, where a factory was granted to them at Naukratis, the site of which has been recently discovered by Mr. Petrie.

During the same period Etruria developed a formidable naval power in the north of Italy. After the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, Syria was annexed to the new Persian empire, and the Phœnician cities there and in Cyprus furnished the fleets of the great king, and under the rule of the Achæmenidæ enjoyed security and protection for their trade, though shorn of their ancient independence. Carthage, meanwhile, unaffected by the influences which had so greatly disturbed the developement of Phœnician trade in the eastern Mediterranean, 'continued to spread her wings far beyond her nest,' conquering step by step all the northern coast of Africa between the lesser Syrtis and the frontier of Numidia. This took place between the end of the ninth and end of the seventh century B.C. Hitherto the Carthaginians had contented themselves with planting from time to time isolated factories, but after the acquisition of so much territory in the fertile district now called Tunis, they began to consolidate their empire, introducing scientific agriculture among the natives, and raising armies of mercenaries from the Numidians and Mauritians and the mixed population called by the Greeks Liby-phœnicians. It was by means of these armies of mercenaries that they were able to suppress a formidable outbreak of the native populations in Hispania Bætica, and to check the growing influence of the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean. Their exclusive monopoly of trade in these regions was seriously threatened when the Phocæans began to make distant voyages, and when Kolæos of Samos about 640 B.C. succeeded in reaching the mart on the Spanish coast which the Greeks called Tartessos. The rapid advance made by the Hellenic colonists in Sicily compelled the Carthaginians to defend with garrisons those points which had in earlier times been only emporiums for trade. They were thus enabled to retain the western coasts of the island till the Punic wars, leaving the Greeks in

possession of the northern and eastern territory. On the destruction of Phocæa by the Persians B.C. 546, the Greek inhabitants emigrated westward to Massilia and Aléria in Corsica. Against these new colonies the Carthaginians in Sardinia combined with the Etruscans. Their allied fleets attacked Aléria B.C. 536, and though in the naval action which ensued the Ionians claimed the victory over superior forces, their losses were so heavy that they abandoned their settlement in Corsica, which was thenceforth occupied by the Etruscans, while the Carthaginians became permanent masters of Sardinia, the Balearic islands, and the harbours of Malta and Gozo. After thus establishing their supremacy on the coasts of Spain and Africa, the Carthaginians were impelled by the spirit of discovery still further west, beyond the utmost limits of Tyrian adventure. An expedition commanded by Hanno explored the west coast of Africa as far as the eighth degree of northern latitude, and this voyage was followed up by the establishment of nearly three hundred factories between the Straits of Gibraltar and Cape Noun. It was probably not long after this expedition that the Carthaginians discovered Madeira and the Canaries. Hanno's official report of this voyage, which was dedicated in the temple of Baal Hammon at Carthage, is preserved in a Greek translation. About the same time another daring navigator, Himilco, sailed northward along the coasts of Spain and Gaul. We may assume that he visited the Cassiterides or tin islands, with which Gades traded for metals and hides, but there seems to be no proof that he touched on any part of the Cornish or Irish coasts. Unfortunately the report of Himilco's voyage has come down to us only in a garbled and untrustworthy form, and the endeavour of the Carthaginians for centuries was to conceal as far as possible this route from their rivals in commerce.

The long struggle of the Punic wars dissolved the complicated fabric of the Carthaginian empire which it had taken so many centuries of enterprise to construct. The daughter of Tyre fell by the hand of Scipio Africanus rather more than a century after Alexander the Great inflicted a fatal blow on the ancient metropolis of Phœnicia. The obstinate resistance of the Tyrians to the Macedonian conqueror was overcome when he succeeded in uniting the island city to the mainland. Henceforth Tyre ceased to be impregnable, the mole destroyed the principal harbour by the silting up it caused, and the foundation of Alexandria diverted much of its ancient trade. But Tyre continued to be a place of

commercial importance all through the Roman empire and even till the Crusades.

We have endeavoured in this brief sketch to trace the course of Phœnician enterprise from its Eastern birthplace on the Syrian shore to that far-distant Atlantic to traverse which in a future age was reserved for the genius of a Columbus. Though impelled onward, perhaps, by no nobler motive than commercial greed, the Phœnicians achieved a great work as the pioneers of future civilisation. It may be said that they were buccaneers and filibusters; but no mere pirates could have established the maritime supremacy which they so long maintained without higher instincts than the love of plunder. By their success in the carrying trade they laid the foundations of that international commerce which gradually taught the races of the ancient world that, though geographically far apart, they had certain common interests resulting from their several wants. By the experience gained in many voyages, they learnt what were the articles of which each country with which they traded had most need; but they were not only the purveyors of manufactured goods, they supplied much of the raw materials on which the industry of other nations depended. As the races of the Old World slowly emerged from barbarism, metals were among their earliest wants, and the Phœnicians were already miners and metallurgists at a very remote period. Their mining operations in Thasos and in the north of Thrace excited the wonder of Herodotus; and the gigantic scale on which they carried on their search for metals in Spain is described by Pliny with equal admiration. It was through Phœnician enterprise that the tin of Spain and of the remoter Britain must have first found its way into the markets of the western Mediterranean, where by combination with copper it formed the mixed metal which we call bronze; and when we consider that, after the disuse of stone implements, bronze was universally employed for most of the purposes for which we now use iron, we may calculate how great must have been the demand for the tin which gave to copper the requisite hardness. Egypt and Assyria may have obtained some of their tin from Eastern countries, but the bulk of this metal must have been brought in ships of Tarshish from western mines, and the profits on its importation must have been one of the main sources of the wealth of Tyre and Sidon.

Of all the articles used in the manufactures which the Phœnicians exported, one of the most precious was that

famous purple dye, of which these cities long had so exclusive a monopoly. This dye was obtained from certain shell-fish belonging to the families of *murex* and *purpura*, which are ranged by naturalists among the *mollusci gasteropodes*. These shell-fish are found in great abundance on the rocky coast of Tyre. The discovery that they contain a juice capable of being used as a dye seems to have been made at a period so remote that tradition ascribed the invention of the dye to the Tyrian god Melkart. It must have been rather due to the accident which led some obscure fishermen to remark that the juice which exuded from these shell-fish on their first capture tinged the whole body of the fish with a violet colour. It was found that by applying this juice to linen, a dye was obtained of which the brilliant colour was not affected either by sunlight or water. By a series of experiments with different varieties of these shell-fish, a scale of hues was obtained which ranged from lilac and blood-red to intense violet. The dye thus prepared was then applied to woven stuffs, the brilliancy of which made them an article which attracted the eye in every market where the Phœnicians offered them. But the cost of producing this dye was very great, because each shell yielded only a very small amount of the colouring juice, and it was necessary to apply it as soon as possible after its extraction from the shell. Therefore, at every place where there was a fishery of these shells, it was found convenient to establish a factory for dyeing the stuffs. As the trade in these stuffs developed, it was necessary to go further afield in quest of the shell-fish, and thus, long before they made distant voyages in ships of Tarshish, the Tyrians and Sidonians must have been led step by step to the coasts of the Peloponnese and of Attica. The island of Cythera (Cerigo) was probably one of their factories for this purpose, and the vast heaps of shells of the *Murex trunculus* which have been noticed by travellers along the shore at Tyre and Sidon, at Salamis and elsewhere in Attica, and at Tarentum, still enable us to follow the track of these fishermen. Such was the obscure origin of that famous Tyrian purple, to be clothed in which was the special privilege of ancient kings and rich men, and the tradition of which has to this day associated red in varying shades with the robes of royal personages, popes, and cardinals.

Of other inventions attributed to the Phœnicians, some were more probably adaptations of the arts of other nations, which, having been widely distributed by Phœnician traders,

passed as their own manufactures. But there was one great instrument of civilisation with which their names will be for ever associated—that is, the system of alphabetic writing which we have inherited through the Greeks. Attempts have been recently made to derive the Semitic alphabet from the Egyptian Hieratic, or from the Assyrian cuneiform, but the evidence of any such derivation is in both cases so slight, that in the present state of our knowledge we must content ourselves with following the authority of the Greeks, who ascribed the invention of writing to Cadmus, and whose original name for letters was *Phoinikeia*, ‘Phœnician signs.’ So far as we know at present, we cannot assert that the possession of alphabetic writing contributed much to the developement of Phœnician commerce in pre-Hellenic times. It was not till many centuries afterwards, when the Greeks, after having improved and amplified this invention by the use of signs for the vowel-sounds and by the suppression of superfluous consonants, began to apply it in their intercourse with other races, that its value as an instrument of civilisation was really appreciated.

After we have gathered together all the scanty and incidental notices of the Phœnician race to be found in the Old Testament or in classical writers, the meagreness and disjointed character of these notices form a strange contrast to the magnitude of the achievements of this remarkable people, whose name will be for ever associated with the history of the Mediterranean. One obvious reason for this dearth of information is that the annals once preserved in the temples of Tyre and Carthage must have perished in the flames which consumed those two famous cities, and that almost all that we know of Phœnician history from books comes to us either through the Greeks—their ancient rivals in commerce—or the Romans—their ruthless and implacable foes. But if the literature of the Phœnician race has thus perished, we have still examples of their language in the inscribed monuments which have survived. These are very few in number, but the list has been much augmented by the discoveries of late years, and the ‘*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*,’ in which they are now being published by the French Institute, presents them to the student with exact facsimiles of the palæography and arranged in their chronological sequence. In this great collection we find only nine inscriptions from the coast of Syria; Athens and the Piræus contribute seven; Cyprus,

eighty-six; Gozo and Malta, twelve; Sardinia, twenty-four; while those of Carthage amount to 2,500. The two oldest specimens of Semitic writing now extant are the stele of Mesa, king of Moab, of which the date is about 890 B.C., and the inscription in the subterranean aqueduct under the Temple at Jerusalem, but neither of these has any direct connexion with Phœnician history. A large proportion of the inscriptions in the new 'Corpus' are votive, and the formula of the dedication is generally similar to that of a cippus found at Malta, which was dedicated to Melkart, lord of Tyre, by two brothers, because he had heard their voices: 'May he bless them.' In clearing away a mound close to the old harbour of Kition (Larnaca) in Cyprus, Lieutenant Sinclair, R.E., found a curious memorandum of accounts of a temple, written in ink on a marble slab. This document states the sums paid during two months to artisans for building and decoration, and to the different functionaries who ministered in the service of the temple. Among these are noted the sacrificers and scribes mentioned in other Semitic texts, the servants who had charge of the veils of the temple, and a number of inferior menials of the god. We have another curious record of Semitic worship in the two inscriptions known as the Tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage. In these two documents, of which the texts are nearly identical, the mode and the cost of the sacrifices offered by individuals are minutely prescribed, so that everyone might make an outlay in proportion to his means. The prices fixed seem high, but it is stipulated that those who were too poor to pay for a living quadruped or bird should be allowed to make their offering gratis. Such pauper offerings were, doubtless, little figures or cakes made of stone or clay, such as were found in great quantities in the ruins of Golgos, and which were not rejected by the gods as 'pious frauds.'

Hardly any of the Phœnician inscriptions as yet discovered can be said to have any historical interest, except that of Byblos, in which about B.C. 500 the king Jehawmelek addresses his great goddess Baalat-Gebail, and that inscribed on the sarcophagus of Eshmunâzar, king of Sidon, which contains the following solemn admonition to all future generations: 'I repose in this stone coffin in this cavity in the monument which I have constructed. I adjure all men of royal or commoner race not to open this coffin, and not to seek there for treasure—for treasures I have none. I adjure them not to carry away my coffin, nor to overload

‘ me with the vaulted chamber of a second coffin.’ The date of Eshmunâzar is thought to be some time in the fourth century B.C.* At Gozo has been found an inscription which mentions the erection and consecration of several ancient temples, one of which was in honour of the god Sadambaal, and another of Astarte. The date of this inscription is probably not later than the third Punic war.

When, turning from the inscribed monuments, we enquire what was the character of Phœnician architecture, sculpture, and other branches of decorative art, the sources of our information are more manifold, but too scattered to enable us to present a clear and continuous history of Phœnician art. Still, when we compare the meagre memoir on Semitic monuments which was all that so great an archæologist as Gerhard could produce thirty-five years ago, with the varied assemblage of facts—the result of recent discoveries—which are contained in M. Perrot’s work, and which he has methodised and combined with such labour and skill, we must be grateful for those indefatigable explorers and Semitic students who have added so much to our previous knowledge in recent years. Since 1860 we have had the mission of M. Renan to Phœnicia, sent out under the auspices of the late Emperor of the French; the discoveries of De Vogüé, the two Cesnolas, Lang and Ceccaldi, in Cyprus; the explorations of Carthage by Beulé, Graux, Daux, and Tissot; the researches of Salinas in Sicily, of Spano and Crespi in Sardinia, and the valuable notices of Phœnician art in Italy contributed by Helbig to the ‘Annali’ of the Roman Archæological Institute.

In studying the remains of Phœnician architecture we meet with this great difficulty: that in the Syrian cities hardly anything remains above ground except here and there a few of the lower courses of the masonry. The temples, tombs, and fortifications which still survived in the time of the Roman Empire in Phœnicia Proper were the quarry from which the Byzantine Christians, Crusaders, and Moslems extracted their building materials for many centuries. Except among the Arvadites in Northern Syria, we scarcely find above ground one stone upon another. Enough, however, remains to show us the character of the masonry in their fortifications and public buildings. This has been

* Corpus Inscr. Semit. I. Pt. 1, p. 20. MM. Renan and Clermont-Ganneau incline to place the date towards the end of the fourth century.

determined by the nature of the building material. Everywhere on the coast of Syria the first settlers found a calcareous tufa, which could be cut for the most part with extreme facility. After levelling the native rock, and cutting deep fosses round their habitations, they employed the stone thus excavated in building walls strong enough to resist an enemy. The base of this masonry may be called monolithic. As far as the native rock could be conveniently levelled, it formed the bed on which the lowest course was laid. Where it failed, the level was continued by very large blocks. In the upper courses the horizontal line was often departed from, and the joints were not arranged so as to ensure that distribution of weight which is called by masons good bond. In the sample of masonry from Arad, of which M. Perrot gives an example (fig. 7), we see one vertical joint placed directly over another. Moreover, the solidity of the whole structure is impaired by the non-observance of the rule that stones should always be placed according to the original lay of the bed in the quarry. In other cases an undue pressure has been put upon small stones by the heavy superincumbent masses. When we compare this Phœnician masonry with that of the earlier Greek and Etruscan walls, we do not find either the same nice adjustment of the joints or the same careful selection of the material. The calcareous rock of Syria and other Phœnician sites is very inferior in quality to the limestone and marble and the volcanic tufas used in Greece and Etruria. In the later masonry of the Phœnician cities in Sicily these defects are less apparent; and in the walls of the Punic colony of Lixos, in Mauritania, we find a much finer example of masonry in the walls round the upper city. If we pass from the walls of Phœnician cities to their public edifices and tombs, we find very little of that structural evidence which the ruins of Greek cities so constantly furnish. We know enough of the principles of Greek architecture to be able to reconstruct many of their temples out of the ruins which encumber their sites, because the component parts of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders are nearly as familiar to us as the bones of vertebrate animals are to a Cuvier or an Owen; and even when the ruins have been destroyed we may often trace the outline of the foundations in the level bed hewn out of the living rock to receive the first course of masonry. But Phœnician cities have yielded very few architectural members, and these too isolated to admit of their combination in a structural scheme. In the chapter which M. Perrot devotes to 'Materials of

‘Construction,’ all that we find beyond specimens of masonry are a few capitals, chiefly from Cyprus, but of which the shafts and bases no longer exist; and a few examples of lintel stones, cornices, and mouldings from bases discovered by M. Renan in the course of his mission. In these capitals we may recognise a clumsy Doric example (Perrot, No. 49); in another variety, the thickness of the abacus and the small projection of the echinus remind us of the Tuscan capital as described by Vitruvius; and there are several fantastic varieties of the Ionic which may be regarded either as later Cyprian modifications of a Greek prototype or as survivals of an earlier type. In two examples (Perrot, No. 55, 56) we have a calathus which seems like the rudiment of a Corinthian capital. It may be that the volutes and floral ornaments on these capitals were originally executed in metal. The entire column, including the base, seems to have been usually carved out of the same block as the capital. No base has yet been recognised, but it may be inferred from the few fragments of shafts that have been examined that the columns were of small diameter, and not capable of supporting a heavy architrave. There is no trace of fluting in the shafts. It seems probable that the Phœnician architects followed Assyrian rather than Egyptian models in their use of the column as an ornament rather than as a real structural support. When a façade was carved out of the solid rock, as in the example (Perrot, No. 57), the columns are so slender in proportion to the lintel that we may imagine them copied from a prototype in which a beam of wood plated with metal was supported by columns of the same material.

The first seats of Phœnician worship in Syria were probably ‘high places,’ such as are denounced in the Old Testament as temptations to the Israelites to turn aside to the false gods of Canaan. The range of mountains which separated the inhabitants of the coast from the interior appeared to their awe-struck imaginations as a fetiche, to be honoured by an altar kindled on the highest peaks. By degrees, as the idea of personality became blended with the inanimate fetiche, the mountain and the mountain-god were combined into one common object of worship, as is shown by a curious passage in the *Histories* of Tacitus (ii. 78). Vespasian during his stay in Palestine went to consult the oracle of Carmel. This, the historian tells us, was on the frontier which separated Judæa from Syria. ‘The mountain and the god have the same name. The god has neither

‘statue nor temple, but his worship is an ancestral tradition, and there is a much-venerated altar.’ On this same Mount Carmel the prophet Elijah built an altar of stone when he called fire from heaven to consume the flesh of the victim, and thus confound the false prophets of Baal. In the Græco-Roman period the sacred precinct round these altars on high places was surrounded by a colonnade. But besides these isolated altars the Phœnicians had from a very early period regularly built temples such as were the temples of Melkart and of Astarte at Tyre, and those at Byblos, which, like Damascus and Mecca now, was a holy city. What were these temples like? We seek in vain on the sites of the most famous Phœnician cities for any relic of their temple architecture. All the evidence we have is derived from a solitary example at Amrith (Perrot, figs. 39, 40), and from the doubtful evidence of certain coins of the Roman period when combined with incidental notices in ancient authors.

The temple at Amrith, now called el-Maabed, stands in the middle of a great court, which is cut out of the rock, and measures 60 yards in length by 52 yards in width. In the centre of this court a block, 18 feet square by nearly 10 feet in height, has been reserved out of the living rock, and this forms the base of a small building (Perrot, figs. 39, 40, 185, 186, 187), which may be described as a tabernacle or chapel, in which the statue of the divinity was enshrined. Its preservation is partly due to the extreme massiveness of the structure. Between the roof, composed of a single stone, and the monolithic base are three massive blocks laid one over another, which form the walls on three sides. On the fourth side the temple is left open to show to worshippers the idol or sacred symbol of the god which once stood within. The whole edifice is 23 feet high. The lower surface of the block, which forms the roof, is hollowed; the concavity thus formed may be likened to a very low vault. This monolithic block overhangs the open side or front of the building nearly as far as the edge of the rocky base, and is hollowed underneath, presenting four oblong caissons. It was probably supported by bronze columns so as to form a stoa or portico in front of a cella. This singular structure, which has been preserved almost intact, reminds us of an Egyptian temple. The bold cornice projecting from the monolithic roof is evidently borrowed from Egyptian architecture, as may be seen by comparing it with the Egyptian portable shrine (Perrot, fig. 59), which latter is in itself a reproduction of a stone temple. On three

sides of the outer court of the Maabed, the monolithic wall which encloses it rises in places to the height of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Above this were probably courses of masonry. On the fourth side may have been a wall with one or more doorways. On the inner surface of the rocky wall cavities were cut, which may have served to receive votive tablets, and higher up square holes, as for the insertion of the ends of beams. M. Perrot conjectures that a wooden gallery may have run all round the enclosure. He considers this the most ancient type of the Semitic temple, and compares it with the tabernacle or ark of the Hebrews, in which certain sacred and precious objects were deposited. M. Renan discovered two smaller monolithic shrines at Amrith. One of these shrines, on one of which was a cornice of Egyptian uræi, rests on a cubic block nearly 10 feet in dimensions. The under surface of the roof presents the same curve as in the Maabed. On this concave surface were sculptured in relief two great pairs of wings, one of which is developed round a globe, flanked by two uræi; the other has at the point of junction the head of an eagle. Both these shrines stand at present in the water of a marsh, and possibly they may have been originally surrounded by a small lake, which in the case of certain Egyptian temples formed a precinct accessible only to those privileged by worship.

We must now turn to the evidence of coins. On the copper coins which their Roman masters still allowed Greek cities to strike after the loss of their independence, we find a number of curious types representing their temples and statues, generally with an impossible combination of perspective view and ground plan in the same type. A coin of Byblos struck under the Emperor Macrinus



shows us a temple *in antis*, drawn in perspective, and apparently constructed after a Greek model; on the right a great court, surrounded by a portico, and approached by a flight of steps. In the centre of this court is a conical stone surrounded by a balustrade. The arrangement of this court is very similar to that of the el-Maabed

at Amrith, except that instead of the tabernacle which concealed the sacred object we have here the cone exposed to view. Tacitus (Hist. ii. 3) tells us that in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos the goddess was represented by a cone. In a temple at Emesa, of which Elagabalus was

priest, before he became emperor, was a conical black stone which, according to the tradition of the natives, had fallen from heaven. Such sacred stones were called by the Greeks Betyles, and their worship was a survival of fetichism.

On a series of coins struck by a confederacy of Cyprian cities under the Roman emperors, from Augustus to Marcinus, we have a representation of the famous temple of Aphrodite at Paphos. These coins show a court bounded by a semicircular balustrade, behind which is a basement wall of regular massive blocks supporting a portal resembling an Egyptian pylon. This portal appears to consist of a doorway flanked on each side by a tall tower. Above the doorway a curtain wall which connects the towers is pierced by three rectangular apertures, which seem to be windows. On either side of this pylon is a lower portico with a flat roof. Through the central doorway we see in the background the figure of a divinity with a conical body and rude indications of a head and arms projecting on each side. Under each of the side porticoes is an object resembling a large candelabrum. On the roof of these porticoes and in the court are doves—birds sacred to Aphrodite—and between the tops of the two towers are the crescent moon and radiated disk—the symbols of Astarte. On another coin, struck by the Cyprian confederacy, is a similar type, but with less clearly marked architectural features. Here we have the same semicircular court in the foreground, but in the distance there is no basement, but only two tall columns connected horizontally by what may be a lintel. Between them is shown the conical betyle, on which a dove is perched, and on either side of the columns a cone. Up to the present date, the examination of the site of Paphos has been too slight to give us any more reliable data as to the plan of the great temple than seemed to have been ascertained by some tentative excavations by Cesnola, who traced two lines of foundations set at right angles, which he believes to be the remains of a rectangular outer court or peribolos, of which the sides measured 229 yards by 179 yards. In the centre of the court he found the remains of a smaller rectangular structure, 73 yards by 54 yards. At Dali (Idalion) and Atheniau (Golgos), Messrs. L. Cesnola and Lang explored the sites of at least two temples. But their main object was the acquisition of sculpture and smaller antiquities rather than



architectural study, and consequently no satisfactory plan of the lines of foundations was made at the time. The meanness of the masonry explored at both, and the paucity of architectural remains on the sites of Dali and Atheniau, lead M. Perrot to suggest, in the case of Atheniau, that the remains found were not those of the original temple, but of a building attached to it for the reception of votive statues. In these ruins Ceccaldi noticed a broken cone, which was probably the betyle of the temple.

The celebrated Phœnician temples of Carthage, Gades, and Venus Erycina in Sicily, are known to us only by incidental notices in ancient authors; but at Krendi in Malta, and in the adjacent island of Gozo, which were unquestionably Phœnician stations from a very early period, are extensive remains called by the natives of these islands by the name, Hagiar Kim ('stones of adoration'), and Giganteia ('works of the giants'). On both these sites are groups of elliptical areas, enclosed by walls which have never been covered with a roof. Some of these stones are from $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. At Gozo two of these enclosures are placed side by side. Both are composed of two elliptical halls, connected by a narrow passage, and entered from the west. The group of elliptical halls in the Malta temple is more complicated. Though, as far as we know, nothing similar in plan to these elliptical enclosures has been found elsewhere on Phœnician sites, M. Perrot recognises in the remains, both at Gozo and Malta, certain details, such as the cone flanked by two columns, the preference for monolithic structure, and the hypæthral courts which are characteristic of Semitic temples elsewhere; and he shows from the evidence of Phœnician inscriptions, that three or four sanctuaries were erected in Gozo in honour of Astarte, Sadambaal, and two other Phœnician deities. Again, on the coins of Malta struck in the Roman period are types which seem clearly to be derived from Semitic sources, and the Phœnician language was written and spoken in this and the adjacent islands till late in the Roman empire. It might therefore be expected *à priori* that traces of Phœnician worship would be found in these islands, and the enclosures at Gozo may be the very temples mentioned in the inscription already referred to. The Punic settlers in these islands may have borne but a small proportion to the native population, and this would explain the extremely barbarous character of seven little idols of uncertain sex found near the cone in the Hagiar Kim.

After a careful examination of all the remains of Phœnician temples in Syria and elsewhere, and of the notices of such temples in ancient authors, M. Perrot points out that the feature which distinguishes these temples from those erected by the Hellenic race was the great hypæthral court, which contained the shrine or tabernacle. When, among the Greeks, the temple came to be regarded as the house of the god, the cella occupied the place of the Semitic tabernacle, and the peristyle or colonnade round it was substituted for the hypæthral court. To this day the Mohammedan mosque retains the outer hypæthral court, and at Mecca not even Arab fanaticism has been able to dethrone the original betyle which, from time immemorial, has been the object of worship of Arab tribes. This now stands in a spacious hypæthral court, surrounded by an arcade. The betyle itself, which is of black basalt, is enshrined in a plate of silver, and built into a corner of the quadrangular tower called the Caaba.

We have already pointed out that the original seats of Phœnician worship were the high places or levelled areas on the tops of mountains, where, in the midst of groves, the flesh of victims was consumed on altars. As civilisation advanced and religious ideas became more complicated, the Phœnicians borrowed from Egypt the tabernacle in which the fetiche or idol was enshrined. This tabernacle was not hidden, as at Luxor and Karnak, behind the dense barrier of a thick wall, but was placed in a large hypæthral court. If we would realise the aspect of one of these Phœnician sanctuaries, we must imagine round the tabernacle, where the divinity itself dwelt, the spacious court, on each side of which were galleries sheltered by a roof from the sun, and containing, like a modern bazaar, rows of stalls, where the merchants who sold amulets and idols to pious pilgrims plied their trade. A curious anecdote preserved in Athenæus tells us how, on a voyage from Paphos to the Egyptian Naukratis, shipwreck was averted by the presence on board of a little image of Aphrodite brought from Paphos, which was invoked by the sailors during a storm. Luxuriant groves, fed by an abundant supply of water, tempered the fierce heat of the sun, and the same water was always ready for sacrifices and ablutions of the numerous worshippers. At Amathus was found an immense basin of calcareous stone, now to be seen in the Louvre, which was no doubt used for the supply of water for a temple (Perrot, fig. 211). This basin measures 6 feet 2 inches in height by 7 feet

2 inches in diameter. Near it were the fragments of another rather larger basin.

If we have rather more definite information as to the structure and plan of Phœnician tombs than can be supplied in regard to their temples, this is mainly due to the fact that these tombs, not only in Syria, but in other Phœnician settlements, are, for the most part, underground chambers excavated in the rock. It is in the metropolis of the Arvadites at Amrith, rather than at Tyre and Sidon, that we must look for the most ancient and instructive examples of these tombs. The earliest form of Semitic interment is that which we find in Genesis, where it is recorded that Abraham buried Sara in the cave of Machpelah, which thenceforth became the burial-place of his family. Originally, we must suppose such caves to have been natural grottoes, which were afterwards cut by the chisel into chambers. All the more ancient of these underground chambers were entered by a square shaft sunk from the upper surface of the soil. At the bottom of the shaft low doors led into chambers varying in number according to the importance of the family for whom they were cut out of the rock. M. Renan remarks that the arrangement of the shaft, and the manner in which it communicated with the sepulchral chambers at the bottom, are borrowed from Egypt. The shaft through which the body was let down, and of which the yawning mouth seemed always to be demanding fresh victims, is that 'mouth of the pit' (*schéól*) which suggested to Hebrew writers the metaphor, 'the mouth of the pit has devoured him.' After having consigned the dead to their resting-place in the subterranean chamber, and closed the mouth of the shaft, it was natural to mark the burial-place by some monument aboveground, such as Homer calls a *sema* or sign. And thus we read in Genesis that Jacob erected a monument on the tomb of Rachel. Most of these sepulchral monuments have disappeared, but at Amrith are three remarkable examples, called by the natives of the place El Méghâzel, 'the spindles.' One of these is described by Renan as a '*chef-d'œuvre* of proportion, elegance, and majesty.' According to the restoration (Perrot, No. 95), it is rather more than 31 feet high. The basement is circular and composed of four immense blocks, from each of which projects a lion's head and shoulders rudely carved out of the stone. Above this basement is a cylinder, out of which rises a smaller cylinder surmounted by a hemisphere. The whole is carved out of an immense monolithic block. At the side of this singular

monument is another, which consists of a square basement, above which is a monolithic cylinder tapering gradually, and surmounted by a small pyramid with five faces. This appears to be unfinished. A third monument is simpler in plan. A square monolithic base resting on two steps supports another block, the lower part of which is cut square; the upper part seems to have been a pyramid, of which the apex is now wanting. These monuments crown a ridge of rock, from which they command a view of the surrounding country. At a distance of fifty feet to the south is a great area excavated in the rock, and partially enclosed by a wall. Here, probably, was the burial-place of one portion of the Arvadite race. In the Arvadite tomb known by the name Bordj-el-Bezzak (figs. 6 and 87), we find the pyramid on a square basement; but the sepulchral chambers, instead of being subterranean, are spaces reserved in the body of the basement (see the section, fig. 87), which is not monolithic, but built in regular courses. It may therefore be considered as of a later period than the monuments already described.

The necropolis of Sidon is very large. In the tombs we have the same entrances by the shaft. Sometimes in later times a staircase has been added. The most important personages were buried in sarcophagi placed in hollows. By far the most interesting tomb discovered at Sidon is that of the king of Sidon who, as we learn from the inscription on his sarcophagus, was called Eshmunâzar. In this tomb, as described by M. de Vogüé, the body was placed in a sarcophagus, which was deposited in a hollow cut in the rock; this was afterwards covered over with slabs. Above this pavement was a small chamber, of which only the lower part was cut out of the rock, the rest having been originally continued in courses of masonry and covered with a vault. It should be noted that no part of this tomb is subterranean, but cut out of the rock above the level of the soil. This tomb, as we have already stated, is ascribed to the later part of the fourth century B.C. After exploring an immense number of tombs at Sidon, M. Renan comes to the conclusion that hardly any of them are earlier than the time of Assyrian domination, and that the greater part belong to the Persian period. The primitive necropolis of Sidon is therefore still to seek. At Tyre, the dearth of sepulchral monuments is still more marked. The only tomb above ground which M. Perrot thinks worthy of noticing is that which goes by the name of Hiram, but on no authority. Here we have a type approximating to that of the tombs of Amrith. The

base is square, above which is an enormous sarcophagus, which with its cover has a tendency to a pyramidal form.

The exhaustive survey of Phœnician tombs which we find in M. Perrot's work comprises not only those found in Syria, but also notices of the tombs known or presumed to belong to the same race in Cyprus, Malta, Gozo, Sicily, Carthage, Corsica, Sardinia. We find examples of the entrance by a shaft in Cyprus, Malta, Sardinia, and also in Rhodes, though it is not certain that in the tombs in this last island the shaft is not a survival retained by the Greeks from an earlier Semitic occupation. The chief interest of the Phœnician tombs outside Syria lies in the objects found in them. We have already noticed the sarcophagus of Eshmunâzar found at Sidon. This belongs to the class called by M. Perrot anthropoid. The form of these sarcophagi at once reminds us of the cover of an Egyptian mummy-case. They, like the mummy-case, taper from head to foot. On the lid the head and neck of the deceased are sculptured in relief. Specimens of these anthropoid sarcophagi have been found in the necropolis of Sidon, at Kition and Amathus in Cyprus, in Malta and Gozo, at Solus near Palermo in Sicily, in Corsica. Most of these sarcophagi are in white marble; at Malta and Gozo we find them in terra-cotta. On a comparison of all the specimens we recognise two classes. The prototype, originally borrowed from the mummy-case, strictly follows the model from which it was adapted. No more of the body than the head and neck is carved out of the lid, but in a more advanced developement of the anthropoid type, the arms laid by the side are represented in relief, as in the two examples from Sidon and Solus in Sicily given by M. Perrot (Nos. 132, 133). Another sarcophagus from Solus (No. 134) shows us an entire female figure recumbent, draped to the feet, and holding in her left hand an alabaster jar, of the kind used in funeral rites for the offering of precious unguents. Again, on the heads of all these anthropoid figures, whether with or without arms, the type of features is certainly not Egyptian, but seems rather a coarse reproduction of Greek sculpture in an advanced stage. The only exception we would make is the head from a terra-cotta sarcophagus (Perrot, No. 130; Renan, 'Mission,' p. 413); this presents to us a strongly marked and peculiar type, and the treatment has much affinity with Assyrian art. The face was probably obtained from a cast after death. With regard to the age of these anthropoid sarcophagi, we agree with M. Perrot in placing most of them in the fourth and third

centuries B.C.; while the sixth century is the earliest date which can be assigned to any of them.

Many other interesting antiquities have been found in Phœnician tombs, which may be classified under the several heads, sculpture, metallurgy, glyptic art, jewellery, ivories, glass, terra-cottas, and fictile ware. We will begin by noticing Phœnician metallurgy, under which head we possess a class of objects of which the varied provenance proves the extent of Phœnician trade in the Mediterranean from the eighth to the sixth century B.C. These are the cups or bowls in gold, silver, or bronze, which have been found in Nimrud, Cyprus, Rhodes, Etruria, Palestrina, and Southern Italy. The Phœnicians must have been metallurgists at a very remote period, because we find them represented on an Egyptian mural painting of the date of Thothmes III., bringing metallic vases and cups of various forms as tribute. In this picture they are styled Kefa.* Later on, we find mention in Homer of a silver crater of exceeding beauty, the work of Sidonians, and of a silver crater given to Menelaos by a king of Sidon. Most of the specimens of Phœnician metallurgy which have been preserved resemble in form the shallow saucers or pateræ without foot or handles, which were used for libations. Those fabricated by the Phœnicians are ornamented inside with figures, flowers or geometrical patterns, beat out in low relief, or incised with the graver. Phœnician inscriptions are found on some of them. The first specimen of these cups was brought by M. de Sauley from Cyprus in 1851, and is now in the Louvre. It is of silver gilt, and is said to have been found at Dali with eleven others, all of which were melted down by a goldsmith of Larnaca, except two rescued by M. de Sauley. Since then similar cups have been found in Cyprus, in Rhodes, near Salerno in Lower Italy, at Cervetri, and at Palestrina (Præneste). When we study the scenes and figures on these cups, we find throughout a constant medley of Egyptian and Assyrian motives. This was recognised by archæologists when the first specimens of these cups were known, but it was the great treasure of Palestrina which furnished the surest evidence as to this characteristic of Semitic metallurgy. In that treasure were a quantity of objects in gold, electrum, silver plated with gold, ivory, amber, glass, bronze, and iron. Among these precious objects

* The tomb in which this painting was found is that published by Hoskins in his 'Ethiopia,' and now known as the tomb of Rekmara.

was a silver-gilt cup (Perrot, No. 36), inside of which was a central group in relief, representing an Egyptian king about to despatch with a club three enemies who are huddled together in a helpless kneeling attitude; behind the king is a bearded attendant armed with a lance and carrying a dead body on his shoulder. In front is the hawk-headed god Amonra, holding out to the king the palm branch, the symbol of his victory. A lion, the symbol of force, walks between the king's legs. This group is encircled by a band of hieroglyphics, and below the line on which the king stands is another line of hieroglyphics. Around this central group is an outer frieze in which four Egyptian boats alternate with groups of Isis suckling Horus, set in a pal-mated arrangement of lotos flowers. In two of the boats are Egyptians worshipping the sacred scarabæus; in the other two are three Egyptian deities. This frieze is encircled by another band of hieroglyphics engraved inside the lip of the cup. Nothing can seem more Egyptian than the subject on this cup, and yet the hieroglyphics when examined by M. Maspero were found to contain groups of characters copied at random from Egyptian monuments, and having no real connexion with each other. On the same cup from Palest-rina where we find these meaningless hieroglyphics scattered about is a short inscription in Phœnician characters which contains the name Eshmunâzar, son of Aste, possibly the name of the artist of the cup, but more probably of its owner. The principal subjects represented on these cups may be arranged in three classes: hunting scenes, scenes relating to war, scenes of worship. The Real and the Mythical are blended in varying proportions. We have noticed one of the Palest-rina cups in which Egyptian deities play a prominent part in the action. On a second cup from the same treasure the principal composition is strikingly realistic (Perrot, No. 543). Inside this cup is a central medallion encircled by two concentric friezes, the outermost of which contains a succession of groups, in each of which recurs the same principal actor. M. Clermont-Ganneau has proposed an ingenious interpretation of this frieze. He conceives that the groups arranged on the cup represent actions successive in time. The starting point of the story according to this view would be the group representing a king or hero issuing forth in his chariot from a fortress or a city, which is symbolised by two towers connected by a curtain wall. In the chariot are two figures, one of whom is the charioteer. In the next scene the hero, having dismounted, shoots an arrow

at a stag standing on a mountain. The next scene represents a halt in a grove of palm trees: the horses, unharnessed, are being fed by the charioteer; the hero is seated under his umbrella, offering a libation to the gods before the banquet; in front of him is an altar kindled to broil the venison, the spoil of the hero's bow. At the side of the altar is a sacrificial tripod. The presence of the gods at the banquet is symbolised by the moon and the solar disk between a pair of immense wings. After this halt the hero resumes his march, but is attacked by an immense baboon who has issued from a cave under a mountain. Here a tutelary female deity intervenes and carries off the chariot into the air to avoid the stone hurled by the ape. In the next scene the chariot is replaced on the level plain; the hero overtakes the ape, which is trampled under the horses' feet. The hunter descends and despatches his enemy with the blow of a club. A vulture hovers over the scene waiting to devour the slain. After this exploit the hero returns to his castle. The story which M. Ganneau has so ingeniously deciphered was probably one as familiar to the Phœnician contemporaries of the artist as the adventures of Ulysses were to the Greeks of a later age. In the centre of this cup is a medallion on which are three figures—the one on the left a captive attached by the arms, and two others moving in single file to the right, with their right arms raised to strike. A dog appears to be seizing the leg of the hindmost figure. Below, or rather in the foreground, is a prostrate figure, and a dog who appears to be seizing him by the heel. Whether this scene has any connexion with the larger composition already described is not clear. It should be noted that while in the principal composition the costume of the figures is Assyrian, here the figures wear the Egyptian pschent. The inner circle which represents horses marching round in single file can hardly be connected either with the subject of the outer circle, or with the group in the medallion. Another cup which deserves special notice here is one found at Amathus in Cyprus by M. Cesnola (Perrot, No. 547). On this cup the principal subject is the siege of a town or fortress represented in the outermost of two concentric circles. At the top of three lofty towers, and of the intervening curtain wall, appear the besieged repelling with their lances and arrows the assailants who have placed scaling ladders on either side. On the right are infantry marching in single file towards a scaling ladder, and armed with helmets and round bucklers. Behind are archers and cavalry,

and in the rear is a figure in a chariot. On the other side of the fortress are men cutting down trees, and behind them cavalry advancing at a gallop. Unfortunately nearly one half of this cup is broken away. The innermost circle contains winged sphinxes ranged round a rosette; and between this and the outer circle are the well-known Egyptian groups, the sacred scarabæus holding up the solar disk, flanked by two hawk-headed kneeling figures, and a winged figure standing in an attitude of worship before Horus seated on a lotos. After these groups, we find in strange juxtaposition two figures in Assyrian costume standing one on each side of the sacred tree; and next to these another Egyptian group, probably Horus before Nephthys or Isis.

We have chosen these three cups as samples from which the character of the whole series described by M. Perrot may be inferred. These compositions from the hand of the Phœnicians seem all echoes and reminiscences of Egyptian or Assyrian works chosen with the special objects of attracting and deceiving the ignorant purchasers in the markets of the Mediterranean. Such specimens of metallurgy formed doubtless an important class among the objects which, as we learn from the passage referred to at the outset of this article, were brought to Argos by Phœnicians, and which, according to Herodotus, were of Egyptian or Assyrian fabric. Such, too, must have been those silver vases which in the Homeric age were sent as presents to kings, and which Achilles gave as prizes. The works in metal executed for King Solomon by that Tyrian artist whose fame is preserved to us in the Book of Kings were probably of the same character. M. Perrot justly observes that, though the reliefs on these cups show considerable technical skill in the difficult operations of chasing and embossing, there is a marked want of invention in the composition. We find the same conventional groups and symbols repeated over and over again in a juxtaposition which seems purely arbitrary. It is as if the artist had a certain stock of patterns which he used in accidental combinations, and sometimes with no apparent purpose except to fill up a given space in the relief. He was thus enabled to produce works which captivated the eye of barbarous customers by the mere play of light on highly reflective surfaces, and by the suggestion of human action, however imperfectly expressed. When we turn from the cups which we have been considering to those found at Nimrud, and which are ornamented with the same kind of *repoussé* work,

we find, with certain differences in the choice of subjects and the style of execution, a strong family likeness in the general character. In the designs of the Nimrud cups there is the same recurrence of motives ignorantly adapted from Egyptian art, and of blundered hieroglyphics which we see on the Phœnician cups already noticed. In the subjects chosen we find less of human action and more of animal life and of attempts to represent landscape. The few inscriptions which occur on these cups are a variety of the Phœnician which Semitic scholars now call the Aramean, but the cuneiform character is never used.

After a careful examination of all these cups M. Perrot concludes that it is possible that this branch of metallurgy may have been first cultivated in Mesopotamia; that Babylon and Nineveh may have supplied the first examples of these embossed and chased cups, and may have exported them to Syria; that then the Phœnicians, seeing in these works a promising article of commerce, may have established a school of metallurgy in their own cities. We must bear in mind that the commercial intercourse between Phœnicia and Babylon dates from a very early period, and that, moreover, after the conquest of Syria by the Assyrian kings, the inhabitants of Phœnician cities may have been in many cases transplanted wholesale from the coast into Mesopotamia in accordance with the usual policy of the Assyrian conquerors. On the whole the cups found at Nimrud are in no way inferior in mastery of execution to those found in Cyprus, and the style has more of the characteristics of an original school. The Phœnician cups which, as we have already stated, have been found at Palestrina and elsewhere in Italy, should be studied in connexion with the other presumably Phœnician antiquities found on the same sites. The curious collection from the grotto of Polledrara near Vulci contains, among other objects, six ostrich eggs, which are covered with engraved designs, and have been originally mounted on metal stands. On each of the eggs has been a frieze or zone encircling the middle of the egg. One of these represents the favourite subject, a lion devouring a bull, cattle, panthers, and gryphons, all crowded into one composition. This frieze has a border of interlaced curves, of which the motive seems to have been borrowed from the lotos flower. On another egg is a procession of figures in chariots, horsemen and foot soldiers armed with round bucklers and spears. In these designs the outlines have been engraved, and then filled in with colour, or perhaps with gold leaf, so as to be

detached from the field. Four of these eggs are thus decorated. In a fifth the figures are only painted in with a brush; a dark line marks the outlines which are filled in with red colour. The composition represents a variety of gryphon, with strange elongated legs like those of camels or giraffes. The wings of these monsters are coloured alternately red and green. These two colours are used also in the border on each side. The whole design seems borrowed from tapestry. With these eggs were found small vases of Egyptian porcelain inscribed with hieroglyphics; alabaster jars for unguents; two archaic statuettes, one in stone, the other in bronze; and several figures in terra-cotta which recall the type believed to represent Astarte.

Another natural product which was adorned by these ancient engravers was the shell called the *Tridacna squamosa*. Specimens of this shell, ornamented with designs of which the motive is clearly Assyrian, have been found entire, or in fragments, at Vulci in Etruria, at Camirus in Rhodes, at Nimrud, in a tomb at Bethlehem, and more recently by Mr. Petrie at Naukratis. There is a peculiar interest in these specimens of engravings, because this shell is known to naturalists as a product of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, but is never found in the Mediterranean. It follows that, like the ostrich eggs, it must have been imported by the Phœnicians, and offered for sale in their markets on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Ivory was another material imported into the Mediterranean by the Phœnicians. It was supplied to them from India by the Persian Gulf and Chaldæa, or from Arabia. African ivory would also be obtained in large quantities through Egypt, or from the markets of the Syrtis further west. When Scipio took Carthage he found immense stores of ivory in the treasures there. This material is unfortunately too perishable to survive, except under rare conditions; but we have a few examples which may be referred to a very early date. In the same tomb at Sidon which contained the sarcophagus of Eshmunâzar were found the remains of a small casket in which unguents or other cosmetics must have been kept. The sides of this casket were ornamented with figures or flowers sculptured in relief. One represents a draped female figure smelling a lotos flower (Perrot, Nos. 611, 612, 613). Other relics of ivory carvings have been found in the tombs at Camirus in Rhodes. In the treasure of Palestrina is a relief on ivory, which at once recalls to us details of frequent occurrence in Egyptian

monuments. In a boat, such as we see constantly represented in the paintings of Thebes and Memphis, three personages are adoring a divinity, before whom is a table of offerings; the boat is propelled by a boatman at either end. On other fragments from the same tomb are traces of colour, gilding, and enamel applied to the surface of the ivory. In a tomb at Chiusi in Etruria was found a most curious bucket made of a single elephant's tooth. The exterior of this bucket was decorated with friezes separated by ridges ornamented with lotos flowers and buds. In these friezes we see human figures intermixed with winged monsters, chariots, horsemen, and infantry. In one scene are two rams moving towards a ship. Under the belly of each ram is attached a man in the position in which Ulysses and his companions escaped from the cave of Polyphemus. Is not this scene a Phœnician version of the Homeric tale which may have been current in the Mediterranean for centuries before it was immortalised in Homeric verse?

From Italy to Nimrud is a far cry, but the same ceaseless industry which supplied Etruria with ivory carvings contributed much work in the same material for the decoration of the palaces of Assyrian kings. Among the many fragments of ivory carvings found at Nimrud are some clearly not Assyrian in style. On an oblong tablet (Perrot, vol. ii. p. 533, No. 247) are two female figures seated facing each other in an attitude of adoration; between them is a cartouche which contains, in hieroglyphics, part of the name of an unknown king, Uben-Ra. On another fragment, with the same provenance (Perrot, vol. ii. p. 534), is a Sphinx very similar in type and treatment to the representations of this mythical animal which occur both in Cyprus and Phœnicia proper. A third and more elaborately carved specimen shows an ornament in which tendrils of lotos spring from a central capital with volutes; above stand two gryphons back to back. In these tablets the surface of the ivory is richly inlaid with lapis lazuli and enamel in *cloisons*. These tablets must have come into Assyria through the overland trade with Phœnicia, and are certainly the work either of Egyptian or Phœnician artists. The accuracy with which the hieroglyphics in the cartouche and other details are rendered distinguishes these ivories from those pseudo-Egyptian works which the artists of Phœnicia produced in such numbers in various materials; at the same time they have peculiarities which led Dr. Birch on their first publication to hesitate in acknowledging them as coming from a purely Egyptian source. M. Perrot sug-

gests that they may have been the work of Phœnician artists settled in Egypt, who had been more familiar with the monuments and more intelligent in their appreciation of them than the artists of Phœnicia proper.

We have less difficulty in distinguishing the work of Phœnician hands in the engraved gems, on which we find inscriptions in the Semitic character. These specimens of what is commonly called glyptic, but which it would be more exact to call dactylioglyptic, art, may be arranged in four classes according to the form in which the material employed is fashioned. We have the cylinder, borrowed from Assyria; the cone, borrowed from Asia Minor; the scarab, borrowed from Egypt; and lastly the scaraboid, in which a traditional reminiscence of the form of the scarab is retained. Of these four forms the scarab and scaraboid are those which ultimately predominated in Phœnician art. We learn from a well-known passage in Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) that the art of gem engraving flourished at Tyre in the sixth century, and had been long established there: 'Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering; the ruby, the emerald, the diamond, the hyacinth, the onyx and the jasper, the sapphire, the carbuncle and the sard, and gold; *the wheels and the drills of the lapidaries* were at thy service, prepared for the day in which thou wert created.'*

The materials used by these gem engravers were easily procurable; some of them came from Central Asia through Chaldæan commerce; others their relations with Egypt enabled the Phœnicians to obtain from Mount Sinai; while some—as, for instance, the dark green jasper—lay near at hand in Palestine. It is obvious that a people so devoted to trade and so practical as the Phœnicians would early have appreciated the value of the seal affixed to goods in transit, or to deeds and covenants relating to the ownership and conveyance of property. They do not appear to have much used the cylinder, to obtain an impression from which required more time and dexterity, and a finer clay to receive it, than either the scarab or the cone. On two of these cylinders we find the representation of Egyptian or Phœnician divinities associated with cuneiform inscriptions inaccurately rendered, in which M. Oppert reads the names

* This translation was the ingenious suggestion of that distinguished archæologist and Semitic scholar, the late Duc de Luynes. See his '*Numismatique des Satrapies*,' p. 71.

of the Sidonian owners of the seal. These were probably merchants who had long resided at Babylon or Nimrud. M. Perrot notes that no cylinder with any just claim to be considered Phœnician has been found either at Carthage or in Sardinia. In the work on Cyprus published by Mr. L. Cesnola thirty-two cylinders are engraved, some of which appear to have been found at Curium, of which three had cuneiform characters; and in the 'Salaminia' of Mr. A. Cesnola many more are published of which the material is hematite, jasper, or steatite. A large proportion of this latter series are imitations of Assyrian or Babylonian cylinders copied by so unskilled a hand that they remind us of the barbarous work on the gold rings of Mycenæ or on the lentoid gems of the Greek islands.

The conical form of seal often occurs with a motive akin to that of the sculpture on the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ. Two quadrupeds stand on their hind legs, one either side of a column. The range of subjects is on the cones more limited than on the scarabs and scaraboids, and most of the specimens of these have been found in Asia Minor. Out of the many Phœnician gems which M. Perrot engraves we will note only the following:—No. 441, a scaraboid in transparent agate, which was found by Victor Place under the base of one of the great bulls in the palace of Khorsabad, and which cannot, therefore, be earlier than the reign of Sargon, who built this palace about B.C. 716. On this gem we find the Phœnician inscription, 'Abd Baal, servant of Baal,' associated with Egyptian symbols such as the vulture with one wing drooping, the winged globe, and the disk within the crescent.

No. 447. A scarab, on which is a lady seated on a throne, before whom stands a female attendant giving her drink from a jug. This is inscribed, in Phœnician characters, Akhot Melek, wife of Joshua, probably some rich lady of Tyre or Sidon who may be the seated personage in the design. It is said that indications of stripes on the sleeve of her garment are traceable on the original. This is thought to be not later than the seventh century B.C.

No. 449. Carnelian scarab from Amrith, in Phœnicia. Here we have two well-known Egyptian types, the sacred bark and the winged globe, combined with two Phœnician letters at the beginnings of the name Khele.

Among the subjects chosen by the Phœnician engravers are some of which the motive is unmistakeably derived from Assyrian prototypes, such as the priest standing before a

great candelabrum (No. 454), or before a kindled altar (No. 453); and No. 455, which presents an exact copy of the seals used at Babylon under the Second Chaldæan Empire. On all these seals names are inscribed in Phœnician characters.

On the scarabs found at Tharros, in Sardinia, a large proportion of the subjects are directly borrowed from Egyptian prototypes, but in others we trace in the details that admixture of Assyrian motives which distinguishes Phœnician art in all its branches. The work of these Sardinian scarabs shows an extreme dexterity of hand, such as could only have been attained by a long-established school of engravers repeating the same patterns generation after generation. Some of the Sardinian scarabs may have been imported from Carthage, but there is evidence to show that many were engraved in the island itself. The period in which Tharros and the other Punic cities in Sardinia enjoyed their greatest prosperity was during the time when Carthage was supreme in the Western Mediterranean from the end of the sixth to the end of the third century B.C. The scarabs found in the island were probably all produced within this period. The extant specimens of Phœnician gems do not show any marked advance in the art of engraving when compared with the finest cylinders executed in Babylon and Assyria. In this, as in other branches of art, the Phœnicians show themselves skilful imitators and adapters rather than improvers.

In their jewellery, so far as we can judge from the extant specimens, we have the same mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian styles. Of the *cloisonné* work, in which the Egyptian goldsmiths so much excelled, M. Perrot gives several specimens: one from Curium (No. 600), and two from Crete. On the other hand, the bronze pectoral covered with lions and gryphons in relief (No. 565), the bracelets terminating in lions' heads from Cyprus, the goat (Nos. 596, 610), the earrings with pendants in the form of winged bulls, and other gold ornaments found at Camirus, show a decidedly Assyrian influence. The one thing that seems original in Phœnician jewellery is the art of soldering very fine particles of gold on to a gold ground so as to produce a granulated pattern. The process was a trade secret, which has only lately been revived by the skill of two modern goldsmiths, Messrs. Castellani and Giuliano, and which the Etruscans seem to have learnt from the Phœnicians and brought to a far greater perfection. The goldsmiths of both these countries excelled in delicate chasing of surfaces, and

they succeeded in executing heads of lions and gryphons with considerable spirit, but they were more at home in vegetable and geometric designs, and in their attempts to represent the human figure we see no such gradual improvement as the Greeks inheriting their technical processes soon achieved. To the examples of Phœnician jewellery given by M. Perrot we would add a pair of earrings found in Sicily, one of which was sold at the Castellani sale in 1884, and of which Baron E. de Rothschild is now the fortunate possessor. They represent an archaic goddess standing between two gryphons; the figure has a headdress ornamented with enamel. The terra-cotta figures found by Mr. O. Richter in Cyprus, and some of those found by Mr. Biliotti in Rhodes, show a variety of necklaces, bullæ, earrings, and other ornaments with which the statues of the Phœnician goddesses must have been profusely decked.* Many of the necklaces and ornaments which formed part of the stock with which the Phœnicians traded on the shores of the Mediterranean were made of glass. According to a well-known tradition this substance was originally discovered by Phœnician mariners, who lit a fire on some shore where the sand vitrified easily by the action of the heat. The scene of this discovery is said to have been near Ptolemais in Syria. Modern research, however, has shown that glass was known to the Egyptians at so early a period that the Phœnicians may have no claim to the credit of having invented it, though, doubtless, they were the agents through whom it became known to the Hellenic and other races on the Mediterranean, and they soon became eminent as manufacturers of glass themselves. It was through them that the Greeks of the islands must have first received the little bottles of variegated glass, in which patterns were produced by vitreous threads of different colours inlaid in the body of the vase, fused together by heat, and finally polished and turned by the lathe. In some of these bottles the form is copied from those jars of Egyptian alabaster which were used to contain precious unguents; in others the form is identical with that of the two-handled *amphoriskos* of Greek fictile art. The British Museum is particularly rich in specimens of this kind of glass, acquired through the munificent bequest of Mr. Slade and the excavations of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti at Rhodes. Through the facility with which glass can be moulded, and through its capacity for receiving

* They may now be seen in the British Museum.

brilliant and durable colours, it became the staple material for necklaces, in which glass beads and pendants were sometimes combined with gold or amber, and sometimes the substitute for them. Such were the necklaces which the Sidonian merchants displayed to the wondering eyes of unsuspecting maidens in those Greek market-places where traffic and kidnapping went hand in hand. The transparency of glass when combined with brilliant colours must have early suggested the idea of imitating precious stones, and we may assume that the pillar of emerald which Herodotus saw in the temple of Melkart at Tyre was made of green glass. The light which was said to emanate from it at night may have been produced by inserting a lamp in a cavity in the pillar. This stood side by side with a pillar of gold, and this juxtaposition reminds us of the assertion in Job, that wisdom is more precious than gold and glass.* Sidon early attained a great celebrity in the manufacture of glass, and all through the vicissitudes of Eastern history we find that ancient city still pre-eminent in this industry, for which the sand of the Phœnician coast furnished the silicate. As under the Seleucidæ and the Roman Empire wealth developed luxury, new technical processes were applied to the decoration of glass, and were inherited by Venice in the Middle Ages. The material commonly called Egyptian porcelain is a product of ceramic art in which a vitreous glaze is applied to the surface of a sandy friable earth. The glaze is formed of glass reduced to powder, coloured by metallic oxides, and then converted into a paste by combination with some mucilaginous substance. After this paste has been laid on the surface of the earth, it is vitrified by the action of fire, and produces an enamel of an extreme durability. This seems to be the material to which the ancients gave the name 'Egyptian stone,' *λίθος Αἰγυπτιακός*, because it was originally invented in Egypt. The geographer Scylax, whose 'Periplus' was written in the fourth century B.C., says that this product of Egyptian industry was exported by the Phœnicians not only to Italy and Sardinia, but even as far as the west coast of Africa. The articles for the manufacture of which it was peculiarly suitable were not only small vases, but seals, amulets, pendants of necklaces, scarabs, and statuettes representing Egyptian deities such as the hideous dwarf Bes. If we follow the lines of

* Job xxviii. 17. According to some authorities the Hebrew word here is not glass, but crystal.

Phœnician commerce from Syria westward, we find specimens of this Egyptian porcelain everywhere on their track.

The tombs of Tharros in Sardinia and of Camirus in Rhodes have been particularly fertile in this product, and we find specimens of it in the grotto of Polledrara and elsewhere in Etruria. A careful examination of all the specimens of this porcelain found outside Egypt leads to the conclusion that while some of it is undoubtedly of true Egyptian fabric, much must be regarded as the work of Phœnician counterfeiters. Thus we find that the hieroglyphic inscriptions which we occasionally see on these products are for the most part meaningless, and used merely for decoration, or are carelessly executed. The types of Egyptian deities and the motives of Egyptian subjects are modified by exotic admixture, as in the examples (Perrot, Pl. v.); the glaze has not the solidity and brilliancy of true Egyptian porcelain. It is, like most of the other products of art which formed the staple of Phœnician commerce, made to sell. Though this kind of porcelain may have circulated in the Mediterranean through the agency of the Phœnicians from a very remote period, it is probable that few of the specimens we possess are earlier than B.C. 600. In the case of a small vase from Rhodes we find inscribed on the mouth in archaic Greek letters the words 'I am (the 'property or the dedication) of Pythes.' This vase was probably made in the Hellenic settlement at Naukratis in Lower Egypt, which the recent excavations of Mr. Petrie show to have been a seat of this manufacture in the time of the Saite princes, B.C. 600 to 527. He discovered there the moulds in which scarabs were cast. It may well be that as Greek commerce developed at Naukratis in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., the Egyptian porcelain manufactured there was fabricated by Greek artisans and exported to the Archipelago in Greek ships; and thus in this, as in other cases, the Greeks may have taken up a branch of Phœnician industry at a certain stage, first competing with, and afterwards supplanting, their ancient rivals in the markets of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Phœnicians were no doubt exporters, if not manufacturers, of other less esteemed classes of pottery, in which the ornaments are painted on the clay, but without the addition of vitreous enamel. We have very few specimens of such pottery in Phœnicia itself, or indeed in any Phœnician settlement except in Cyprus and Sardinia. Of Cyprian pottery there are such large and well-preserved specimens in the museums of London,

VOL. CLXIII. NO. CCCXXXIII.

Paris, and New York, that we have peculiar advantages for its study. Yet the problem which these collections present is a very difficult one, as M. Perrot has shown in his very able chapter '*La Céramique*.' In dealing with this problem we must never lose sight of the fact, that though Phœnician cities, such as Paphos, Kition, and Amathus, were founded in Cyprus at a very remote period, and though an important district of the island was colonised by the Greeks long before the Olympiads, neither the Phœnicians nor the Greeks ever really conquered the island. The Phœnician cities, here as elsewhere, were only emporia or factories on certain parts of the coast; the Greek kings of Salamis never succeeded in carrying out the enlightened views of Evagoras, whose aim was to hellenize the island. He failed mainly because the king of Persia was too strong for him. There was in Cyprus a population which was neither Hellenic nor Phœnician, writing in a character which, as far as we know, was peculiar to the island, and speaking a barbarous Greek, of which the sounds were ungrateful to Hellenic ears, and the clumsy idioms and vocabulary were stigmatised as solecisms. This indigenous population may have been partly composed of immigrants from the opposite continent of Asia Minor, whence they probably borrowed the singular alphabet which we now know as Cyprian, and with these Asiatic immigrants may have been blended those Achæans who according to tradition founded several cities in Cyprus soon after the Trojan war. If, bearing in mind the mixed character of the population of Cyprus in historical times, we examine their fictile ware, we find two principal classes: 1. Pottery in which the clay is not painted, but polished by hand and ornamented with geometrical patterns incised. This class is probably the survival of a very primitive kind of pottery similar to that found by Schliemann at Hissarlik. 2. Pottery in which patterns and designs are painted with the brush, generally in monochrome on a drab or whitish ground. The greater part of the pottery which has been found in Cyprus belongs to this latter class, and a large proportion of the patterns with which these vases are ornamented are geometrical like the early vases of Attica and other Greek cities, and with these geometrical patterns are combined certain motives which are clearly borrowed from Egypt or from Assyria. The lotos flower constantly occurs. The representations of animals in these designs show little or no observation of nature, and a constant tendency to the grotesque and the monstrous. The human figure is rarely

attempted, and is drawn in total ignorance of organic structure. The few designs which can be said to represent human action are rude *graffiti*, which attempt no more complicated group than a king in his chariot. Generally the human form is overlaid and smothered in the flowers and other unmeaning ornaments with which it is associated. There is no progress and no promise in Cyprian ceramography; it would seem to have mechanically reproduced the same patterns, century after century, with a more than Chinese conventionality, heedless or unconscious of the progress which Greek ceramography was making meanwhile. The Hellenic potter doubtless began with the same sort of geometrical patterns as the Cypriote, and his first essays at representing the human form were not less rude. But after he had profited by the influence of Egyptian and still more of Assyrian art, as these influences were transmitted to him through a Phœnician medium, he applied his keen and lively intelligence to the study of organic form as he saw it in nature; and as the conception of human action became more vivid in his mind's eye the idea dawned upon him that the clay surface of the vase was a material ready to his hand on which he could depict in durable lines and colours those legends of gods and heroes which Homer and the cyclic poets had already made familiar as household words to the Hellenic race. No such development took place in the ceramic art of Cyprus. The potter, finding in the clay of the island a singularly ductile and obedient material, attained an extreme dexterity in producing new types of vases, many of which are so graceless and purposeless in design, that we cannot but regret so much wasted ingenuity. The patterns with which these vases are decorated show a similar tendency to the grotesque and the extravagant, and an equal want of all sense of symmetry and proportion. Their designs have no proper relation to the surface which they profess to decorate. In a word, Cyprian pottery has far more affinities with the ceramic art of semi-barbarous races, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians or the Kabyles of Algeria, than might have been expected in an island so largely permeated by Phœnician and Greek influences.

If, after passing in review the scanty remains of Phœnician sculpture in Syria and in the Semitic colonies further west, we turn to Cyprus, there at least we cannot complain of the dearth of instructive specimens of an art which in its main characteristics seems Phœnician, though modified by certain local influences. The discoveries of Messrs. Lang, Cesnola,

and others, have brought to light a great number of statues and heads, principally at Dali (Idalion), and at Atheniau (Golgos). These are all executed in a white calcareous stone or in terra-cotta. A large proportion of them are probably votive offerings made by the rulers of petty Cyprian kingdoms, by priests, or by rich individuals. With these were found some interesting representations of certain deities, among which the most conspicuous are Melkart, Astarte, and the hideous dwarf Bes, whose type was of Egyptian origin. There are, moreover, a very few works in relief in which the subjects are taken from Greek mythology. When we examine in detail this multitudinous array of figures, we find certain phenomena which are characteristic of Semitic art elsewhere. In some of the figures the costume, fashion of the beard, type of features, and general attitude are distinctly Egyptian; others present a strong family likeness to Assyrian figures, but in no case is the imitation of either Egyptian or Assyrian art consistently carried out in every detail. We constantly detect symbols and attributes applied in incongruous juxtaposition and without intelligent appreciation of their original value. With very rare exceptions the male figures are all clothed in garments which sometimes cling closely, showing the forms of the body through the drapery, and are sometimes arranged in regular folds as in archaic Greek art. The action of the limbs is limited to a few conventional positions. The statues are never completely sculptured in the round; they present a mere frontage to the eye; their backs are left flat, and they have so little thickness that they seem like reliefs detached from their backgrounds. In the execution of details such as wreaths or personal ornaments the sculptors show a certain dexterity of hand, the result of long skill, but we miss throughout the grand conception of *type* which makes Egyptian art so impressive in spite of its too conventional generalisation; nor have we that life and animation which results from the intelligent appreciation of nature, that earnest striving to represent anatomical form in its varied aspects, as modified by action, which is characteristic of Assyrian art. Cyprian art is dead, tame, monotonous. There is no soul in it, no yearning for beauty, no charm; it is, to borrow an Italian expression, *antipatico*. One cause which hindered the further development of Cyprian sculpture was the want of marble in the island. The soft calcareous stone so universally employed there, while it offered great facilities to the untrained hand, was unfavourable for the rendering of those subtle varieties of

surface on which the true representation of organic form depends. Another cause was the effeminate life of the Cypriotes. The absolute nudity of the male form to which the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks accustomed the eyes of their artists from a very early period is so rare in Cyprian art that the very few instances where it occurs are phenomena traceable to Greek influence. A third cause of the arrest of art in Cyprus was that the island never became really Hellenic. Of the races which inhabited it in historical times the Greeks were probably the most numerous, but they never succeeded in conquering the whole island and expelling the Phœnicians, as had been done in Rhodes, Crete, and the other islands where the Semitic race once had a foothold. Cyprus was too near the Syrian coast, and when, after it had been subjugated by the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Persian conquerors in turn, there came a moment when Evagoras seemed to have a fair chance of absorbing all the other petty kingdoms in the island and completely hellenizing it, he was crushed by a league of satraps acting in the name of the Great King.

We may fairly assume that none of the Cyprian sculptures in which Egyptian, Assyrian, or archaic Greek influences may be traced are of an earlier date than the eighth century B.C., while most of them were probably executed in the sixth and fifth centuries. The very rude terra-cottas found at Alambra, near Dali, may be the survivals or the reminiscences of a still earlier period, before Egyptian or Phœnician influences had instructed the untrained hand of the native potter and modeller in clay.

We have now passed in review the scanty remains of Phœnician art which have as yet been discovered. The general impression which they convey is that the Phœnicians, skilful as they certainly were in all manner of handicraft, had no true genius for art; they traded in it as they traded in every other article of commerce. Doubtless, like most of the races of the Old World, they sought to propitiate their gods by sumptuous temples and offerings, but this feeling never engendered a higher conception of divinities as objects of adoration than rude stocks, symbols of licentious worship, or idols whose repulsive aspect was worthy of the inhuman rites with which they were associated. However much the Greeks may have been indebted to the Phœnicians for a knowledge of technical processes, their conception of ideal beauty as the fittest symbol of divinity, the discernment of that beauty in the nature around them, and their embodiment

and revelation of it in sculpture, were their own work. It may be that Greek genius was originally the apprentice of Phœnician handicraft, but the apprentice had from the beginning a germ of originality which it was not in his master's power to impart to him. The domain in which the Phœnician race was truly original was that of the useful arts. Who taught them to build those ships of Tarshish which traversed the Mediterranean, and dared to venture on the unexplored ocean beyond? Who taught them to steer through unknown waters by the guidance of the constellation known as the Little Bear? to carry on mining operations which from the vastness of their scale were the wonder of succeeding ages? to construct harbours, fortifications, and works for the supply and storage of water, the remains of which, in Africa, still testify to the engineering skill of this ingenious people? In these arts they may fairly claim to have been the teachers of the Greek and of the other races who gradually wrested from them so large a share of the commerce of the ancient world.

ART. IX.—1. *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1883.* 1 vol. 8vo. Washington, Government Printing Office: 1883.

2. *Report of the Director of the Mint upon the Production of the Precious Metals in the United States during the Calendar Year 1884.* 1 vol. 8vo. Washington, Government Printing Office: 1885.

‘THE world has come to the close of a very memorable epoch. The present generation has seen come and go the most remarkable outburst of material prosperity which has ever visited the nations of mankind. The epoch has been short-lived as a northern summer, and the world has fallen into winter again; but a large portion of the fruits of the golden summer enduringly remain—a rich heritage for subsequent generations.’ So this Journal wrote seven years ago, when treating of the new gold-mines of California and Australia, and of their influence upon trade and social well-being. And now the civilised world has entered upon a transitional period of a very peculiar and, as is already manifest, of a very momentous character. We are at a turning-point in the world's affairs, such as has hardly before been experienced, and which is little likely to recur (if it recur at all) for cen-

turies to come. 'History repeats itself,' no doubt, but never in the same words; and if form as well as substance be taken together, it can safely be affirmed that never before has the world witnessed a change like that now in progress.

What has happened since the subject was dealt with in this *Journal* * has served to compel general attention to the connexion which we then sought to establish between gold and trade by reference to the events and statistics of the quarter century of worldwide prosperity which followed the discovery of the new gold mines. Men are more ready to reflect upon circumstances which bring to them discomfort or adversity than to investigate how or why it is that they are in the midst of prosperity. And so the last half-dozen years of continued commercial stagnation and agricultural depression have had the effect of turning men's minds to a consideration of that subtlest or least tangible of the influences which affect trade and social well-being—namely, changes in the circulating medium, consequent upon an increased or diminished production of the precious metals. At the present time, when not a few social, political, or economical revolutionary changes are crudely suggested as remedies, it is well to resume a consideration of this subject; and while acknowledging that now, as is usual, the circumstances which create or affect the depression are probably both numerous and various, it is important to call attention to the subtle element of mischief which undoubtedly underlies it all, and which, in great part, is as much beyond human control as are those cycles of the seasons which only of late years have become adequately recognised.

The suddenness or unexpectedness with which this change has overshadowed our previous brilliant prosperity is one of the striking features of the case. When so many millions sterling of gold and silver had for thirty years been pouring into the markets of the world, in large excess of the old or previous supply, it was difficult for the public to believe that we were entering upon a period of renewed scarcity of the precious metals. Indeed, six or seven years ago the prevalent opinion was quite the other way. The apprehension in most quarters was that we had not yet seen the full effects of the new gold mines, and that a system of gold monometallism could be safely indulged in, or indeed was advantageously requisite to prevent a further fall in the value of money. Professor Jevons, in 1863, reviving the maxim laid

* See 'Edinburgh Review' for January and April 1879.

down more accurately by Mr. Jacob in 1830, had shown that the first effects of an additional supply of the precious metals are necessarily greater than those producible by any equal subsequent addition, owing to the lesser stock upon which the first addition operates. This doctrine is theoretically perfect, and, as we shall see, it has held good with respect to the Californian and Australian mines, but it requires some qualification. That it is not always or necessarily true in practical affairs, several instances exist to prove—instances apparently explainable by the altered demand (always the most powerful factor in such cases), which, owing to the existing scarcity of money, is greater or sharper at first than afterwards. Thus, as Adam Smith observed, when the French king, through debasing the coins, made a fresh issue of money or addition to the currency, there was at first no fall in the value of the coins, debased though they were. A still more striking case was that of the American greenbacks, the first issue of which was attended by no depreciation at all, the issue merely serving to satisfy a previously existing want. Again, on the discovery of the New World, full seventy years elapsed before any rise of prices became recognisable, and yet the new annual supply of specie had become considerable after the conquest of Mexico and Peru, forty years before prices began to rise; while the virgin wealth of the silver mountain of Potosi had begun to be worked fifteen or twenty years before that rise.

Apparently it was as an inference from this recorded experience of the sixteenth century that Professor Cairnes preached an opposite doctrine to that of Jevons, maintaining that forty years would probably elapse before the maximum effect of the new mines was produced upon the value of money. Apprehension was generally directed to the cumulative effects of the new supply. Indeed, considering what has been the issue of the matter, it is grimly amusing to remember how much the 'depreciation of money' was always deplored *in futuro*. Neither M. Chevalier nor his translator, Mr. Cobden, affirmed that any depreciation of gold had occurred when they wrote in 1858 and 1859, but they were quite confident that a most disastrous catastrophe of that kind was near at hand. And yet, by that time, according to our view, the new gold had already produced its maximum effect upon the value of money. In short, one need not be surprised that our people, and even our scientific authorities, should have been slow to observe the recent turn of the monetary tide. Adam Smith records a similar instance in

his own days—namely, the general belief or impression that the value of money was still falling; although, as the result of his careful investigations, he states that money had been rising in value all through the eighteenth century, and that it appears to have begun to rise before the close of the previous one.

That so many tons of new gold and silver should have exhausted their effects upon the value of money within thirty years is a fact which happily testifies to the striking expansion of trade and industry, of wealth and social well-being, in the interval. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the exhaustion of these effects and the turn of the monetary tide have been very considerably hastened by the legislative demonetisation of silver in the leading countries of the Western world.

At first sight it appears strange that there should be so many doubts in determining a question of this kind; nevertheless there is nothing more certain than that such hesitation or absolute denial has been the rule in cases where the facts are now seen and held to admit of no dubiety whatever. For example, take two cases from the present century, when the monetary difficulty was even more serious than it is at present. In 1831, when Mr. Jacob published his work on the precious metals, the annual production of gold and silver was at its very lowest point, being hardly one-sixth, and between 1810 and 1830 had been only one-half, of the average production during the twenty years ending with 1809. The stock of coin in Europe and America had decreased between 1809 and 1830 from 380 millions sterling to 313—a decrease of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and, taking coin and paper-money together, Mr. Jacob reckoned that in 1830 the circulating medium in Europe and America (the paper-money being taken at its value in specie) had diminished from 460 millions sterling to 400 millions—a fall of 13 per cent.; while both population and wealth or property had much increased in the interval. Accordingly, at the close of his work, Mr. Jacob said: ‘If the prices of commodities were regulated solely by the quantity of the circulating medium, there would have been a fall of 13 per cent. from this cause in these twenty years, and of 32 per cent. from increase of population in Europe and America—causing a natural decline of prices at the rate of 42 per cent.’ Nevertheless, failing to discern any change in the value of money, Mr. Jacob added that, owing to ‘circumstances whose influence it is difficult to calculate, the depression of prices, which would be the

‘natural result of a diminution of money and an increase of population and exchangeable goods, has been either prevented or lessened.’* Yet how different was the fact, and how serious was the suffering thereby occasioned! It is now acknowledged, and is shown by a table of prices compiled with his usual ability by the late Professor Jevons, that the value of money rose to a still greater extent than was expected by Mr. Jacob. Between the years 1809 and 1830 prices fell no less than 48 per cent.; or, if (as is safer, and doubtless more correct) we take an average for the five years ending with 1809 and with 1833 respectively, we find a fall of prices, or rise in the purchasing power of money, to the extent of 43 per cent.

In Tooke’s ‘History of Prices’ the sagacious author was assisted in the concluding volumes by the late Mr. Newmarch, himself one of our best authorities on monetary subjects. Yet it was the opinion of both of those able men that there were no visible signs of any scarcity of the precious metals prior to the discovery of the Californian mines in 1848. But thirty years afterwards Mr. Newmarch saw reason to express an entirely different opinion. In a paper read before the Statistical Society in May 1878, he said:—

‘There is now no question that, for about twenty years prior to 1848, the annual supplies of gold had been insufficient to meet the wear and tear of the coin in use, the requirements for the arts, and the needs of enlarging industry, commerce, and population;’ (and consequently) ‘there had been a slow but steady and progressive tendency towards lower prices. Prior to 1849, the annual supplies of gold available for all the purposes of coinage had been barely sufficient to meet the wear and tear of the gold coins in circulation,’

leaving all the other monetary requirements unsatisfied. As Professor Jevons’s tables show, prices during the five years 1848–52 were at their very lowest point, lower by 35 per cent. than they were in 1782, when Mr. Jevons’s table begins, and 18 per cent. lower than in 1829–33. ‘Between 1809 and 1849,’ says Mr. Jevons, ‘prices fell in the ratio of 100 to 41;’ in other words, since the year immediately before the produce of the gold and silver mines began to decrease (in 1810), the value of money had risen about 60 per cent., or three-fifths—three sovereigns at the middle of the century being worth as much as five sovereigns were in 1809.

Such errors of contemporaneous perception suffice to illus-

* ‘Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,’ by William Jacob, Esq., F.R.S., vol. ii. p. 374.

trate (what will be seen more clearly in the sequel) the exceeding subtleness of the monetary influence which is constantly affecting the civilised world, and they serve to explain the slowness with which the present ebb of the monetary tide is being appreciated among us. Yet, besides the vast expansion of trade since the middle of the century—which was in great part an effect as well as an accompaniment of the new gold—two other and readily appreciable causes have contributed to produce a monetary scarcity; for not only has there been a serious decline in the yield of the gold mines, but the requirements for gold money have of late years been largely augmented through the extensive demonetisation of silver.

First let us show what has been the addition made to the world's stock of the precious metals since gold was discovered in California in the autumn of 1848. There are only two complete, or nearly complete, lists of the annual production of gold and silver throughout this period, namely, the well-known statistics of Sir Hector Hay and those published in the 'American Almanac.' For the twenty-four years, 1852-75, included in both of these lists, although there is constantly a slight difference in the annual statements, there is a substantial agreement as to the aggregate amounts for the whole period. The difference amounts to only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on an average total production of fully 800 millions sterling—Sir H. Hay giving 26 millions sterling more silver than the Almanac does, while the Almanac gives six millions more gold than Sir Hector Hay. Stated in periods, the production has been as follows, in millions and decimals of a million sterling; the figures here given being an average of those of Sir H. Hay and of the 'American Almanac,' except for the first three years, and also for 1876, for which years the latter authority is alone available:—

—	Gold	Silver	Total	Annual Average
	£	£	£	£
1849-51	43·5	23·3	66·8	22·27
1852-56	147·18	45·357	192·537	38·507
1857-61	122·18	46·037	168·217	33·643
1862-66	113·7	48·177	161·877	32·375
1867-71	112·482	52·557	165·039	33·008
1872-76	99·4	69·45	168·85	33·77
Totals	638·442	284·878	923·32	32·97

It is the general belief that since 1875 the produce of the mines, especially of the gold mines, has been declining. In the sequel we shall adduce statistics which show the opposite; but for the present let us assume that the yield both of the gold and the silver mines has remained as it was in 1875-6 (namely, almost 20 millions sterling of gold and 14 millions of silver, or nearly 180 millions of gold and 126 millions of silver for the nine subsequent years)—making the total production of the precious metals, from the year 1848 down to the end of the year 1885, no less than 1,229 millions sterling, or at the average annual rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ millions throughout the thirty-seven years.

Let us next see what was the amount of the stock of gold and silver to which this vast addition has been made. Here, unfortunately, we no longer tread upon firm ground; for, despite the ability and careful investigations of Humboldt, Jacob, Soetbeer, Seyd, and other authorities, their statements as to the amount of the precious metals existing at various periods of the present century can only be received as reasonable conjectures. And as such we give them. According to the computations of Jacob, Tooke, and Danson, the stock of the precious metals existing in Europe and America in 1810 amounted to about 1,040 millions sterling, barely one-third being gold; and of the whole amount 380 millions, or $36\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., existed as coin. In 1830, according to the same authorities, the gold and silver existing in Europe and America amounted to 1,137 millions sterling, of which five-ninths were gold, and the stock of coin was 313 millions, or $27\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total stock. Next, in 1848, the stock of gold and silver existing in Europe and America is estimated by Danson at 1,360 millions sterling, of which seven-tenths, or 560 millions, were gold and 800 millions silver; and the average annual supply was 16 millions sterling, one half being gold and one half silver. Following Jacob's computations in such matters, the 1,360 millions of specie existing in 1848 must have been reduced by 120 millions, as loss by friction or abrasion, during the thirty-seven years which have since elapsed—reducing the old stock to 1,240 millions at the present day. Next as to the new supply, since the year 1848, which, as before shown, has amounted to 1,229 millions sterling. From this must be deducted no less than 375 millions, which, as Parliamentary papers and India Office records show, have been transferred to the East, and absorbed by India alone, since 1848. From the 854 millions thus left of the new supply,

there has to be deducted the loss by abrasion as computed by Mr. Jacob, equal to $37\frac{1}{2}$ millions—reducing the existing portion of the new supply to 816 millions sterling. Add this to the existing portion of the old stock ($1,240 + 816$), we arrive at 2,056 millions sterling of gold and silver at present existing in Europe and America, without deducting the unascertained absorption of specie in other parts of Asia besides India (which since 1848 may amount to a hundred millions sterling). Thus, while the annual supply or produce of the mines since 1848 has more than doubled (having averaged $33\frac{1}{3}$ millions throughout the entire period, as against 16 millions in 1848), nearly one-third of this new supply has been absorbed in India alone, and the existing stock of the precious metals in Europe and America is one-half larger than it was in 1848.

An estimate of this kind, but in a different form, was recently made by Mr. Hucks Gibbs, his object being to ascertain what has been the increase in the existing stock of the precious metals since 1848 throughout the world. The late Mr. Ernest Seyd estimated the total production of gold and silver from A.D. 1492 to the end of 1875 at 2,699 millions sterling, and that the stock of coin and of bullion used as money, at the latter date, amounted to 1,580 millions. Proceeding upon this estimate, Mr. H. Gibbs adds 101 millions for the yield of the mines in the three subsequent years, making the total production of the precious metals since the discovery of America, down to the end of 1878, 2,800 millions sterling. From this amount Mr. Gibbs reckons that, ‘allowing one-twentieth for waste by abrasion, and a sufficient sum for loss and forgotten hoards,’ 400 millions must be deducted as having disappeared between 1492 and 1878; thus leaving a present stock of gold and silver throughout the world amounting to 2,400 millions—of which, says Mr. Gibbs, ‘1,580 millions are supposed to exist in current coin and bullion.’ Adding the 238 millions of gold and silver which have been produced since 1878, and, on the other hand, deducting 40 millions for wear on the whole stock during the last seven years, Mr. Gibbs’s estimated total of the precious metals throughout the world would at present amount to 2,598 millions sterling. Deducting from this total the gold and silver which has been transferred to Asia, which Jacob reckoned at 439 millions between 1492 and 1830, together with 34 millions absorbed in India alone during the nineteen years ending with 1848, and the above-mentioned 375 millions absorbed in India during the subse-

quent thirty-seven years (1849-85)—in all, 848 millions—we have 1,750 millions sterling as the stock of gold and silver existing in Europe and America at the present time, as against the 1,950 millions (if deduction is made of the absorption of specie in other parts of the East besides India) of our perhaps equally conjectural estimate.

Another estimate of this kind, although less comprehensive, appears to be more than ordinarily trustworthy. It deals simply with the existing stock of gold and silver employed as money, either in coin or in stamped bars and ingots, and is founded upon information supplied to the Director of the United States Mint by official representatives of the union in foreign countries. It appears from these official reports that the total amount of specie in active circulation throughout the world is about 1,220 millions sterling, of which upwards of 660 millions are gold; besides 335 millions (of which 210 millions are gold) held in reserve in banks and State treasuries—making a total of about 1,555 millions sterling of gold and silver at present employed as money throughout thirty-nine of the leading countries of the world, China excepted.

The large addition made to the world's stock of specie since 1848 could not fail to exert an important influence upon the value of money, although by no means to so great an extent as had been expected. Before examining the effects of this influence let us consider briefly what are the principles which regulate its operation. The doctrine that changes in the amount of the circulating medium are really of no consequence, inasmuch as such an increase or decrease is *pari passu* attended by a proportionate change in the value of money, so that the effective power of the currency remains unaltered—this doctrine is now all but extinct, and can survive only in minds which are impervious to the remarkable lessons of the last thirty years. It is one of those abstract theories of which the present century has been highly prolific; born of the closet or study, not of experience or knowledge of practical affairs, and so charmingly simple in logical process as to find ready acceptance with the majority of enquirers. Money is commonly, and quite correctly, spoken of as 'the counters of trade'—as counters or tokens with which we reckon up our gains and losses in the game of life; but this phrase led on to a false analogy. Double or halve the number of counters used at a card-table (it was said), and the change will make no difference, for each counter will at once change in value proportionately. But this is no parallel

to what takes place with money and trade. John Stuart Mill felt that the monetary doctrine did not stand square with the facts, so he added to it the qualifying proviso, 'other things remaining the same.' But other things never do, and never can, remain the same when a considerable increase or decrease is made in the circulating medium. A new supply of specie never does nor can get into circulation—that is, into employment—without an increase (although not necessarily an equal one) of business operations and monetary requirements, resulting in an augmented stock of property or exchangeable commodities. And the moment this fact is perceived or admitted the whole question at once changes its aspect or complexion.

The experience of the last thirty years has demonstrated afresh the correctness of the old and common-sense view of this matter—namely, that if there is an increase of business operations, or other effective requirements for money, a proportionate addition to the currency will only serve to keep the value of money at its previous level; and if trade or these monetary requirements increase faster than the amount of currency, prices will fall (or the value of money will rise), however large the annual additions to the currency may be. More remarkably, and on a far grander scale, the same truth or principle was illustrated in the history of the three centuries which followed the discovery of the New World; and the facts of that time relating to this point are so striking, and also so significant and pertinent in their bearing on the present case, that they deserve to be stated in brief preliminary review.

When America was discovered—towards the close of the fifteenth century—it is reckoned that the whole stock of gold and silver coin then existing in Europe amounted to between thirty and forty millions sterling, and the annual supply or produce of the mines was only 100,000*l.* For thirty years after the discovery of the New World the new supply of specie did not on the average exceed 50,000*l.* a year. Between 1520 and 1545 the annual supply of the precious metals was about 600,000*l.*, or six times as large as it had been prior to 1492. Between 1545 (when Potosi was discovered) and 1600, the annual supply averaged two millions sterling; and by the end of the century (*viz.* in A.D. 1600) the stock of gold and silver money in Europe had nearly quadrupled. In other words, in A.D. 1600 the annual supply was more than twenty times, and the stock of coin in Europe nearly four times, as large as these had been a hundred

years previously. Between 1570 and 1580, prices were observed to have doubled, while the stock of specie had been nearly trebled, indicating that a portion of the new specie had already been neutralised in its effect upon prices by an expansion of trade and monetary requirements. Before the middle of the next century (about 1640), the annual supply had risen to about $2\frac{2}{3}$ millions sterling, or twenty-seven times as large as in 1492, and the stock of coin in Europe had become about 220 millions, or sixfold as large as when Columbus sailed for the New World, while prices had increased $3\frac{1}{2}$ times according to Adam Smith, or, according to Jacob, had quadrupled, if not quintupled. Here the rise of prices stopped, but still the annual produce of the mines continued largely to increase. Before the end of that century (A.D. 1700), the yield of the mines amounted to about four millions sterling; throughout the following century it averaged seven millions sterling; and in the opening years of the present century (in 1810) the annual produce of the gold and silver mines amounted to ten millions sterling—that is, a thousand times as much as in 1492, and four times as much as in 1640; while the existing stock of coin in Europe and America amounted to 380 millions sterling, or about eleven times as large as in 1492, and almost double what it had been at the middle of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, we repeat, there was no rise of prices, or fall in the value of money, after 1640; and yet in the interval the annual produce of the mines had wellnigh quadrupled, and had amounted in the aggregate to no less than a thousand millions sterling.

This brief summary of the course of events impressively demonstrates how greatly the effects of a new or additional supply of the precious metals are influenced, first, by the amount of the initial stock; and, second, by the growth of population and trade augmenting the amount of monetary requirements. Although the production of the precious metals increased by a comparatively steady and uniform ratio all through the three centuries which followed the discovery of America, both the annual supply of these metals and the existing stock of coin in Europe and America during the century and a half after 1492, and especially in the century after the opening of the Potosi mines, bore a much higher ratio or proportion to the previous stock than was the case in the two subsequent centuries; while the fourfold increase of the monetary stock between 1545 and 1640 took place rapidly, as compared with the subsequent increase,

whereby less time was allowed for the neutralising effects of augmenting population and monetary requirements. Thus, in the main, although not with complete accuracy, this long experience justifies the principle correctly laid down by Jacob, and too absolutely revived by Jevons—namely, that any new annual supply of the precious metals produces its greatest effect upon the value of money at once, or in the early years, because of the greater proportion which it bears to the existing stock than an equal supply can bear in subsequent years.

But still more strikingly, and without any needed qualification, the experience of these three hundred years demonstrates the vast or paramount influence upon the value of money of the ordinary growth of population and trade. Population steadily increases, and if that increased population is to be maintained even in its previous condition, trade and industry, or the profits thereof in the shape of property, must increase *pari passu*; while if, as is to be expected, the modes of life and the social condition of mankind are to progress and improve, trade and its profits must augment more rapidly, or in a higher ratio, than the growth of population. There must be a clear or net increase of profitable employment and of exchangeable property. These things occasion an increase of monetary requirements; and hence, as has been shown, despite the large and ever-increasing stock of the precious metals, monetary requirements in Europe after the discovery of America speedily grew up to it, and ultimately began to outstrip it—stopping the rise of prices at the point which had been reached in 1640; and thereafter fully keeping pace with the ever-growing production of the precious metals down to 1810, when that production was interrupted and greatly diminished.

After 1810 the world was taught the same lesson, in a different but complementary form, through the scarcity of the precious metals which then began. The word ‘scarcity,’ if it may here need a word of explanation, serves to point the gist of the lesson. Although there occurred a great falling off in the working and yield of the gold and silver mines, the annual production in 1815—then at its lowest point since the discovery of the Potosi mines, and almost at its lowest during the present century—was as large as it had been when prices reached their maximum in 1640; and for the twenty years between 1810 and 1830 the average annual production is reckoned by Jacob at five millions sterling, or

about twice as large as in 1640. Nevertheless, as shown in detail by Jacob, and as now fully recognised, all through these twenty years there was a dearth of money; indeed, the amount of the precious metals simultaneously consumed in ornaments and utensils is reckoned by Jacob to have exceeded the entire produce of the mines by half a million sterling annually—with a consequent reduction of the stock of coin. What is still more striking is that this monetary dearth continued and went on increasing for other twenty years, or indeed until the end of 1852, although, owing chiefly to the new Russian gold mines, the annual production of the precious metals in 1848, just before the Californian discoveries, had increased to sixteen millions sterling. Thus, in 1850 sixteen millions of specie annually did less for the wants of the world than ten millions had done in 1810, and much less than two millions had done nearly three centuries previously, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Had the lessons of these three centuries of monetary experience been studied and rightly appreciated, the present generation would have been well prepared for the industrial and social effects of the new gold mines discovered at the middle of this century, as well as for the opposite and depressing effects which are now weighing heavily upon our own country and upon the civilised world in general.

We need not here review the great prosperity and the progress in social wellbeing which so brightly distinguished the third quarter of this century, consequent upon the discovery of the new mines. The more obvious features of that time were described in this Journal in the two articles in 1879 already referred to; nor is any one likely to under-rate that floodtide of prosperity now that we have to view it in contrast with the hard times which have since befallen us. But as the change of prices, or in the purchasing power of money, is the most patent feature of the present depression, it is needful to mark the monetary influence of the new gold in its early and best times, as also the causes which have gradually brought about a renewed monetary dearth, with the commercial and industrial depression which inevitably accompanies such a condition of affairs.

The golden age which had its beginning in 1848 differed in two respects, which require here to be noticed, from the silver age which followed the discovery of the New World. In our own day the production of the precious metals, and especially of gold, was vastly larger than in the previous time; also, it was largest at first, and within ten years the

production began to decline—facts due (*inter alia*) more to the superior energy and skill with which the modern treasure-beds were worked than to the difference between the Californian and Australian mines and those of the sixteenth century. The gold fields on the Sacramento River, discovered in the latter part of 1848, were so remote and so isolated from the seats of civilisation that a considerable time elapsed before they were much worked; but when equally rich treasure beds were discovered in Australia in 1851, the new gold began to pour in vast quantities into the markets of the world. In 1851 the gold production amounted to fully sixteen millions sterling, or twice as much as it had been in 1848; in the two following years (1852-3) the gold production averaged thirty-three millions, or more than fourfold what it was in 1848; and in the next six years (1854-9) it amounted to $26\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or fully $3\frac{1}{4}$ times as much as in 1848. Thereafter, in consequence of the discovery of the Nevada mines, the annual supply of silver also began to increase, rising gradually from eight millions sterling, its amount in 1848-58, to twelve millions in 1871, and to fourteen millions in 1875. In fact (according to the statistics of Sir H. Hay) this new silver supply, commencing just about the time when the gold production began to fall off, sufficed to maintain the production of the precious metals as near as may be at the average of that production in 1860, or about thirty-five millions sterling a year. Contrast this with the comparatively small amount and tardy growth of the annual produce of the Silver Age—rising from two millions sterling after the opening of the Potosi mines, and only amounting to ten millions after a slow increase throughout three centuries—and it might appear a sure expectation that the effects of the new gold upon the value of money would be both much greater and much more sudden than was the case in the sixteenth century. With respect to suddenness of effect upon the value of money, such an expectation concerning the new mines would have been fully justified; but the expected extent of that influence proved baseless, owing to the vastness of the existing stock of the precious metals, and to the rapidity with which trade and monetary requirements expanded under the influence of modern science and inventions, together with the impulse imparted to industry and enterprise by the facilities to the operations of exchange, and the inducements to trade and production, attendant upon an expansion of the circulating medium of the world. The Conference of French Bankers

held a few months ago consider that 'the trade of the whole world' quadrupled between 1840 and 1880, and Mr. Mulhall holds that the world's trade in 1850 had increased to four and a quarter times as much (or sixfold if the merchandise reckoned by weight) in 1884. Certainty in such estimates is unattainable,—but that commerce and trade transactions of all kinds have augmented to an extraordinary degree since the middle of the century is universally acknowledged; and the corresponding increase of monetary requirements, although kept down by the extended use of cheques and by quickened communications, has, as was natural or inevitable, played an important part in maintaining the value of the precious metals in relation to other commodities.

The table of prices most commonly appealed to in this country is that known as the 'Economist's' table, originally framed, we believe, by Mr. Newmarch, and which is annually published in the 'Economist' newspaper. There are also two such tables, more or less applicable to our present purpose, prepared by Professor Jevons, one of which comes down to 1865, and extends back to 1782. The 'Economist's' table and Professor Jevons's by no means tally with one another. These and some other tables of a similar kind are very useful; and we are glad that some men have not been deterred from this work by the difficulties which beset it, and which Mr. Jacob deemed himself unable to cope with fifty-five years ago. Nevertheless, these tables cannot be accepted as more than a tolerable approximation to the truth. Employing the six years ending with 1850 as the base-level and starting-point, we find that Mr. Jevons's table shows that prices continued to fall, or the value of money to rise, for fully four years after the Californian gold discoveries of 1848, just as prices continued to fall for full twenty years after the discovery of the New World in 1492. Thereafter, according to Jevons, a distinct rise of prices occurred in 1853, amounting to upwards of 20 per cent.; and in 1857 the rise amounted to 29 per cent. This, according to Jevons's table, was the maximum; the fall in the value of money stopped; and during the six immediately subsequent years (1858–63) prices averaged about $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above their level in 1845–50. The 'Economist's' table shows a rise of 36 per cent. in 1857. After a considerable fall consequent upon the crisis of 1857, prices entered upon a second upward movement—rising to 31 per cent. (above their level in 1845–50) in 1862, to 58 per cent. in 1863, and to no less

than 72 per cent. in 1864—the average rise of prices during the three maximum years 1864–6, according to the ‘Economist’s’ table, being 53 per cent. A third and last wave of high prices occurred some eight years afterwards, during which the highest point touched (in 1873) was 34 per cent., and the average of the three years (1872–74) was 31 per cent. above the level of prices in 1845–50.*

Thus there are two very striking and important points of difference on the face of these tables. First, as to the maximum rise of prices, which the ‘Economist’ makes twice as large as Professor Jevons does; and second as to the date of this maximum rise, which Jevons places in 1857, and the ‘Economist’ in 1864. But whichever of these two statements be accepted, or whether, as many persons will be inclined to do, some compromise be made between these conflicting statistics, it is indispensable to bear in mind that there were two other influences at work in producing those variations in prices besides the addition made to the circulating medium by the yield of the new mines. Changes in the condition of trade are of themselves capable of producing a rise or fall of prices although the amount of money may remain unaltered. Prices tend to rise when trade is prosperous; that is to say, when there are larger profits than usual for employers and capitalists, and more employment for the community at large. At such times the community is wealthy, enriched, and credit is abundant; and prices rise—for the same reason and in the same way that prices are higher in a rich country than in a poor one. In like manner prices tend to fall when trade is depressed, and when the income and wealth of the community are diminished, and

* In his recently published ‘History of Prices since 1850,’ Mr. Mulhall gives the price level as computed by various authorities, in quinquennial averages, as follows:—

Years	Soetbeer	Jevons	Laspeyre	‘Economist’	Mulhall	Medium
1845–50	100	100	100	100	100	100
1851–55	114	107	111	—	104	109
1856–60	125	120	122	127	105	120
1861–65	127	123	123	—	110	121
1866–70	125	121	—	140	111	124
1871–75	136	—	—	127	112	125
1876–80	127	—	—	115	99	114
1881–84	124	—	—	105	92	107

credit is contracted. Now the period under review (1850-75) began in a season of bad trade, and it was twice interrupted by a spasmodic depression of trade consequent upon the crises of 1857 and 1866. Each of those crises marked the close of a nine or ten years' cycle, during which trade first revived from a previous collapse, and then rose into a fresh culminating stage of prosperity and high prices. Consequently, in the year or two immediately preceding the crisis of November 1857 and May 1866, it is only reasonable to expect that prices would have risen considerably above their level in 1850, independently of any lowering of the value of money through the yield of the new mines.

The other point to be borne in mind is that after 1860 the state of prices became operated upon by the Civil War in the United States, and especially by the extensive issue of inconvertible paper money in that country. Previously to 1861 the United States had always retained as much of the produce of the Californian mines as was needed to make those yearly additions to the American currency which were required by the rapid growth of population and trade. But after the adoption of an inconvertible paper currency, not only did the entire annual produce of the Californian mines pass forward to Europe and the rest of the world, but also nearly the whole of the gold and silver which had previously constituted the currency of the United States. Italy also, in 1865, when preparing for the war against Austria, had recourse to an inconvertible paper currency; and the amount of gold and silver thus let loose, together with the exported metallic currency of the United States, is reckoned by Mr. Dana at 80,000,000*l*. This large amount (equalling five years' total production of the precious metals in 1848), being replaced in Italy and the United States by paper money, was as purely an addition to the world's stock of money as if the produce of the mines between 1861 and 1866 had increased to the same extent.

The third wave of high prices, in 1872-74, although it was supported or permitted by the continued produce of the new mines, must be attributed wholly, or almost wholly, to the operations of trade, which in those years was advancing (somewhat illusively) 'by leaps and bounds.' By that time the effects of the new mines in lowering the value of money had been exhausted. The annual supply of gold had been declining for several years, and the existing stock of the precious metals, greatly enlarged as it had been, was no more than sufficient to maintain the monetary level which

had been reached. Indeed, whenever the supply of money becomes stationary in the civilised world or in a progressive community, prices begin to fall owing to the steady increase of population and monetary requirements. Thus, as has been shown, during the Silver Age, although the annual production of the precious metals increased continuously throughout three hundred years—wellnigh doubling in each successive century—the monetary wants of the world increased quite as fast, and ere long began to outstrip the growth of the monetary supply. In our own time the rapid expansion of trade and the growth of monetary requirements since 1850 at length came up with the supply of the precious metals about 1874, by which time also a new set of operations came into play, and immensely increased the demand for the produce of the declining gold mines. As the production of gold and silver taken together is as large as it has ever been, there seems good reason to believe that, but for the extensive demonetisation of silver, the level of prices, so far as monetary causes are concerned, would still have remained at the height which had been reached eleven or twelve years ago.

The new German Empire began the work of demonetising silver by the law of July 9, 1873. The example was immediately followed by the Dutch and Scandinavian Governments; and in self-defence, to prevent their markets being invaded and flooded by the discarded silver money of those other countries, the States of the Latin Union—France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland—adopted the same course partially and prospectively, by decreeing that no more silver should be coined in their mints. In 1876 the United States followed the examples thus set, by ordering a suspension of silver coinage; and although the suspension was partially and tentatively relaxed by the Bland Bill, the United States, on returning to specie payments, decreed the abolition of the double standard which had been in force ever since the foundation of the Union, and established a single gold currency. Since then, Italy has taken the same course, establishing a single gold currency as soon as she was able to replace her inconvertible paper money by a metallic currency.

The great fall in the value of silver consequent upon the demonetisation of that metal by Germany and other States excited much attention and alarm in this country, owing to the heavy loss inflicted upon the budget of India through exchange operations, as also upon our mercantile and manu-

facturing classes in their trade with the silver-using countries of Asia. The Royal Commission upon the Silver Question appointed in 1876 reported the evidence very fully; but in so far as any opinion on the subject was expressed or implied, the Commission adopted the then prevalent view that there was an actual depreciation of silver owing to its increased production, while gold simply maintained its previous value. On the other hand, the Commission simultaneously appointed by the Congress of the United States reported in the most explicit and confident terms that there had been no fall in the value of silver, except as compared with gold, and that the value of gold had risen: in their own words, 'Since 1873 'the purchasing power of gold has risen in all countries, 'and the purchasing power of silver has fallen in none.' In 1879, in a paper read before the Statistical Society of London, the conclusion arrived at was that

'the common belief that there has been an absolute depreciation of silver is wrong; the fall in the value of silver compared with gold is 11 per cent. less than the rise in the value of gold compared with general commodities. In other words, the purchasing power of silver has not fallen; on the contrary, in this country it has risen (judging from the "Economist's" Table of Prices) 11 per cent., while gold has risen fully 13 per cent. *more*—or, in all, $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at the beginning of the present year.'*

In the same year a memorial had been presented to the Prime Minister from some of the leading bankers and merchants of the City of London, inviting the attention of the Government to 'the severe depression which has now 'existed for upwards of five years,' suggesting that the depression was connected with the contraction of the metallic circulation; and adding that this question and its bearing on trade and values 'have been insufficiently investigated,' and 'can best be elucidated by a Royal Commission, with instructions to inquire specially into the results on trade from the 'contraction of the world's currency.' Mr. Goschen was the first of our public men to call attention to this subject. On February 19, 1883, in his speech on the Address, Mr. Goschen said: 'I have asked myself, and many statisticians and economists have asked themselves, whether a portion of the depression is not due to the fact that there has been a fall

* 'Is the Value of Money rising in England and throughout the World? With Remarks on the Effect of the Fluctuating Conditions of Trade upon the Value of Money. By R. H. Patterson.' Journal of the Statistical Society for December 1879.

‘of prices. . . . The sovereign has appreciated in price [or purchasing power] while the greater quantity of commodities has remained stationary; in other words, we have to give a greater quantity of commodities [than before] for the same amount of gold.’ Three months later Mr. Goschen recurred to the subject, in an able address delivered before the Bankers’ Institute. The continuance and growing severity of the trade depression, and the difficulty of finding an adequate cause for it, have forced the public mind to consider whether or how far the restriction of trade may be attributable to the subtle and occult operation of a contracted and inadequate circulating medium throughout the world. And now, to quote the language of the Conference of French Bankers, ‘the monetary question is everywhere the question of the day.’*

Observe the position of affairs at the beginning of 1883, when Mr. Goschen uttered the first warnings. In consequence of the recent demonetisation of silver in so many countries, it is the supply of gold alone, or all but alone, that has to be considered in connexion with the monetary requirements of Europe and America. In 1883 the produce of the world’s gold mines had fallen to only two-thirds of the previous maximum yield. The annual production of gold, which had amounted on the average of the years 1852–56 to 30 millions sterling, and to 22 millions in 1867–71, is thereafter reckoned by Mr. Goschen and most other authorities at 19·2 millions. Together with the diminished production, there is to be considered the new demand or requirement for gold occasioned by the recent changes in monetary legislation in Europe and the United States. Mr. Goschen estimated that, in order to take the place of silver in the currencies of Germany, Italy, and the United States, no less than 200 millions sterling of gold had been required since the year 1873—namely, 84 millions for Germany, 16 millions for Italy, and 100 millions for the United States. If we accept Mr. Goschen’s estimate of the annual gold production in the last four years of his computation (1872–5) as continuing applicable down to the end of 1882, after which date his paper was written, the total production of gold ‘since 1873’ would be 173 millions sterling, or 27 millions less than was needed by the new and contemporaneous requirements for gold, in mere substitution

* Report of the Bankers’ Union of Paris and the Provinces. English edition. London: 1885.

for the demonetised silver money. Thus more than the total produce of the gold mines during these nine years, ending with 1882, was required simply to fill a void in the world's currency occasioned by demonetisation of the sister metal—leaving nothing for the other and ordinary annual requirements for gold, amounting to a still larger sum. These ordinary annual requirements comprise: (1) the amount of gold consumed in ornaments and manufactures; (2) the amount needed to replace the loss on the gold currency through abrasion and casualties, and also (3) to supply the new coinage required by the growth of population, trade, and wealth. In 1872 Mr. Giffen estimated that for 'many 'years previous' the gold required for and absorbed by the ordinary coinage and currency wants of the world had amounted to 12 millions sterling annually; and as this was prior to Germany, Italy, and the United States becoming gold-money countries, and also prior to the suspension of silver coinage by France, the amount of gold required for the ordinary currency wants of Europe and America must in 1882 have become greatly in excess of 12 millions. As regards the consumption of gold in manufactures and the arts, Mr. Goschen reckoned it at 10 millions sterling annually. At the lowest, then, and even supposing that the *ordinary* annual requirements for gold, both for coinage and in the arts, have remained as they were before 1872 (i.e. prior to the recent demonetisation of silver), these estimates of Mr. Goschen and Mr. Giffen give a sum of 22 millions sterling of gold annually, or 220 millions during the ten years 1873–82, required in addition to the 200 millions contemporaneously absorbed in substitution for demonetised silver. To meet these combined ordinary and exceptional requirements for gold, amounting to 420 millions sterling, the contemporaneous yield of the gold mines (as above stated) amounted during these ten years to only 173 millions—making a *deficit of gold*, as compared with the requirements and actual absorption or consumption of that metal, to the enormous amount of 247 millions sterling, equal to fully a dozen years' yield of all the gold mines in the world! Further, no account is here taken of the contemporaneous transference of gold to Asia, amounting to upwards of 50 millions (the annual absorption of gold in India alone being 5 millions)—raising the gold deficit in the Western world to fully 300 millions sterling. And this was three years ago.

At the present time we can deal with this part of the

subject by the help of more accurate, and certainly of much more definite or clearly detailed, statistics and estimates. The Government of the United States has for years bestowed great care upon the collection and well-digested compilation of the statistics of its own country; and recently, recognising the importance of the monetary question, its official representatives in other countries have been instructed to report annually upon the coinage and monetary circulation, and also upon the production of the precious metals in the various countries where these representatives reside. The statistics thus obtained are carefully compiled and annually published in the Reports of the Director of the United States Mint at Washington. We have carefully examined these Reports, the latest of which is for the calendar year 1884, and we shall here summarise those portions of the Reports which are specially connected with our present subject.

From enquiries made in thirty-nine countries, which include nearly the whole commercial and civilised world except China, it is computed that the total amount of gold and silver in use as money, either as coin or as bars or ingots, amounts to 1,440 millions sterling, of which sum 766 millions are gold and 674 millions are silver; and of the total amount, 331 millions are kept in reserve in State treasuries or in banks, leaving upwards of 1,100 millions in active circulation. The annual yield of the gold and silver mines throughout the world is computed from information received from twenty-one producing countries; and classing them by continents, and converting the American dollar into sterling at the rate of five to 1*l*. (which is 2·7 per cent. under the dollar's actual value), the annual production of the precious metals stands thus (000's omitted):—

—	1881		1882		1883	
	Gold	Silver	Gold	Silver	Gold	Silver
	£	£	£	£	£	£
America . . .	8,789	17,649	8,407	18,722	8,011	19,669
Europe and Asia	5,277	2,752	5,146	3,248	5,097	3,160
Africa . . .	399	—	399	—	399	—
Australia . .	6,138	33	5,787	21	5,300	16

Summarising these figures, it appears that the total production of gold and silver during these three years has been as follows—the silver being reckoned at its old or American

Mint value, and the dollar, as before, being converted into sterling at the rate of five to 1*l.* :—

—	1881	1882	1883	Annual Average
	£	£	£	£
Gold .	20,604,614	19,739,918	18,805,580	19,716,704
Silver .	20,433,672	21,190,450	22,843,547	21,489,223
Total .	41,038,286	40,930,368	41,649,127	41,205,927

Next, as to the ordinary demands upon this annual production—namely to replace the loss upon the existing stock through abrasion and casualties, for consumption in the arts and manufactures, and for additions to the metallic circulation in order to keep pace with the growth of population and trade. In 1858, M'Culloch estimated the annual diminution of the then existing stock of coins through wear and loss by casualties at 7½ millions sterling, and the required annual additions to the stock of coin at 6,160,000*l.*; and allowing for the greatly enlarged stock of coin, and consequent increase of the loss by wear and casualties, as well as for the increased monetary requirements due to growth of population and commerce, since 1858, the 13⅔ millions of M'Culloch's estimate may probably now be raised to about 20 millions sterling. But we may dispense with such estimates of annual loss and of the requirements for additional coin, seeing that we have now tolerably accurate statistics of the actual annual coinage of the world, which obviously must include or cover both of the items thus estimated by M'Culloch. From returns made to him from twenty-eight countries, the Director of the United States Mint computes the total coinage for the years 1881–83 as follows :—

—	1881	1882	1883	Annual Average
	£	£	£	£
Gold .	29,403,055	19,981,932	20,253,072	23,212,686
Silver .	21,602,017	21,940,707	22,753,980	22,098,901
Total .	51,005,072	41,922,639	43,007,052	45,311,587

Besides these monetary requirements for the precious metals, there must also be taken into account the quantity of

gold and silver annually used in the arts and manufactures. In 1830 Jacob estimated this amount in Europe at 5,612,711*l.*, and in America at one-twentieth of that sum, or 280,630*l.*: making a total for Europe and America of 5,893,240*l.* annually. In 1858 M'Culloch estimated the amount at 12,000,000*l.* Since the middle of the century, under the combined influence of the growth of population and wealth, and of a vastly enlarged yield of the gold and silver mines, the consumption of the precious metals in articles of ornament and luxury must have increased greatly; and, according to the Director of the Washington Mint, it has now reached a formidable amount. With respect to this consumption of gold, says the Director in his report for 1883, 'four countries alone (viz. the United States, France, Great Britain and Ireland, and British India) withdrew last year no less than fifty-three million dollars (equal to 10,880,000*l.*) from the monetary stock of gold.' The consumption of silver in the arts and manufactures we may conjecturally estimate thus:—In the United States the consumption of silver for this purpose in 1883 is officially computed at five and a half million dollars as against fourteen and a half million dollars of gold. Supposing that the two metals are consumed in the same proportion to each other in the three other countries above mentioned, the annual consumption of silver in these four countries—viz. the United States, the British Isles, France, and India—would amount to 4,100,000*l.* This would make the annual consumption of the precious metals in the arts and manufactures 15,000,000*l.* for these four countries, which contain about 376 millions of inhabitants, or only about one-fourth of the population of the globe. It is true that these countries are among the richest in the world; but, on the other hand, it must be considered that the taste for ornaments is even stronger in the backward than in the more civilised peoples, and also that the insecurity which more or less prevails among the former tends (as in India) to the keeping of wealth in the moveable and easily concealed form of gold and silver ornaments. Reckoning the amount of the precious metals thus consumed throughout the rest of the world at only one-fourth of the quantity similarly consumed in the British Isles, India, France, and the United States, the sum total of the world's consumption of these metals in ornaments and manufactures would amount to 19 millions sterling annually, of which amount 11 $\frac{2}{3}$ millions would be gold.

Finally, as regards the monetary position of the Western

world, there has to be considered the current annual absorption of the precious metals in the East. Some portion of this must remain conjectural; but the official records of the India Office show that in British India alone the imports of gold and silver 'by sea,' and presumably from Europe and America, have exceeded the exports by $45\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling during the four years ending with March 31, 1885, or at the rate of fully $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions annually—of which amount five millions consist of gold, and fully $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions are silver.

Putting these things together, let us observe how the monetary position at present stands. As regards the civilised world at large, the case may be summed up thus: the annual production of the precious metals averages $41\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, while the annual requirements for coinage (on the average of the last four years) amount to $45\frac{1}{2}$ millions; while the annual consumption of gold and silver in the arts and manufactures is at least 19 millions sterling. Thus the current requirements for coinage of themselves exceed the total annual supply of the precious metals by four millions sterling, while the consumption in the arts amounts to 19 millions—indicating a reduction, or at least an inadequate supply, of metallic money to the extent of 23 millions annually. Or, to put the facts in another order: of the total annual production of the precious metals, 19 millions are converted into articles of use or ornament, leaving only 22 millions to meet the annual requirements of coinage, which, as above stated, amount to 45 millions a year. The amount of these requirements for coinage represents the loss on the existing metallic currency through abrasion and casualties, together with the amount of new or additional currency required by the annual growth of population and commerce, &c. Accordingly, so far as is ascertainable from the careful investigations of the United States Government and its representatives, the yield of the gold and silver mines has now become inadequate to supply the monetary and other wants of the world to the extent of 23 millions sterling annually. And the result or practical effect is, according to the 'Economist's' table, that prices have now fallen as low as they were when the precious metals were at their scarcest, in 1845-50.

It is the value of gold which chiefly, if not exclusively, concerns our people, and also the leading States of Europe and America, where gold now forms the monetary standard; and it would be quite possible that an opposite and happier monetary condition prevailed in India and other

countries of the East, where the currency consists of silver. In truth, considering how extensive has been the demonetisation and discarding of silver in the Western world, it would be a most natural expectation that money would be unusually plentiful in the East, with its silver currencies. Yet such is not the case. It is true that we have not any accurate means of ascertaining the state of prices in India, such as we have for our own country; but the available evidence, so far as it goes, is explicit as to there being no redundancy of money in our Eastern Empire. This was the purport of the evidence given before the Silver Committee of the House of Commons in 1876. Mr. R. W. Crawford, a high authority upon the subject, said, 'Prices have fallen much in India;' and he referred to a staple quality of cotton which had fallen since 1872-3 from $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ the pound to $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, a fall of one-third, or 33 per cent.; and to saltpetre, which had fallen in price from 30s. the cwt. to barely 17s., a fall of fully 43 per cent. Subsequently to that time (1876), the Government of India published a list of prices to show that there was no fall in the value of money (silver) in India; but the table is but rudely framed, and does not tell its tale clearly. Also, in 1877, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce reported that 'the purchasing power of the rupee in respect of ordinary articles of consumption, such as the food of the people, remains undiminished.*' In short, so far as information can be obtained upon this subject, it entirely supports the conclusion reported by the American Commission of 1876, that while there has been no fall in the value of silver in any country, the value or purchasing power of gold 'has risen in all countries.'

But it may be said, and it is said at present by some able theorists, 'The monetary facts are, or may be, as above stated, but there is no corresponding influence exerted by them upon the value of money.' 'There is no scarcity,' it is said; 'money is abundant, indeed so abundant that the banks cannot get their money lent even at 2 per cent. How, then, can money be scarce when the bank-rate or rate of interest is so low?' This question is a very natural one, and under some circumstances the argument is quite correct. For example, on the occurrence of those short and sudden crises, with which we have become painfully familiar once in every ten years or thereabouts, the first indication of a monetary scarcity is a rise of the bank rate. On such occasions

* Parliamentary Papers, August 11, 1877.

traders have not time to contract their business operations or to reduce their contracts and monetary engagements. The ordinary system of credit, too, is then suspended, and traders must go to the banks for loans and discounts even to a larger extent than usual, despite the exorbitant 10 or 12 per cent. then charged on the discount of thoroughly good bills. At such times there is no alternative: the money must be got, or the firm or trader becomes bankrupt. But these crises are exceptional occasions; ordinarily, as need hardly be said, the employment of money in trade is a voluntary proceeding, dependent upon the profits to be derived from it, diminishing as trade profits diminish, and ceasing in proportion as trade becomes unprofitable.

But first consider the fundamental question raised by those persons who deny that there is, or can be, any monetary scarcity at present, on the ground that the bank rate is very low. It is impossible, they say, that money can be dear in purchase while it is cheap on loan. No doubt this is a somewhat curious phenomenon, but we are surprised that any person conversant with commercial and monetary affairs can question its reality, and even deny its possibility. Let any person consult his memory or banking and commercial records, and he will find not only that high prices and a high bank rate may go together, but that *as a rule they do go together*. Money (like most other things) has two kinds of value—namely, on loan and in exchange or purchase; and these two kinds of value follow different courses. At first sight this is a puzzling phenomenon. Professor Jevons did not fail to discern this monetary problem—namely, the relations between the purchasing power of money and its loanable value—but he did not attempt to explain it. Writing of prices and the value of money, he said: ‘The really knotty point remains unexplained, that is, the exact relation of gold [i.e. money] as a commodity *on sale*, to gold [money] as the most perfect form of free capital.’ High prices and a high bank rate, we repeat, as the rule, go together, and so do low prices and a low bank rate; and the first step towards unravelling this relationship is to ascertain or observe whether prices or the bank rate is the superior and dominating or causative power. Unquestionably, prices are so; because (*inter alia*) they affect the profit or loss upon the entire capital, skill, and labour of the trader, while the bank rate only affects the return upon the borrowed portion of his capital. Moreover, high prices can offer an inducement to trade much beyond what can be offered by any lowering of

the rate of interest. A trader, remarks Mr. Tooke in his 'History of Prices,' does not (at least, did not in his time) engage in an operation which does not promise to return a profit of ten per cent. No alteration of the bank rate would produce that result, but a rise of prices can do so. Consider the influence of prices upon trade and its profits. Rents or leases, wages and salaries, taxes and various other charges, component parts of the cost of production, are more or less permanent contracts; they cannot be altered from month to month, and only partially from year to year; and when a fall of prices occurs, it reduces the trader's gross receipts, first diminishing and by and by perhaps wholly sweeping away his profits. Probably the trader's first course is to make up for lower profits by extending his business operations; but this brings no remedy. He does more work, but his profit declines at a greater rate than his business expands—the new or extended portion of his business being usually less profitable than the old, although it is a gain in so far as it represents a greater outcome from his fixed plant or machinery. Thereupon his next course is to contract his business by dropping the unprofitable parts of it, and confining himself to the best-paying portion of his original business; and as the fall of prices continues, so does the general contraction of business. In manufacturing trades, it is true, there is a gain from the fall of prices in the raw material; but it goes for nothing in the face of the price-fall upon the manufactured article, which represents alike the raw material and the labour and interest of capital employed upon it. What is the worth of a gain of ten or twenty per cent. upon raw material which constitutes (say) one-fourth of the cost of the manufactured product, when a similar percentage of loss is incurred upon the sale, or whole price, of the finished article? The cheapness of the raw material cannot avert loss from a fall of prices—it merely serves to lessen it. And the loss is severe in proportion to the length of time that intervenes between the purchase, or contract for delivery, of the raw material and the date not merely of the completed manufacture, but of the completed storing, conveyance, and final sale of the commodity, perhaps in a distant market.

As trade thus contracts, fewer trade bills are created, and fewer discounts and advances are required from the banks. Trade bills are the special commodity or security upon which banks lend out their spare money, and a lack of such bills never fails to cause a low bank rate—obviously, not because

the banks' stock of money is increased, but because the demand for it has diminished.

This much of explanation would suffice for our immediate purpose, showing how a low rate of interest not only may, but, as a rule, does, coexist with low prices, or a high purchasing power of money. But, for a full understanding, it may be well to complete our solution of the problem or 'knotty point' which arrested the attention of Jevons as 'hitherto unexplained.' When prices are 'high,' or above their ordinary or recent level, the producer and manufacturer makes a clear gain, inasmuch as his gross income or receipts increase, while all his more or less fixed charges—rent of house and offices or factories, taxes, contracts, salaries, wages—remain as before. Accordingly, the producing and trading classes enlarge their business operations, and increase their profits. What is the effect of this upon money? High prices of themselves call for more money to carry on an equal amount of business transactions, while the commercial prosperity of the time leads to an increase of these transactions. On both of these accounts more money than usual is drawn out of the banks, whether by the discount of bills or by the withdrawal of deposits. And so the bank rate rises, money on loan becoming scarce. Thus it is, we repeat, that high prices and a high rate of interest go together, just as low prices and a low bank rate go together. In the former case, traders are eager for loans because they can employ the money with unusual profit; in the latter case—i.e. of low prices—money accumulates in bank because traders cannot employ it at a profit. If they can hardly make a profit upon their own money when employed upon and restricted to the select or best paying portions of their business, it is hopeless for them to attempt to make a profit upon money upon which they have to pay interest, and also employ it upon business of an extended and a less profitable kind.

But the disastrous effects of a monetary dearth are much more extensive than this. Such a dearth affects not only current trade, but real property or fixed wealth of all kinds. The value of money is rising, and consequently the sale value of all other commodities is falling. The manufacturer ceases to build factories, and the shipowner to build ships, not merely because there are already as many ships and factories as can be profitably employed, but because ships and factories, in common with other such kinds of property, are steadily losing value owing to the fall of prices or rise in

the purchasing power of money ; whereby not only does the owner find his wealth steadily diminishing, but in a few years some rival trader becomes able to build or purchase the same kind of property at a much lower cost, and thus enters into competition with him on advantageous terms. Look at the 'speculative builder' or building companies who a dozen years ago created whole streets and rows of houses in the suburbs of London and of other large towns ; most of these houses were promptly disposed of, but if sold to-day they would not yield cost price, and so the 'speculative builder' has now all but disappeared. In this way, while current trade operations are being checked through low prices and loss of profits, the 'plant'—buildings, machinery, warehouses, ships, &c.—by which both production and trade are carried on, is likewise depreciated more and more, simply through the changing value of the circulating medium. In short, property of every kind becomes depreciated, except money itself ; and even the moneyed class lose also, owing to the low rate of interest and the lack of remunerative kinds of investment. In short, capital itself is injured, although not so seriously as trade and labour.

It is agriculture which is most affected by a change in the value of the circulating medium, because such a change falls upon it with direct and unbroken force. The production of corn, &c., it is true, is really as much a manufacture as textile industry is—the soil being the raw material ; but in agriculture the industrial agencies are of the simplest kind, and human skill and labour are employed on the soil with little help from the ingenious machinery and cheap and potent motive forces which are employed in factories, every addition to or improvement in which is equivalent to a lessening of the cost of production. Owing to the simplicity of operations—to the comparative absence of intermediate agencies between man and the soil—the cost of agricultural production in each country, at any given time or period, is almost a fixed quantity, so that lower prices cannot be compensated by cheapened production. But the main cause why agriculture is so much affected by changes in the value of money is the necessary slowness of this kind of production, and the long contracts which usually prevail. In England, the disasters which have been suffered by farmers during the last ten years have manifestly been aggravated by a recent change with respect to these contracts, which was meant to be a great improvement and a clear benefit to the farmers. The case stands thus : In

Scotland (as until the present century was likewise the rule in England), long leases have been the established usage for generations. At the beginning of the century—as for long before—leases for life, sometimes even for three lives or ninety-nine years, were in usage; and at the present day, nine years for an arable, and nineteen for a pastoral, farm are the ordinary terms of tenure. Under such a system a good, sometimes a very large, profit was made by tenant-farmers in periods when prices were rising—as was remarkably the case between 1852 and 1873—and farming in Scotland was highly prosperous. Partly on this account, but chiefly in deference to theory—which says the safer or longer the tenure, the greater the inducement to invest capital in the soil—the modern English system of no leases, or of mere annual tenures, was decried, and a quarter of a century ago it began to give way to leases. With few exceptions, the English farmers had been quite content with their then existing system, especially as the landowners very rarely disturbed a tenant in his occupation. Nevertheless the change was made, the landowners as a rule being quite ready to give leases. And now how stands the case? Falling prices are as much a loss to the farmer as the rising prices were a gain to him. Under the monetary change that has been in progress since 1874, the leases which the farmers were previously so eager to get have proved a disastrous speculation; and if the class of farmers has not been utterly ruined, this has been owing to the heavy reductions of rent accorded by the landowners. This is quite right, and worthy of the English gentry; but if prices had risen, would farmers have felt any obligation to part with any portion of the gain which they had no hand in making? Or would any similar allowance for an abortive speculation be made in any other branch of trade or manufacture?

Moreover the landowners themselves suffer directly from the altered value of money which simultaneously presses upon their tenants. There is no kind of property which, from natural causes and social custom, is so much made the subject of mortgages and family settlements as land; and every scarcity of the circulating medium and rise in the value of money alters the weight of these contracts most seriously against the landowner, and this at the very time when rents are falling and his income is being steadily reduced. There is yet another point through which land and agriculture suffer at times like the present—namely, from the prohibitive action of falling prices upon the investment of

money in fixed property. An improving landlord, who possesses an estate worth 20,000*l.*, spends 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.* in improving his property, by drainage, fences, the reclamation of waste land, the erection of farm buildings, or the like; yet, at the end of a few years, perhaps by the time these works are completed, he finds (owing to the rise in the value of money) that his estate is worth no more than before; and further, if the money thus expended was borrowed, he would have to repay the loan at an enhanced value. Such a person will not repeat the investment, and his neighbours, taking warning, will likewise refrain. On the other hand, if a man keeps his wealth or property in a moneyed form, he will find its value increasing every year. While a house or other fixed property sinks in value from 1,000*l.* to 800*l.*, money kept idle in bank (while yielding some interest, however small) will rise in purchasing power from 1,000*l.* to upwards of 1,200*l.* In short, the tendency of such times is to check industrial investments to an unusual degree.

Everything, we repeat, falls in exchangeable value, except money; and even those who keep their wealth in the form of money do not escape, because of the lack of profitable investments for capital and the consequent fall in the rate of interest. All investments in trading and commercial undertakings fall more or less into disrepute, owing to the progressive loss to which they are exposed; while securities which bear a fixed return, and most of all Government stocks, are greatly in demand, just as has been the case with British Consols of late years. Indeed it is worthy of attention that, despite the important reductions which have been made during the last dozen years in the amount of the National Debt, the gradual rise in the value of money must render the fiscal pressure, or payment of the interest on the Debt, more onerous than it was before these recent reductions were made.

Thus the mischief works round the whole community, or indeed the civilised world. Capital, trade, and labour all suffer. Labour may suffer most in the long run, because of its comparative helplessness; nevertheless it is a fact that it is usually the last to suffer—the first losses (like the first gains) necessarily falling upon the employers. Such has been the case at present. The loss of profits among all classes of employers has for years past been most serious; and among some classes, especially the farmers and landed interest, this loss of income has swept away a large portion of their capital; nevertheless there has as yet been compara-

tively little reduction of wages and employment. But of course it must come, and to all appearance it must now be near at hand in a serious form. It is remarkable how men cling to old habits, in business as well as in pleasure or ordinary life. Thus, while the goods traffic on our railways has been declining for several years, the passenger traffic has kept up surprisingly. People have been journeying to and fro just as if they had still the same amount of business to carry on, or the same amount of income to spend. But such things cannot last, and we cannot but regard the immediate future with many apprehensions of evil.

Consider what has already happened of this kind in the present century, and mark the many points of resemblance which are to be found between the previous epoch of 'hard times' and the signs and features at present visible around us. Previous to 1848, as Mr. Newmarch has stated in a sentence which we have already quoted, there had been a slow but progressive fall of prices in consequence of an inadequate supply of the precious metals; and more specifically, Professor Jevons said, 'Between 1809 and 1849 prices fell in the ratio of 100 to 41'—a rise in the value of money, and consequent depreciation of labour and its produce, to the extent of 49 per cent., or about three-fifths. And the last years of the dearth were the worst of all; Professor Jevons adding, 'in 1849-52 prices were unprecedently low.' During this long period, agriculture and manufactures suffered alike,—Sismondi attributing the greater degree of suffering to the latter, and Mr. Jacob to the former. Writing in 1830, and speaking of the first stage of this monetary dearth, Mr. Jacob said (vol. ii. p. 376): 'In this country, where the cultivators of the soil are a class of capitalists distinct from the proprietors, their capitals have generally been diminishing; whilst the decline of the mines has been proceeding, and whilst the application of their produce to other purposes than that of coin has been increasing.' He adds: 'It certainly does not follow from these two courses having been in simultaneous progression that one is the cause of the other.' But, he continues, 'the same has been the condition of the cultivators of the soil in every other country also, so far as it is accurately known. In every part of the continent of Europe the same complaints are heard, however various may be the tenures by which land is held.' Nor was this agricultural distress confined to our own continent. 'Such complaints,' continued Mr. Jacob, 'are not bounded by the limits of Europe. The

'cultivators in North America assert that the prices of their productions yield them no profit, especially those of corn, cotton, tobacco, and rice. The same,' he goes on to say, 'is the case in the West India Islands, and also, according to the common reports, in South America and in India. There must be some general cause producing such extensive effects, which are thus felt alike where taxation is high or low; under despotic and free governments; and whether the land is cultivated by slaves, by serfs, by hired labourers, or by proprietors.' And what conceivable cause was there, operating so universally and under the most various and opposite circumstances, save that 'decline of the mines and increased application of their produce to other purposes than that of coin,' which, as Jacob said, 'have been in simultaneous progression'? He then stated with great precision the law which governs the rise and fall of prices at the present day. 'If,' said he, 'the mass of commodities increased at a greater rate than the metals, we should expect that prices would decline; but if those metals increased faster than the whole of the other commodities, we should look for an advance in the prices of commodities generally.' This sentence explains in a few words the inflation which followed the large discoveries of gold, and the depression which has followed an inadequate supply of the metal in all countries.

The well-known Belgian economist, M. de Laveleye, unhesitatingly attributes to this decline of the mines the long-continued adversity which befell Europe and America for a dozen years after 1819—at the beginning of which period, also, in Great Britain, specie-payments were resumed, while silver had been demonetised. Writing of our own country, M. de Laveleye says:—

'This period of 1820 to 1830, which ought to have been one of unparalleled prosperity, was characterised, on the contrary, by cruel distress. The fall of prices was so severe that Brougham proposed to reduce taxation proportionately, and in 1822 the idea was even put forward of reducing [in most monetary contracts?] the sovereign from twenty shillings to fourteen. Agriculture and general industry suffered alike. The distress of the labouring class was manifested in England by bread-riots, by threatening Chartist processions, and by demands for help addressed to Parliament. Armed repression had repeatedly to be resorted to.'

* See his Treatise on 'International Bimetallism,' English edition, pp. 44–56.

Referring to 'the details of this persistent crisis' in America, M. de Laveleye says :—

'From 1817 to 1827 such were the economic sufferings in the United States, that an increase of customs duties was demanded as a remedy. . . . In France there was the same pressure, and the same demand for the protectionist system. In the address of the Chamber of Deputies, of November 26, 1821, "the complaints of Agriculture, that "nursing-mother of France, were laid at the foot of the throne."

From all quarters of France complaints were made as to the insufficiency of the measures taken against the importation of foreign corn. In Piedmont the landowners complained that the prices of agricultural produce had fallen more than one-half, and, according to the testimony of the farmers of Holland, the rent of land had fallen more than one-third. While farmers and landlords suffered alike, so did commerce as well as agriculture. From Italy, Germany, and the trading cities of northern Europe, says M. de Laveleye, came the same complaint as to falling prices. Bankruptcies multiplied; and in 1820 a severe crisis, consequent upon the fall of prices, occurred at Hamburg, where 'the premium on gold mounted to nearly 10 per cent., while *the rate of interest remained extremely low*—discount falling 'to only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum—a proof of the extreme 'stagnation of business.'

Finally, what does the philosophic historian Sismondi say of these times? Writing in 1827 of what he justly called 'this great European calamity,' Sismondi says :—

'A cry of distress is raised from all the manufacturing towns of the Old World, and all the fields of the New World re-echo it. Everywhere Commerce is struck with the same languor; everywhere it encounters the same difficulty of selling. It is five years at least since the suffering began; far from being allayed, it seems increasing with time. The "Patriotic Societies," which are being formed in Belgium and Germany to keep out foreign merchandise, are a grievous symptom of this universal suffering. The [protective] system now predominant in the public mind has been produced by the distress everywhere visible. At the same time, farmers and landlords complain of being ruined; they loudly cry for protective laws, for monopolies; they declare that they cannot withstand foreign competition; and, in truth, many farmers have become bankrupt, while many landowners voluntarily give up a quarter or a third of their rents. Lastly, the frequent incendiarism of crops and farmhouses bespeaks the irritation and fermentation of the farm-labourers and the precarious condition of all society.*'

* Sismondi's 'Studies in Political Economy,' vol. ii. p. 226.

The new Russian gold mines served to check, though they did not much relieve, this monetary dearth—the constant growth of population and of monetary requirements neutralising the effects of the new supply from the Ural and Siberia. Everything that ministerial wisdom could devise to alleviate the stagnation of trade and general distress was tried; yet all was in vain. And so, although lightened by gleams of transient prosperity, ‘hard times’ continued to prevail till near the middle of the century, when suddenly, in 1848, the apprehension of Sismondi was realised. ‘All society’ was shaken to its foundations. Governments were overthrown by a wild impulse; the *nouvelles couches sociales* deluged with blood the streets of terror-stricken Paris; while wars and revolutions convulsed the continent of Europe.

It is beyond the purpose of this article to treat of the existing commercial depression in its details, or of the relations which thoughtful men will not fail to perceive between the present distress and sundry new and disquieting features of a political and social character. Indeed, have not the agrarian disturbance and political disaffection in Ireland been mainly due in their origin to the change in the value of money, and consequent fall in the price of agricultural produce, which had its beginning in 1875, and which has rendered unbearable farm-rents (and moneyed contracts generally) which in the previous twenty years had been not only fair and reasonable, but even highly advantageous for the cultivators in all parts of the kingdom? No human power, whether represented by monarchs or by constitutional governments, can prevent the embarrassment arising from an inadequate production of the precious metals, the only circulating medium of the world at large—the only form of international money which has yet been devised and accepted, and for which there is a more imperative requirement than ever, owing to the universality or international character that modern trade and commerce have acquired in the course of their ceaseless expansion. But, fortunately, the source of our present difficulties is no longer the mystery that it was, even to statesmen, in former times. The fact that nowadays it can be traced to its fundamental cause constitutes the best hope amidst our present difficulties; and we shall be well content if this review of the monetary facts and exposition of their influence upon trade and social wellbeing suffice, or contribute, to bring the important truth home to the minds of our statesmen and people.

ART. X.—*Popular Government*. Four Essays. By Sir HENRY SUMNER MAINE, K.C.S.I. 8vo. London: 1885.

By a fortunate coincidence, at the very time when the British nation was in the act of accomplishing the largest experiment of popular government which has ever been tried in the United Kingdom, a book issued from the press which deserves to rank with the best and wisest productions of English political literature, and which presents to the reader a consecutive series of original and judicious views on this most important subject. It may be that, amidst the clamour of parties contending for power at a general election, a work written in a purely philosophical spirit, without any colour of party passion, will produce less immediate effect than the intemperate harangues of rival candidates; and it is long before calm and profound disquisitions of this nature, even when they are expressed in language of remarkable simplicity and elegance, penetrate to the masses whom they most concern. But the truths of philosophy, drawn from experience and matured by reflection, govern the world, although they penetrate very slowly through the strata of society. A book like this volume by Sir Henry S. Maine has in it a seminal power, and will gradually affect the course of opinion amongst thousands of men who are unconscious of the source of its influence. When Sir Robert Peel applied himself to the task of reorganising the Conservative party after the great democratic hurricane which had carried the Reform Bill of 1832, he took the 'Democracy in America' of M. de Tocqueville, then recently published, as the text of his earnest appeal to the nation; he showed that democracy had its dangers as well as its triumphs; and these views so far prevailed, that the storm subsided, and the nation passed for a long period of years into the hands of a peaceful, orderly, and progressive government. The volume now before us is conceived and executed in the same spirit as the work of the great French publicist. It is inspired throughout by the same liberal sentiments, and if it points out in forcible language the perils of popular government, it is in the name of true liberty and sound principles of administration that it denounces them.

'One of the strangest of vulgar ideas is that a very wide suffrage could or would promote progress, new ideas, new discoveries and inventions, new arts of life. Such a suffrage is commonly associated with Radicalism, and, no doubt, amid its most certain effects would be

the extensive destruction of existing institutions; but the chances are that, in the long run, it would produce a mischievous form of Conservatism, and drug society with a potion compared with which Eldonine would be a salutary draught. For to what end, towards what ideal state, is the process of stamping upon law the average opinion of an entire community directed? The end arrived at is identical with that of the Roman Catholic Church, which attributes a similar sacredness to the average opinion of the Christian world. "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," was the canon of Vincent of Lerins. "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" were the words which rang in the ears of Newman and produced such marvellous effects on him. But did anyone in his senses ever suppose that these were maxims of progress? The principles of legislation at which they point would probably put an end to all social and political activities, and arrest everything which has ever been associated with Liberalism. A moment's reflection will satisfy any competently instructed person that this is not too broad a proposition. Let him turn over in his mind the great epochs of scientific invention and social change during the last two centuries, and consider what would have occurred if universal suffrage had been established at any one of them. Universal suffrage, which to-day excludes free trade from the United States, would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny and the power-loom. It would certainly have prohibited the threshing-machine. It would have prevented the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, and it would have restored the Stuarts. It would have proscribed the Roman Catholics with the mob which burned Lord Mansfield's house and library in 1780, and it would have proscribed the Dissenters with the mob which burned Dr. Priestley's house and library in 1791.'

Popular government is political power split into very small fragments. 'The man,' says Mr. Justice Stephen, 'who can sweep the greatest number of fragments of political power into one heap will govern the rest.' For it is obvious that however widely this power may be disseminated and diffused, it can only be exercised directly at long intervals, and it can only consist in the choice of a ruler. Hence, in popular governments resting on a wide suffrage, the leader, whether or not he be cunning, or eloquent, or well provided with commonplaces, will be the wire-puller. The greater the extension of the suffrage, the more mechanical does its application become, and the less operative in the free and independent judgement of the electorate.

Sir Henry S. Maine shows by examples that there is no ground for the belief that popular government in Europe is likely to be of indefinitely long duration. Wherever it has been established by revolution it has been repeatedly modified and overthrown. Even in the United States, which present the most successful example of it, and where no other

government could be established because the materials for it did not exist, we are at a loss to reconcile Mr. Bright's passionate admiration for American institutions with the fact that they have led within the first century of the Republic to a sanguinary war, an enormous debt, and a rigorous system of protective duties; we had always understood that war, debt, and protection were the peculiar objects of Mr. Bright's abhorrence. The fragility of popular governments is the result of the loss of political equilibrium and the violence of the parties to which they give birth. But it is not true, as Sir Henry Maine shows, that nations prefer to live, and can long exist and flourish, in a feverish state of change. In point of fact, the historical periods of acquiescence in, and submission to, even a bad system of laws and government, are infinitely longer than the periods of revolution; and the exhaustion caused by excessive change tends to reduce a nation to abject submission. The present condition of France, which is living for a time under the worst government she has had since the Directory, deprived of influence abroad, and plundered by her representatives at home, is a striking example. Yet the French people prefer even this state of things to the perils of another revolution; and amidst all her political convulsions the civil legislation of France has not, since the commencement of the century, been subjected to any considerable change, whilst our own has been in many respects radically reformed.

Democracy, as defined by Sir Henry S. Maine, is a form of government, and of all forms of government the most difficult.

'Little as the governing multitude is conscious of this difficulty, prone as the masses are to aggravate it by their avidity for taking more and more powers into their direct management, it is a fact that experience has placed beyond all dispute. It is the difficulty of democratic governments that mainly accounts for their ephemeral duration.'

But the term 'democracy,' as used by M. de Tocqueville and other writers, has acquired, perhaps improperly, a wider signification. It is taken to mean a state of society animated by an intense hatred of privilege in every form, a passionate love of equality, a desire to level all classes of society, a disposition to repudiate old traditions, and to sacrifice future interests to present use and enjoyment. We think Sir Henry Maine has scarcely attributed sufficient weight to the fact that although the political institutions of Great Britain are extremely democratic, our social institutions and conditions are not so, and that these social conditions are not repug-

nant to the people. In France the social institutions of the eighteenth century were corrupt and abusive, and they were annihilated. In America the only form of aristocracy which existed was based upon slavery. But in England the inequalities of fortune and even the privileges of rank are open to every man who has the ability to make his way in the world; they are therefore respected much more than they are disliked. M. Guizot said, when he was driven to England by the Revolution of 1848, that what struck him most in this country was that he saw here ‘une aristocratie sans morgue, et un peuple sans envie;’ and we do not think the baser revolutionary passions have made much progress in the last forty years. It is this solid constitution of the social relations of Englishmen of all ranks and classes which opposes the best barrier we possess against the violence of political parties. In no other country would the recent electoral contest, which was carried on with all the vehemence of party warfare, have shown so few signs of bitterness and hostility between classes. Those who attempted to kindle these passions signally failed. We owe it mainly to these friendly social influences that the House of Commons returned by an enlarged electorate is probably not of a more democratic character than its predecessors, and will not, as we believe, be more disposed to favour the extreme pretensions of the ultra-democrats. In Scotland these social influences have been weakened by the want of sympathy between the upper and lower classes, especially on the important questions of religion and land-tenure. In Ireland they have unhappily been turned to direct hostility. The consequence is that a powerful minority in those kingdoms, representing the property and intelligence of the highest ranks, is ostracised and unrepresented. But in England and Wales their influence is still powerful, and the union of classes is far closer, more especially in the most intelligent and industrious parts of the country.

Sir Henry Maine naturally lays considerable stress on the influence of party feeling.

‘The wire-puller is not intelligible,’ he says, ‘unless we take into account one of the strongest forces acting on human nature—party feeling. Party feeling is probably far more a survival of the primitive combativeness of mankind than a consequence of conscious intellectual differences between man and man. It is essentially the same sentiment which in certain states of society leads to civil, intertribal, or international war, and it is as universal as humanity.’

But if party feeling is a remnant or survival of barbarous

passions and of ignorant ages, may we not hope that it will be mitigated and modified by the progress of education and enlightenment? It is at this moment strongest in the least civilised parts of the United Kingdom. It rages in Ireland. It flourishes in the tenacity and combativeness of the Scottish people. It is weakest in the metropolis, and in the great centres of British thought and industry.

Pure party feeling demands the prostration of the reason and the will. It is as dogmatical and damnatory as the Athanasian Creed. It has the narrowness of a sect and the exclusiveness of a caste. It requires that a man should not only believe in the infallibility of his leaders, but believe no less in the mortal errors and delinquencies of his opponents. He must not only defend and follow his party even when they are wrong, but he must attack and resist the opposite opinions even when they are right. He is bound by ties almost as strong as those of military obedience or of religious superstition; and he dreads the consequences of deserting his flag, even when he condemns the policy to which he is bound. But when men begin to consider and reason on the grounds of their belief, they revolt against these claims to a species of papal infallibility which cannot stand the test of argument and reflection. The more enlightened they are, the less will they submit to authority. The consequence is that there exists in this country a large mass of independent opinion, sufficient to turn the scale at an election, and party influences become comparatively powerless.

There is, moreover, another and a lower motive which lessens the power of party. It is extremely difficult to maintain the strict discipline of party without the influence of corruption, or, to use a milder term, without an appeal to personal interests. Party is all-powerful in the United States, because a political victory places the whole patronage of the State at the disposal of the conqueror, it is regarded as the spoil of war. Party is strong in France, because the Republicans who are possessed of power have proceeded to pillage the State and to appropriate the pelf of an enormous administration. But in England the State is destitute of the means of corruption. Even in a great dockyard town like Portsmouth, where the population are largely employed by the Government, the ministerial candidates were beaten. Those who are contending for office, or who may be purchased by honours or public emoluments, are a very small minority. Private and personal corruption is repressed by the severest penalties and punished by political extinction. We believe,

therefore, that it had no perceptible influence on the late election. Men voted according to their conscience and conviction, rather than from meaner and baser motives, and the bonds of party were relaxed.

This decline of party influence naturally gives rise to great and apparently sudden fluctuations of opinion. The election of 1874 overthrew the Liberal Ministry, when Mr. Gladstone somewhat rashly appealed to the people. The election of 1880 reversed that decision, and overthrew Lord Beaconsfield. The election of 1885 has shown other unforeseen changes of opinion. The statesmen of England must henceforth be aware that nothing but their own good government and success can perpetuate their hold on their followers.

Lastly, it may be remembered that the conduct of statesmen themselves has materially loosened the bonds of party. Sir Robert Peel inflicted on the Tory party the severest blows it ever received by the two great measures of his life, Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the corn laws. Lord Beaconsfield boasted that he was educating his party, until he landed them in household suffrage, to be followed inevitably by the extension of the franchise to the rural constituencies. At the present time party allegiance has been severely strained and not unfrequently broken by the attempt of Mr. Chamberlain and his associates to pervert the old principles of the Liberal cause. The result of these events is that party feeling has lost, and independent conscientious political opinion has acquired a stronger, influence. We do not regret it, and the best hopes of good popular government lie in that direction.

We would willingly follow in detail the train of thought suggested by Sir Henry Maine's admirable work, but we trust our readers will examine it for themselves, and lay to heart the acute and ingenious observations with which he analyses the working of popular government. Perhaps he may be accused of taking too desponding a view of his great subject, for it does not follow from the failure of democratic institutions to establish good and lasting governments among the Latin races in France, Spain, or South America, that they may not produce different results amongst a more highly educated people, capable of forming a more temperate judgment and of acting upon it. If we turn from the pages of the philosopher to the exciting events which are passing around us, there is much to justify more sanguine hopes of the future of popular government in this country. For the first thing which strikes the political observer in the recent

electoral contest is that no election has ever been conducted in this country with so much order, sobriety, and intelligence. The battle has been keenly fought, and opinions have been largely, indeed almost equally, divided. But there has been an all but entire cessation of the saturnalia which used to accompany an English election. The ballot has proved inoperative as a system of secret voting, for the simple reason that at least nine-tenths of the electorate have no desire at all to make a secret of their votes. On the contrary they take every means of proclaiming their opinions and intentions. But the mode of voting by ballot has put an end to the noise and nonsense and occasional violence of the hustings and the polling-booth. Electoral expenses have been largely diminished; and, if we are not much mistaken, the result of the election is in nowise due to corruption and undue personal influence. These benefits are due to the wise legislation of the last Parliament, and to the redistribution of seats amongst constituencies large in numbers and returning a single member.

The election which has given a large majority to Liberal candidates and Liberal opinions is due in the main to the conscientious independence of the electors, proud of their franchise, and anxious in most instances to return the candidate who appeared to them most worthy of their support. They were not affected by the glamour of great names, but they were anxious to choose as their representatives men of unblemished character, station, and education. Even party influences, though still strong, have lost much of their power. Generally speaking, the electors rejected all arbitrary interference by organised bodies issuing a dictatorial mandate. In the great centres of industry and intelligence it was found to be impossible to make these large and intelligent bodies the slaves of a caucus. They were resolved to judge and act for themselves. To arrive at this result, immense importance was, very properly, attached on both sides to the innumerable preliminary meetings and speeches which for a considerable space of time preceded the election. No candidate had a chance of success who was not prepared to meet his constituents over and over again in public, and to make known to them his opinions on all the questions of the day, from the past to the future. The consequence was an enormous progress in the political education of the people, and of the candidates themselves. The cause of Liberalism, Conservatism, Radicalism, and even Socialism was pleaded at length by their respective advocates, and it is not too much

to say that the judgement of the people was a reasoned and deliberate judgement, and not a vote dictated by interest, ignorance, or passion. The result of the election is, as a whole, in the highest degree honourable to the British electorate; and if popular government can be maintained and brought to permanent success on a democratic basis, it will be by such men as these who feel the responsibility of their position and are governed by these patriotic motives. The immediate result of an election in favour of this party or of that is of infinitely less importance than the spirit of integrity and independence of the electoral body.

But to this remark, which is especially applicable to the most highly educated and industrious parts of the country, some considerable exceptions must be made. Mr. Gladstone, we believe, once expressed an opinion that the political intelligence of the constituencies was in a direct ratio to their distance from the metropolis, and that the further they were from the great centre of light and leading the more likely they were to exercise an independent judgement. From that opinion we entirely dissent. The metropolitan elections were entirely free, for it was impossible to exercise any sinister influence over those great and intelligent bodies. The electors are familiar with the topics of political discussion; the history of recent years and the conduct of public men are well known to them. The Universities of England, Ireland, and Scotland, are justly regarded as the seats of men capable of forming an enlightened and dispassionate opinion on public affairs; on that especial ground they have retained their representatives; but, unhappily, the six Universities of the United Kingdom have only returned one member who supports Mr. Gladstone's policy and opinions. If we turn from the centre to the circumference and survey the outlying districts of the kingdom, from the Radicalism of Cornwall to the Celtic population of Ireland or Wales, the crofters of the West Highlands, and the illiterate counties of East Anglia, it must be admitted that, however useful their votes may be to the extreme section of the Liberal party, they are not the result of political sagacity or experience. In those remote districts what are called political opinions are governed by narrow local interests, by sectarian jealousies, by personal wants. To those uncultivated minds the imperial grandeur of a world-embracing policy, the relations of the commonwealth of nations, the magnificent administration of India, the expansive forces of colonial life, the duties of the statesman who is the guardian and sentinel of a realm, are

VOL. CLXIII. NO. CCCXXXIII.

a blank. They are more touched by the rent of a patch of moorland than by the dominion of an empire. Yet they are greater than they know; and their voices, trusting to the leaders in whom they believe, may sway the destinies of the world.

It is amongst the least educated constituencies that agencies have been brought to bear with force and success, some of which are of a novel and mischievous character. The credulity of the peasantry has been practised upon by fictitious promises of the most extravagant and ludicrous character, none of which will be realised. No agrarian law will be passed in this or any other Parliament; doles will not be given to pauper annuitants; farms and stock will not be distributed gratis; harbours will not be made for every fishing village on the north coast; roasted larks will not fall from the sky. If the benefits of private capital and munificence were withdrawn from these poor people, they would not obtain an indemnity from the State. They will learn more wisdom from experience, perhaps from hard experience.

A more serious element in the question is the ascendancy acquired and exerted by an organisation far more powerful than that of the Birmingham Caucus—we mean that of the Roman Catholic clergy and the Irish Nationalist leaders. It is, we believe, the first time that the Roman Catholics have voted as a political party in England, being chiefly of Irish origin; they have done so under the direct orders of their clergy, to which the great body of them have shown an abject obedience; and by their strange alliance with the revolutionary Irish faction they have, with an utter contempt of political principles, thrown their whole weight against the Liberal party and its representatives. To this cause the loss of many Liberal seats must be attributed; and this is the more to be regretted, as it discloses another rift in English political life, tending to inflame those religious differences and passions which are always latent, though dormant.

No doubt the result of the borough elections in England has considerably disappointed the sanguine hopes of many of the leaders of the Liberal party. They rashly assumed that a large addition to the electorate, drawn chiefly from the lower classes of society, must necessarily be favourable to themselves, and might easily be led by the impassioned cry of the Radical chiefs to obey the mechanism they had set in motion. They forgot that there are two sides to every question, and that both must be heard. In our

opinion the failure of so many Liberal candidates in the boroughs—which returned an overwhelming Liberal majority in the last Parliament—was due to the dread and aversion inspired by the ‘Radical Programme,’ and by the want of courage and plain speaking on the part of Liberals, who, if they had uttered all they thought and felt, would have repudiated every article in it. We question the sincerity and good faith of men many of whom are not Radicals by conviction or principle, but by opportunism and fear. They would have stood far better with the electors and the country if they had adhered manfully to their old colours, and shown in what respects these novel propositions differed from the tried Liberalism of the Whig party. Radicalism is a climbing parasite, but it can only rise by clinging to the old stem of the Liberal creed.

For what was the programme of the Radical faction, put forth with an air of assurance and authority which baffles belief? We were told that, the political revolution being now completed, the social revolution was about to begin; and accordingly the leading institutions of the country and the great barriers of the Constitution were marked out for destruction. The first essential change was to be the overthrow of the Second Chamber of Parliament, so as to invest a single democratic House of Commons with uncontrolled and unlimited power, whilst the procedure of the House itself was to be so reformed as to render its action prompt and decisive. That was distinctly the introduction of an arbitrary power such as has not existed in England since the days of the Long Parliament. The authority of the State was to be considerably extended, so as to penetrate into all the relations of life. The doom of the *laissez-aller* system of government, which means the respect of individual liberty, with freedom of contract and freedom from artificial interference in commerce and industry, was sealed. Property in land was singled out for attack, apparently because it had hitherto been regarded as the most secure of human possessions; and it was suggested that those who were too largely endowed with this world’s goods, in the opinion of the State, were to be deprived of their surplus by a graduated income tax or by duties on the succession of property. The system of fixing rents by judicial process instead of free contract, which has been applied to the ills of Ireland with indifferent success, has been held up as a remedy for agricultural depression. Land was to be taken by elective bodies, at their choice, for the benefit of small proprietors,

the price being fixed by the purchaser and advanced by the public. Large expenditure was not deprecated, but recommended, for the purpose of improving the condition of the people, the funds being supplied by new forms of taxation. Free schools were to be opened throughout the country, to be supported by the Treasury at a cost of several millions, in order to supersede the 14,500 denominational schools which are now maintained chiefly by voluntary contributions and weekly payments; but this scheme met with but little favour from the working classes, who saw that their rates would be increased, and that these free schools were charity schools in disguise. Above all, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Established Church were not obscurely hinted at, but deliberately proposed in a scheme worked out in considerable detail, minute but ridiculous. When the country took fire at this threatened attack on the Church—which, in fact, embodied the precise views of the Liberation Society, and was the result of the exertions of that body—it was thought prudent to retreat from so dangerous a position, and accordingly assurances were given that it was not the intention of the assailants of the Church to vote for its overthrow and spoliation *in the next Parliament*.

‘Non defensoribus istis
Tempus eget!’

Conscientious members of the Church of England, whether Liberal or Conservative, require not only a pledge that it shall not be attacked in the new Parliament, but that it shall be defended, maintained, enlarged, and if necessary in some particulars reformed, as the chief guardian of the faith of the people of England against foes without and foes within, alike against Romanism and against infidelity. We do not believe that these destructive propositions are accepted by the Liberal party, or that they would command the assent of any considerable fraction of the House of Commons. Our conviction is that they would be rejected as decisively by the present Liberal majority of the House of Commons as they would be rejected by the Conservatives; and that not one of these measures will find support, or indeed is likely to be brought forward, in the new Parliament.

But this is not Mr. Chamberlain's opinion. He has hastened to inform the public in explicit terms that he adheres to all the terms of the Radical programme; he deplors the concessions that the Radical party were induced to make by accepting the comparatively temperate and guarded mani-

festos of Mr. Gladstone, limited to four points; he looks forward to a renewal of the contest at no distant period, when his own policy, undiluted, will be presented to the electorate, and especially the disestablishment of the Church of England will be brought into the front of the battle. Mr. Chamberlain may at least be congratulated on his sincerity. He sticks to the red flag, and apparently he believes in its future success. But in truth he has rendered greater services to the Conservative party than to his own; and his language compels the Moderate Liberals to prepare for fresh attacks on the part of men who have called themselves their allies, and have thriven under their protection.

There could be no clearer proof that the Radical leaders are resolved to destroy the Liberal party, as it has hitherto existed, to repudiate its principles, and to contend for absolute mastery over its future action. Here we join issue with him. We appeal, like Mr. Burke, from the New Whigs to the Old. The Liberal party owes by far the larger portion of its strength and success to the wisdom and moderation with which it has conducted a long series of useful reforms, and we utterly disbelieve that it is prepared to abdicate its power into the grasp of presumptuous ignorance and reckless agitation. It is probable that the Radical faction will eventually ally itself to the Irish Nationalists, from whom they are already separated by a very thin line, for they will be ready to purchase their support at any price; and the result should be a reconstruction of English parties, on moderate liberal principles, which would unite all the political intelligence of the country in a common cause, to resist the progress of socialism, disintegration, and revolution.

We have discussed these outrageous and, we must add, insulting propositions at greater length on a former occasion, and we only quote them now to remind our readers how broad and deep is the chasm which divides the modern Radical from the old Liberal party. The attempt to fix rent by legislation or judicial interference with free contract is a revival in a new form of the usury laws which were designed to fix the value of money. Five per cent. was legal interest; above that sum it was usury. Rent is simply the interest paid by the tenant on the capital of the landlord sunk in the land which he borrows and occupies. It rises or falls by the ordinary laws of supply and demand. There is no legal limit to the one or the other. The scheme for raising peasant proprietors by forced loans and artificial

heat was ably shown by Sir Lewis Malet to be as formal a violation of the principles of free trade as the establishment of any other interest, created and fostered by protection at the public expense. In truth, wherever the interference of the State is made paramount to individual action and open competition, protection takes the place of freedom. But the doom of the *laissez-aller* principle is the base of Mr. Chamberlain's theories. The State is to be all in all, and the head of the Birmingham Caucus and National Federation League is to be the State. But this is by the way. When these proposals are made known to the intelligent electorate and understood by them, they will perceive that this is an attempt to bribe them with false coin; and that the device is a party manœuvre calculated to paralyse industry by driving away capital and by threatening the free institutions of the country, which enable every man to buy and sell as he pleases. It is only on the most ignorant part of the population that such arguments can have weight.

We are convinced, as indeed the result of the election shows, that the great majority of the working classes, and of the electorate generally, are sincerely attached to Liberal principles. He who should attempt to address them in the language of old Toryism would speak to deaf ears. It is too late to appeal to the prejudices and passions of past generations. The very name of a Tory has no attraction for them, but the reverse. They are proud of their Liberal opinions, and boast of them. But the Liberal opinions they profess have nothing in common with the arbitrary pretensions of the Radical school. Neither their ends nor their means were the same. The result was that in the heart of England many staunch Liberals made up their minds, not without hesitation, to vote for the Conservative candidate, not as voting for a Tory or for Toryism, but as voting against the Radical programme. The balance of votes in favour of Conservative candidates in the metropolis and the neighbouring counties was further increased by the abstention of large numbers of genuine Liberals, who, unwilling to desert their party, and unable to support a Radical candidate, declined to vote at all. The number of abstentions in the metropolitan districts appears to have been extremely large, and it may be inferred that they did not belong to the more ardent party on either side.

It is difficult to describe in language of sufficient severity the incalculable injury done by Mr. Chamberlain and his allies to the Liberal party. We are amazed at their igno-

rance and ineptitude—ignorance of the commonest facts of rural economy, of the principles of commercial policy, and of the elementary rules of law—and an inept misconception of the true spirit of the English people, who are not to be driven by caucuses and contrivances to abdicate their liberty of judgement and to plunge into the rash experiment of a social revolution. Mr. Chamberlain has the unhappy gift of aiding his adversaries when they stood on a very slippery platform, at the expense of his friends. He shows that mercantile acuteness, municipal politics, and malignant party passions are not statesmanship. He is the *enfant terrible* of the Liberal party; and whatever falling off may have occurred in the Liberal majority is mainly due to his pernicious influence. But we deny that Liberal principles have suffered any disparagement from the errors and backslidings of those who were their constituted defenders. It has been said with truth that this general election has been a triumph of Moderate Liberal opinions. The votes of the majority were not attracted, but rather repelled, by that phantasmagoria of a false Jacobinism which was paraded before the electorate under the vulgar and mistaken belief that the forces of Liberalism could only be roused by ‘a cry.’* We may be permitted to say that the opinions of which this Journal has been at all times the steady advocate, whether they be called ‘Plain Whig Principles’ or by any other name, which is perfectly immaterial, are more in accordance with the convictions of the people of England, alike averse to extreme politics of either colour. They are to a great extent recognised and accepted even by their former opponents, for the Conservatism of to-day differs not materially from the Whiggism of the last half-century. Progress within the lines of the Constitution, legislation governed by a sincere desire to raise and improve the condition of the people, reforms in State and Church which the growing intelligence of the nation demands, measures adapted to strengthen the union between all parts of this

* At a convivial meeting in West Somerset, held since the election, a reverend gentleman of some nonconformist persuasion boasted that he always sat down when the Queen’s health was drunk and ‘God ‘save the Queen’ sung. He informed his hearers that the money paid to the clergy was the cause of the present agricultural depression, and that the parson ought to be regarded as the rent-collector of the parish. He strongly condemned the practice of praying for the Royal Family. Many of his hearers were anxious that these remarks should not appear in print, but they were reported. Language of this sort is eminently useful to the Conservative cause, and injurious to the Liberal party.

vast empire, and to diffuse the spirit of its free and enlightened institutions, a foreign policy calculated to make our influence felt and respected by other nations in the cause of peace—in a word *Good Government* is what the people of England desire, and, party considerations apart, we are not aware that there are any essential differences between the means by which the leading statesmen of this country would seek to accomplish these objects. It may well be that the terms Whig and Tory, like the distinctive principles of Whiggism and Toryism, are somewhat obsolete, as the objects for which those parties formerly contended have been accomplished or have ceased to exist. But, if we are not greatly mistaken, the interest and the desire of the British nation is that, out of those traditional divisions, a great Constitutional party should arise capable of guiding the State in the course of enlightened progress, whilst it maintains the fundamental institutions of the realm.

In delineating with his usual precision the character of the late Lord Spencer, better known in political history as Lord Althorp, Mr Greville remarks that

‘he observed a just proportion and a perfect moderation in his political views and objects, firmly believing in the capacity of the Constitution to combine the utmost extent of civil and religious liberty with the predominance of law and a safe and vigorous administration of public affairs. His whole life, therefore, was devoted to the object of widening and strengthening the foundations of the Commonwealth, of abrogating exclusive and oppressive laws, of extending political franchises, of giving freedom to commerce, and, by the progress of a policy at once sound and safe, to promote the happiness of the mass of the people, and the power and prosperity of the country.’ *

This is the type of a true Whig statesman, of the man who carried the Reform Bill of 1832 through a stormy Parliament, and whose single word had more weight in the House of Commons than a torrent of frothy eloquence which leaves no clear impression behind it. Such are the men whom the country would willingly see at the head of affairs, if it knew where to find them; and we would respectfully commend the character and career of Lord Althorp to the imitation of the statesmen who seek in another generation to assume the offices he once held. Lord Althorp certainly would have conceded no jot or tittle of the principles he held sacred to Radical theories or Irish disaffection, and he would have carried the country with him by the transparent honesty

* Mr. Greville's Memoirs, Second Part, vol. ii. p. 296.

and inviolable truthfulness with which he maintained his own convictions.

Within a few days from the publication of these pages the new Parliament will have met, and he would be a bold man who should venture to predict the course of events at a crisis of unparalleled difficulty. We have no such pretension; we shall attempt at most to indicate what appear to be some of the leading facts of the situation. Neither of the great parties in the State has obtained the success it hoped for. The Ministerialists have not been able to maintain in the counties the advantage they had gained in the boroughs. The Liberals do not possess that overwhelming majority which some of them too confidently anticipated. It is computed that the House of Commons which has just assembled consists of 250 Ministerialists, 332 members of the Opposition, 83 Irish Nationalists, and a few scattered votes. No party has an absolute majority of the 670 members. A similar division of opinion appears to exist in the country; for, although upwards of four millions took part in the election, the difference between the sum total of the Liberal and Conservative voters collectively barely exceeds 200,000, or about five per cent. of the whole electorate. That is a small proportion to form the basis of a majority. The Opposition have, however, undoubtedly a majority of eighty-two votes over the Ministerial party, which, under ordinary circumstances, would be victorious. But, large as this majority is, it is barely enough to counterbalance the weight of the Irish party if that be thrown on the side of the Government. Moreover, the Liberal party in the House of Commons must present the same differences of opinion which have been clearly manifested at the elections, and these will make themselves felt with increasing force. The position of a Government not commanding a majority of its own is weak and purely defensive. But the movements of an inharmonious Opposition require to be directed with consummate tactical skill and judgement, and with a view to the future responsibilities they may incur. The opinion of the most able and experienced tacticians of the Liberal party, in whom eagerness for office did not overpower their sobriety of judgement, is that the Opposition should abstain from measures of active hostility until it feels itself in a condition to replace the existing Administration with a full assurance of the support of Parliament and the country.

It may be taken for granted that all the visionary schemes which have been flaunted before the eyes of electors, to

excite their hopes or fears, will vanish like mist before the sun. Not one of them will be realised in this Parliament; it will be much if the Parliament is able to transact in a creditable manner the current business of the country. The Irish question will devour all the rest, and this because the ascendancy of Mr. Parnell and his followers in the House of Commons renders the existence of any government insecure. The concessions made by the late Administration to their Irish supporters have not proved so successful, either by the pacification of Ireland or the solidity of the alliance, as to warrant our confidence in a renewal of that policy. These measures have been framed by English statesmen, who judged of the character of the Irish people by their own conceptions of justice and expediency, but with an imperfect knowledge of that very peculiar country. It would seem to be a more rational course to invite the Irish themselves to tell us what they want, and the whole extent of it, not in the form of declamatory harangues, but of measures carefully drawn in the form of bills and submitted to the judgement of Parliament. If Mr. Parnell and his associates boast that they are the representatives of the Irish people, this is a task and a duty they may fairly be called upon to undertake. The British Government may well decline to frame measures of reform for Ireland, which are discredited before they are introduced, simply because they are British, and sullenly accepted even when they are cordially offered. Let us know what the Irish measures are, framed and expounded by the Irish members. We should then have some tangible ground of discussion. Anything short of this is mere beating the air with idle promises and intemperate harangues. But if we are told by competent authority in what precise manner these gentlemen propose to carry on the independent legislation and government of that portion of the Queen's dominions, and are prepared to frame a new Constitution for Ireland, so important a scheme would be instructive, and would be entitled to the careful consideration of the High Court of Parliament. In fairness to its authors, we should not pre-judge its merits or defects.

On the other hand, if they are not prepared to produce a complete legislative measure to this effect, their whole contention falls to the ground.

But, whatever might be thought of this mode of procedure, it appears (unless he be greatly belied) to differ altogether from that which commends itself to the mind of Mr. Gladstone. It has been announced, and not denied, that this

statesman, released from the responsibility of office, has avowed his conversion to the main object of the Irish Nationalists—the erection of an independent legislature in Dublin for the exclusive control of Irish affairs—a concession which involves everything else, whatever may be the details or imaginary safeguards accompanying it. We thus find ourselves face to face with a question of the most vital consequence to the peace and security of the United Kingdom, which assumes a tenfold importance if the Irish demands are backed by any considerable English authority. We do not care to enquire whether personal objects or party interests have operated this extraordinary conversion, for the man who could allow personal motives or party interests to influence his judgement on a question vital to the Empire would be a dishonest and corrupt politician. It must be assumed that if Mr. Gladstone has adopted the views ascribed to him, he has changed his mind for the same reason that induced the Duke of Wellington to grant Catholic Emancipation in 1829, namely, that he sees no other solution of the Irish difficulty but the alternatives of surrender or civil war. It is not the less certain that the Repeal of the Union between the English and Irish Parliaments would be an act in direct defiance of the principles on which the policy of this country has been based for centuries, and on which the Liberal party have consistently acted down to the very latest date, including the election just concluded. To put it in the shortest possible terms, we may use the words of Lord Somers, speaking of Scotland in 1707: ‘*The true argument for the Union is the danger to both kingdoms from a divided state.*’ What would have been the opinion of Lord Althorp, Lord Russell, Lord Palmerston, and indeed of Mr. Gladstone himself, down to a recent period, on such a proposal? They would have said that such a scheme could only originate in the brain of a lunatic or a traitor. The late Sir Robert Peel is known to have declared that the Repeal of the Union would reduce Great Britain to the rank of a fourth-rate power, and Ireland to a howling wilderness. Mr. Gladstone’s whole policy since 1880 has been directed to resist these very demands; he has endeavoured to disarm them by excessive conciliation; he has endeavoured to repress them by exceptional measures of legal procedure. But, singularly enough, the result of the Irish elections has not left him a single supporter. The bitterest taunt aimed at the Conservative party was the imputation of an intrigue with the Irish Nationalists; they were to be left, it was said with extreme vulgarity, ‘to stew

‘in their Parnellite juice.’ It now seems that the order of things is reversed. Lord Spencer denied with indignation the existence of what was termed the Kilmainham Treaty; but the admission of the chief demand of Mr. Parnell is a surrender of a far broader character. We do not suppose that Lord Spencer is a party to it.

We protest, in the name of the principles which the Liberal party and its leading statesmen have hitherto unalterably professed, against a measure fraught with the most disastrous consequences to both kingdoms. It would throw Ireland back two centuries, for the Irish Parliament of to-day would not be Grattan’s Parliament of 1782, but King James II.’s Parliament of 1689, in which there were but six Protestants—a Parliament which repealed the Act of Settlement, and attainted every Irishman loyal to the English Crown. If the Irish were a united people, it is conceivable that they might form a national government. But from the earliest periods of her history Ireland has been torn by the contests of native septs and chieftains. She never had a native sovereign or government of undisputed authority; and at this moment, if the British army were withdrawn, hostilities would break out between North and South, Protestant and Catholic, a bigoted peasantry and a ruined proprietary. Far from solving the Irish question, as it is termed, the concession of independent legislative and administrative authority to an Irish Parliament would be the commencement of difficulties and differences far more dangerous and insoluble; for if those disputes cannot be adjusted by one sovereign power, could they be settled by rival legislatures? There is no such thing as divided or double sovereignty. The Crown and Parliament of the United Kingdom are supreme, or they are powerless. They can accept no nominal allegiance. Nor are any promises, guarantees, or securities, as they are called, of the slightest value. How are they to bind future legislatures? How are they to be enforced if broken? They would have exactly the same value as the Convention concluded with the Boers after Majuba Hill, which recognised the Queen’s suzerainty, but which was violated with impunity before the ink was dry.

By whom is the Queen’s government in Ireland to be carried on, under a system of legislative and administrative independence? Mr. Parnell boasts that he represents a majority of the people of Ireland; but does he represent its intelligence, or the commercial interest, or the landed interest, or any element in the country but its ignorance

and fanaticism? It deserves remark that not one single Irish gentleman of education, property, station, and political experience, has ever given in his allegiance to Mr. Parnell. The old and estimable Irish Liberal party has been extinguished and proscribed by him. His recruits are mere adventurers or tools of contemptible capacity and low estate. Are these the men who would form the future rulers of Ireland? It would be governed by a club of Jacobins.

In whatever form the question may be submitted to Parliament, it is evident that it must be discussed, and the sooner a definitive vote is taken upon it the better. We shall therefore endeavour to point out some of the leading considerations which induce us to reject a proposal to which the leading members of the Liberal party have at all times given their decided and successful opposition; and we rejoice to find that if any delusions or uncertainty have arisen in other quarters, the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Forster have explicitly declared that they do not share them. Lord Hartington expressly adheres to the declaration made by himself at Belfast in the following terms:—
'I am firmly convinced that the people of the United Kingdom will never assent to the practical separation of the two Governments of England and Ireland; they will not tolerate the formation of an independent Government which may be hostile, which may be unfriendly, which may adopt opposite colonial, fiscal, or even foreign policies with regard to Imperial matters.'

The existence of an independent, though subordinate, Irish Parliament, invested with legislative powers in Ireland and the control of the Irish Administration, could not fail to prove an infraction of the prerogatives and authority of the Crown. The executive authority of the Crown in Ireland is exercised by the appointment of a Viceroy, who controls the whole Irish Administration (now consisting almost entirely of Irishmen), and appoints the judges, the magistrates, and all other officers of justice, revenue, and police. The command of the army in Ireland is vested in the Royal Commander of the Forces. But this is precisely the authority which the Irish National party are seeking to overthrow. The administration of affairs in Ireland must necessarily be transferred by an Irish Parliament to Irish executive ministers, who would in fact be appointed by the National Legislature, since they could do nothing without the concurrence of the dominant party there. The dominant party, consisting of Mr. Parnell's nominees, is notoriously

disaffected to the British Crown, and closely allied to the Irish party in the United States. It would proscribe and eject from office the Loyalist minority, including by far the larger part of the property and intelligence of the island. The army would be withdrawn, and the police would be in the hands of their new masters. The executive power would be exercised in the severed portions of the United Kingdom by two governments, which might be, and probably would be, absolutely discordant on a multitude of points. It would be impossible for the Sovereign to exercise any control over two conflicting administrations, or even to have cognisance of the Irish policy, and the result would be that the monarchy would cease to exist for Ireland, and that sovereign power, which, though seldom directly exerted, is the centre of our system of government, would fall into the hands of men not unfrequently hostile to Great Britain, and hostile to the best portion of their own countrymen. Such a legislature would not be a Parliament, but a Convention; for in what manner is a Second Chamber to be constituted? A Second Chamber, whether hereditary or elective, should represent property, culture, and political experience. But if such a body could be formed in Ireland, it would at once be at open war with the more democratic representatives of the peasantry.

It has been said that the Irish Nationalists would be content with the constitution of Canada; but there is this essential difference, that Canada counts for nothing in European politics, and that Ireland is an important element in the security of British territory and in our relations with foreign states. In the event of war, the absolute military command of Ireland and of her numerous harbours is indispensable to this country. It is impossible to admit the contingency of a foreign and hostile power established even for a day on our western coasts; and this is probably the reason why in our long contests with Spain and France, from the days of the Tudors to the invasion of Hoche, such importance has been attached to the full sovereignty of the sister island. On this ground alone it is a question *stantis aut cadentis imperii*. Did ever a great nation commit so suicidal an act as to lay open its weakest side to its enemies? It is evident that one of the first acts of an Irish Government would be to arm the people and to strengthen its relations with the Irish Americans. In the Irish Constabulary they would have the nucleus of an army ready to their hand. Hence, the means of repression which the British Government

now possesses in Ireland would be exposed to a military resistance, only to be overcome by a sanguinary war, perhaps involving a quarrel with the United States of America.

Whatever civilisation exists in Ireland has been planted there by England and Scotland; it is not of Celtic growth. Would it not be an act of monstrous injustice on the part of this country to abandon to the tender mercies of the dominant party in Ireland all that we have planted there for three centuries, to break all the pledges of parliamentary titles and old prescriptive rights, to blast the loyal population of Ulster which claims our protection, and to allow the bases of real and personal property to be shaken throughout the kingdom, to the utter ruin of all those who have put their trust in the good faith of England? Surely it is enough to consider, however superficially, these appalling consequences, to induce us to reject with horror and disdain the bare suggestion of so base a purpose.

Let us turn for a moment to what would be the state of the finances of Ireland in such a crisis. As far as the British Exchequer is concerned we have nothing to fear; for we believe that the revenue drawn from Ireland is far inferior to the charges upon it, including the maintenance of an army of thirty thousand men and large subventions to the police, the schools, and many other Irish institutions. But where would the Repeal of the Union leave the finances of Ireland? Capital would fly the country; nay, it is already flying: the stock of the Bank of Ireland, which was at 330 a few months ago, has fallen to 268, and every form of investment follows the same downward track. Land is to be reduced to its 'prairie value,' but as it is already unsaleable, it could produce no returns to the Irish Treasury. Credit abroad there would be none. In order to raise any revenue at all, an Irish Parliament would be driven to resort to customs duties; but as trade would sink to the lowest possible level, even these would be unproductive. Moreover, private British interests, independent of the Treasury, are largely engaged in Ireland. It is said that one hundred millions of British capital are invested there in the shape of mortgages, loans, and companies, on the faith of parliamentary titles and legal security. The English insurance companies and their constituents are the principal owners of this species of property. They have a right to claim the protection of the law, at whatever cost, but they would have little to expect from an Irish Parliament, whose measures would invade the rights of property, and extinguish interest

as they repudiate rent. Even communism cannot long supply the greed of an indigent faction. Distress in every form would supervene, and the dismal scene would close by a fierce struggle for the spoils of a ruined society. In a word, Ireland would be flung into revolution, to be closed only by a civil war.

This is no exaggerated picture. It is drawn from the evidence of Irish Liberals, deeply attached to the welfare and freedom of their country, but who look forward with terror to her approaching fate, if the support and control of Great Britain be withdrawn from her shores.

The power Mr. Parnell arrogates to himself rests entirely upon the disunion of the great parties of England. It is on their rivalry that he relies to enable one-tenth of the population of the United Kingdom to rule or control the policy of the other nine-tenths. These parties are more divided by personal considerations than by any essential differences of principle, and in their opposition to the legislative independence of Ireland, which means the separation of the two kingdoms, they are absolutely agreed. Patriotism speaks in louder tones than party, and demands that they should act together.

If the country were on the brink of invasion by a foreign enemy, there is not a man in England who would not combine in defence of the inviolable soil of these islands, and support the Queen's authority in whatever hands it might be placed. Is this less than an invasion, which threatens to rend asunder the United Kingdom, and has already thrown into the heart of our electorate the avowed enemies of the English nation? It is an invasion by a band of men, disguised as our fellow-countrymen, but boasting of their hatred to this country, whose track is marked in their own island by hideous crimes, who have attempted to blow up the Tower of London and Westminster Hall with dynamite, who draw their resources from foreign countries where they have established an organisation avowedly hostile to England, and who have now penetrated in large numbers to the benches of the House of Commons. Shall we be told that it is more easy for Englishmen to submit to a shameful capitulation, for party purposes, to these opponents, than it is to overcome the rivalry and jealousy of their own factions? We cannot believe it. Patriotism and honour forbid it. A common danger must be met by a common resistance. The Commons of England would be unworthy of the name of a legislature if they allowed a small minority to triumph

over the representatives of the nation, not by its own strength or by the justice of its cause, but by their own fatal divisions.

Strange to say, the infection of this mania for the disruption of the United Kingdom has even reached Scotland, and has found a few advocates amongst ourselves, where we should least have expected to meet with them. The proposal of national councils for the several parts of the Queen's British dominions was one of the wildest parts of Mr. Chamberlain's programme, and we are surprised that it should have misled, even for a moment, any of our clear-headed countrymen in North Britain. For it is a direct denial of the fundamental proposition in politics that union is strength and division is weakness. The interests of each are the interests of all; and the Parliament of the United Kingdom is the sole supreme authority in which and by which all the common and particular interests of the nation are alike represented. It is impossible to divert any portion of that authority to local bodies without diminishing the authority of Parliament, and without exciting conflicts between them and the Imperial Government. The idea of 'federalising' the United Kingdom is alike repugnant to the authority of the Crown vested in its principal ministers, and to the general welfare of the country. The central point of government is the power of taxation and the expenditure of the public revenue. Without the power of taxation a local assembly would descend to the level of a common council or a debating club. If taxes were levied for so-called 'national' purposes independent of the control of the Treasury, the people would be subjected to a double form of taxation, in addition to that which is already sufficiently onerous to them in the form of rates. It is singular that at the time when Germany and Italy are endeavouring to strengthen their union and to extinguish what is called 'particularism,' to the great advantage of those States, anyone should be found to be desirous, in the name of Liberal principles, of effecting the decomposition of the British monarchy, from which no country has derived greater advantages than Scotland. It is true that from the pressure of public business and the obstruction caused by other elements, we have had to deplore the postponement of measures of great interest to this part of the island, such as the Scottish Universities Bill, and some other local reforms. But this evil might be remedied by a better arrangement of the proceedings of the House of Commons, and by the introduction

of more bills into the House of Lords. We see no reason that a grand committee for the non-political affairs of Scotland should not be constituted within the House of Commons, consisting chiefly of Scotch members, with the addition of the Ministers of the Crown. The recommendation of such a grand committee would carry great weight with the House, and would obviate in great measure the inconvenience of lengthened debates on questions of local importance. Such an expedient would seem to be strictly constitutional, and would preserve intact the supreme authority of Parliament, which cannot be split up or divided.

The final results of the election have shown beyond all doubt the strength of the Liberal party and the ascendancy of the opinions which bear that honoured name. But the relative strength of parties in the new House of Commons does not materially differ from that which existed in the last Parliament. Neither side can claim a decided victory. No less than eighty-four members of the Liberal party who sat in that Parliament have lost their seats, some of them men of mark and ability, including twelve members of Mr. Gladstone's Administration. Fifty-four Conservative members have shared their fate. A considerable number of our former representatives have withdrawn from public life. We have yet to learn how their places will be supplied, for the names of a large proportion of the new members are but little known to the public. An assembly composed of so many novel and heterogeneous elements must necessarily ferment like new wine, and it is perhaps fortunate that these men may apply themselves to the great questions which await solution with more independence of judgement and with a fresher sympathy with the people at large than the disciplined forces of a superannuated Parliament. We hope that they will be governed and guided by true Liberal principles more than by mere party discipline; that they will form and act upon their own independent convictions; and that they will remember that the conduct and policy of the leaders may to a great extent be regulated by the will of their supporters. The Liberal party avowedly comprises a large variety of opinions. We believe that the members of the extreme Radical faction will be found to be in a small minority, and that the weightier part lies on the side of those moderate principles which, amongst Liberals and Conservatives alike, represent the true interests and feelings of the country. There is no reason to suppose that a violent and aggressive policy will commend itself to those

who at present occupy the Opposition benches, and, should it break out below the gangway, it will be effectually subdued.

Note on the Southampton Harbour.

WE have received a letter from the Clerk to the Southampton Harbour Board, pointing out a serious omission in that list of harbours of which, in the article of July last on 'Harbours and Docks,' we complained as furnishing information 'of the scantiest.' The bar mentioned in the return is not, as might be inferred from the wording, at the entrance of the harbour, but merely at the entrance of the Test—one of the estuaries which is not used by the ocean-going steamers frequenting the port. There is a depth, Mr. Skelton states, of eight fathoms at the entrance to the harbour, near Calshot, and the four-fathom line extends up to the immediate vicinity of the dock. We are happy to be able to make this addition to an abstract of official data, the defective character of which was one of the points which our article was intended to point out with a view to its removal.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1886.

No. CCCXXXIV.

ART. I.—*Episcopal Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Manchester in 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, by the Right Reverend JAMES FRASER, D.D., Bishop of Manchester.*
Manchester: 1872–84.

A NOTABLE feature of modern England is the sudden upgrowth of populous towns in the North, more particularly in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. This increase of population has been accompanied by a progress of intelligence no less remarkable; and the two causes combined have given rise to some difficult social problems, not the least of which is the adaptation of ancient religious methods to the altered character of the people. How far is the Church of England, with its Prayer-book, Articles, and parochial system, in harmony with the present age? is a question which presses with special urgency in the great northern hives of industry. Among those who have set themselves manfully to the solution of such problems, a distinguished place belongs to the late Bishop Fraser of Manchester.

The diocese of Manchester was formed in the year 1847, of a part of the diocese of Chester, itself a portion of the vast ancient diocese of Lichfield. Forty years ago, the Bishop of Chester had jurisdiction beyond Windermere, as far north as Langdale. But the necessity of a readjustment was felt by the Administration of Lord John Russell in 1846, and the Manchester Bishopric Act was passed in the following year. Part of Lancashire, across Morecambe Bay, was annexed to the see of Carlisle. The central and south-eastern parts of the county were placed under a new bishop,

having his see at Manchester. This district has enjoyed an extraordinary share of the commercial prosperity of the nineteenth century, and its population shows a corresponding increase. How thinly the district was inhabited in former times, may be inferred from the wide area of the ancient parishes. Some half-dozen parishes, Manchester, Ashton, Bolton, Prestwich, Eccles, Leigh, covered a space of about a hundred square miles, which has now two hundred churches and nearly a million inhabitants. According to the census of 1881, the diocese of Manchester is second only to that of London in population, numbering more than two millions and a quarter. About half this total is in the neighbourhood of the city of Manchester; the other principal centres being Blackburn, Preston, Burnley, and Lancaster.

On the foundation of the see, Dr. James Prince Lee was appointed bishop. He had won for himself a high reputation as head master of King Edward's School, Birmingham, and he has left behind him an enduring testimonial to his merits in the fact that three at least of the most distinguished living Churchmen were among his pupils, Archbishop Benson, Bishop Lightfoot, and Canon Westcott. He was a finished scholar, a vigorous ruler, and a man whose persuasive influence few could resist. In some respects he was admirably qualified to bring into order the diocese over which he was called to preside. He gave a great impulse to the supply of additional churches, which was an urgent need of the time. One hundred and sixty-three new district parishes and ecclesiastical districts were formed during his episcopate. Unhappily his temper was imperious, easily irritated and not easily appeased. Bad health aggravated this infirmity, and during the latter part of his episcopate he withdrew much from his clergy and people, living in a retired corner of his diocese, near the borders of Derbyshire.

He was succeeded in 1870 by James Fraser, who was little known to the world at the time of his appointment, but had given such signs of his qualifications to those who had followed his previous career, as might well make them hopeful for his future. Bishop Fraser was then in his 52nd year, having been born at Prestbury, near Cheltenham, in August 1818. His father was a Forfarshire man, one of the Frasers of Durris. His mother was daughter of a solicitor at Bilston in Staffordshire. Speaking of his parents in 1879, he said :—

‘My father, who had a very active mind, invested his means in the

ironstone mines in the Forest of Dean. That investment turned out unfortunate, and my father died, I fear, a broken-hearted man. We were a family of seven, and I was then fourteen years of age. My mother was not clever, but she would have done anything she could for her children. She said, "I cannot give these lads large fortunes, but by denying myself and living quietly I can give them a good education." . . . By God's providence I have that mother still spared to me. She is now paralysed, speechless, and helpless; but every day, when I go into her bedroom and look on her sweet face, I think gratefully of all I owe to her.'

His childhood was spent at Heavitree, near Exeter. After his father's death he was sent to Bridgnorth school, and two years later to Shrewsbury, where he was a pupil of Dr. Kennedy. In 1836 he gained an open scholarship at Lincoln College, Oxford, a success which was followed in 1838 by the greater distinction of the Ireland University Scholarship. Archdeacon Denison has preserved an interesting reminiscence of his election.

'In 1837-8 I came into my brother Edward's place as examiner for the Ireland. Lingen and Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, were the scholars of the two years. I told Lingen, some time afterwards, that he owed his scholarship to me. The two other examiners wanted to elect Fraser. I said, "No; Lingen has not made one mistake. Fraser is better in some things, but not so sound; besides, he will get it next year if he lives," as he did. So we sat up all night reading over the papers, and about 4 A.M. they gave in.' *

He took a first-class in 1839, along with five others, of whom the best known are Professor Jowett and Lord Iddesleigh. In the following year he was elected to a fellowship at Oriel, then at the height of its reputation. John Henry Newman used at that time to give receptions on Tuesday evenings in the common room, which not only Oriel men but others attended in large numbers. Long afterwards Bishop Fraser spoke of the reading of the lessons by Dr. Newman at St. Mary's, 'when every word, uttered in simplest fashion, but pregnant with scholarly feeling, fell like music on the listener's ear, kept the great church spell-bound, and touched the heart with a strange sense of spiritual power.' †

Newman's influence was deeply felt by him, but it was less congenial to his mind than the rival influence of Arnold. With Arnold's biographer, Stanley, he had a lifelong intimacy; and among his pupils at Oriel was Arnold's no less popular disciple, Thomas Hughes, the author of 'Tom Brown's School Days.'

* Memoir, p. 70.

† Charge, 1880.

In 1847, having been for six years tutor, Fraser left Oxford for the college living of Cholderton, a small village on the verge of Salisbury Plain. The church had been rebuilt by the previous rector, Thomas Mozley, who gives an account of the work in his lively '*Reminiscences*.' It was designed on a scale quite out of proportion to the parish, to fit an ancient oak roof, 80 feet long by 20 wide, which Mozley had purchased on the quay at Ipswich; probably a relic of some mediæval structure in the Netherlands. The new rector, writes Mozley,

'took such interest in the church as to fill it with painted glass, adding much to its beauty, and producing an almost magical effect. The painted glass of the west window is reflected down upon the plate glass of the screen, and from it to the eye as one enters the church. What you see is really the window over your head, but it has the effect of a glorious vision among the timbers of the dark roof far in advance of you.'*

Cholderton, although a secluded spot, is within a few miles of Salisbury, and not much further from Wilton House, Sidney Herbert's seat, where Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, and other leaders of the Peelite party, were frequent guests. During Lord Aberdeen's ministry, Wilton was one of the chief centres of English political life. Thus Mr. Fraser's powers were not unobserved in his rural village. He was nominated one of the Select Preachers before the University in 1854, and again in 1856. Bishop Hamilton appointed him, in 1858, examining chaplain and chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury.

In 1860 he removed to another small parish, Ufton Nervet, in Berkshire. The population was about 400, and the annual value of the benefice about as many pounds, both population and income being nearly double those of Cholderton. Here he led, with some intervals, a simple but active country parson's life, taking a keen interest in everything which concerned the spiritual or temporal welfare of his parishioners, and devoting himself with tender assiduity to the care of his deaf mother and her sister. Absolutely without ambition, he was content to do the work which came to his hand. He preached, visited the sick, and taught regularly in his village school, with as thorough a good will as if the eyes of England had been upon him.

Had the remainder of his life been spent thus, such a

* Mozley, '*Reminiscences*,' vol. ii. p. 176.

close of a brilliant academical career would have been nothing unusual. The Church of England consigns to retirement a large proportion of her ablest sons in the prime of life. Promising scholars and orators, men who held their own in the class lists and at the 'Union' with future judges and cabinet ministers, are enticed away to pleasant country parsonages, where they minister to a handful of unappreciative peasants, while the brunt of the war with ignorance, vice, and misery is borne in large towns, for the most part, by less distinguished clergy. But Fraser's abilities were employed on a larger scale in the public service, at intervals during his residence at Cholderton and Ufton. He served on three royal commissions, in which his lucid reports contributed to subsequent legislation. The first occasion was the Duke of Newcastle's Education Commission of 1858, which brought to light the miserable state of rural schools. Following up the same question, he was sent in 1865 to America, to enquire into the common school system of the United States and Canada.

His report, a closely printed volume of more than 300 pages, with an appendix of equal length, prepared the way for Mr. Forster's Act of 1870. The enormous changes introduced by that Act are mainly in the direction of the American system. The willingness of the people to make sacrifices for the sake of national education made a deep impression on Fraser's mind, in strong contrast to the apathy of English landlords and farmers. He deplored the want of a reverent tone in the American schools. Nevertheless, he said,

'I do not like to call the American system, or to hear it called, irreligious. If, as I believe, the cultivation of any one of God's good gifts, and the attempt to develope any one right principle, are, so far as they go, steps in the direction not only of morality but of piety, materials with which both the moralist and the divine, the parent and the Sunday-school teacher, may hope to build the structure of a "perfect man" which they desire, it is manifestly ungenerous to turn round upon the system which does this.' (*Report*, p. 183.)

'I am afraid that we in England, in our zeal for "denominational education," lay too much stress upon the adjective, too little upon the substantive.'

'I confess to the conviction growing more and more in my own mind, strengthened too by what I have heard and seen in America, that what we need more of in England is intelligent education, a real quickening of the minds of the people. The difficulty I find as a country clergyman, in teaching and preaching to an adult mixed congregation, lies in the slow and heavy intellectual movement of

the mass of my hearers, their scanty vocabulary, their inability to appreciate an argument or follow a train of thought, their want of general and broad liberal culture.' (*Report*, p. 323.)

He undertook the office of assistant commissioner again in 1867, with instructions to enquire into the employment of children, young persons, and women in agriculture. The method of enquiry was to convene meetings in sample districts, at which the chief points of interest were fully discussed. Of such meetings he held ninety-six in the counties of Norfolk, Essex, Sussex, and Gloucester. He reported strongly on the demoralising and unhealthy effect of agricultural work on girls and children, and also on the frightful condition of labourers' cottages. With reference to the state of education, he took occasion to vindicate the clergy.

'In the petulant talk that is sometimes heard about emancipating schools from clerical influence, as from some obstacle to the extension of national education, it seems to be forgotten that to that influence, and that alone, the vast majority of these schools owe not only their health but their life.'

Those who had opportunities of knowing Fraser and his work saw in him a man whose vigour of mind and body, and force of character, marked him out for a post requiring strength. On the death of Bishop Cotton in 1866, the Secretary for India, Viscount Cranborne (now Marquis of Salisbury), offered to him the bishopric of Calcutta. His father and three of his brothers had been connected with India; but his attachment to his mother and aunt, to whom his house was a home, obliged him to decline this promotion. At the close of the year 1869 the see of Manchester became vacant. No less than five bishops had been appointed in England during that year—Wordsworth of Lincoln, Moberly of Salisbury, Temple of Exeter, Goodwin of Carlisle, Hervey of Bath and Wells. So many recent promotions of the best known men made the choice more difficult, and the district required a capacity for work above the common standard. Fraser was nominated to the bishopric by Mr. Gladstone, who wrote to him, 'The diocese, though not the centre, is the heart of England.' He was consecrated on Lady Day, 1870. Professor Lonsdale, who preached the consecration sermon, described the new bishop truly as 'one whose heart is towards all who name the name of Christ; of no party but Christ's, and that with all his heart.'

One of the first acts of Bishop Fraser was to get leave

from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to dispose of Mauldeth Hall, where his predecessor had lived, in order to fix his residence in Manchester. He at once occupied temporarily a parsonage at Cheetham Hill, until a convenient house, to which a private chapel was added, could be secured at Higher Broughton. From that time till the end of his episcopate, the genial face and sturdy figure of the Bishop were among the most familiar objects in the city.

In his first Charge, delivered in 1872, he says :—

‘I succeeded a bishop of singularly clear and vigorous mind, who, being the first occupant of the see, had to undertake the task of organising the diocese. He did so on what appears to me, having now had nearly three years’ experience of it, to be a very complete and efficient system.’

The late bishop, he adds, left no arrears of work. The chief alterations which Bishop Fraser introduced were, to form a third archdeaconry, that of Blackburn, from the northern part of the Archdeaconry of Manchester, to increase the number of confirmations, and to found a Diocesan Board of Education, the need for which was made more urgent by the Education Act of 1870.

The recent disestablishment of the Irish Church led him to speak at some length in his first Charge on the subject of Church defence, an important element of which, in his opinion, was Church reform. Four heads of reform are touched in his Charge: 1, The Discipline of the Clergy; 2, Church Patronage; 3, Redistribution of Benefices; 4, Ecclesiastical Courts. As to clergy discipline, he held that there should be a summary process of deprivation in the case of scandalous misconduct. Of Church patronage he said :—

‘I wish to see ecclesiastical patronage exercised freely, but under a solemn sense of responsibility. The patronage of a benefice is not so much marketable commodity, but one of the most weighty and responsible trusts with which a human being can be charged. . . . I desire to prefer only fit and deserving men. If I can find them in my own diocese, I shall not go beyond its bounds in search of such.’

On the third point, redistribution of benefices, he says :—

‘Without aiming at a visionary and Utopian equality, some of the grosser disparities of the parochial system need to be redressed. . . . Short of absolute equality, there is considerable room for redressing flagrant and excessive inequalities; and here, therefore, there is room for another important ecclesiastical reform.’

He found eighteen benefices in the diocese less than 100*l.* a

year in value, and 130 between 100*l.* and 200*l.* His views on the fourth point, Ecclesiastical Courts, are less fully developed in his first Charge than afterwards.

At the close of his Charge he deals with two controverted subjects—the use of evening Communions, and of the Athanasian Creed. ‘I found evening Communions, I may say, established in the diocese when I became bishop.’ He saw no reason for forbidding them, and described the sense of solemnity with which he had taken part in one on the Thursday in Holy Week. He declared himself in favour of the optional use of the Athanasian Creed, to be effected by changing the rubrical direction from ‘shall be said’ to ‘may be said;’ or else ‘the retention of the Creed, not for public recitation, but simply as a rule of faith, to be printed at the close of the Eighth Article, or otherwise.’

The liberal views which are enunciated in this Charge were chiefly remarkable for their plain common sense. There has been usually an inclination among liberal Churchmen either to speculative theory, as in the case of Arnold, or to personal singularity, as in the case of Whately. What is most peculiar to Fraser is the absence of peculiarity; that neither his clerical profession nor his elevation to a bishopric hindered him from thinking on ecclesiastical subjects like an ordinary practical man. He was very indifferent to the pomp and circumstance of a bishop’s office. The occasions on which he sat in the House of Lords were few, chiefly when he was solicited to take part in a division on some question on which he thought it his duty to vote. In private life he laid aside ceremony to an extent which would have been undignified, if he had not possessed a natural dignity which asserted itself involuntarily. He liked to carry his own robes in a bag, and insisted on robing himself without help. He would often help the churchwardens to count the money after service. He constantly used the tramcar between Manchester and Bishop’s Court. If any of his clerical guests were leaving by rail, he was prompt in looking out the trains in the time table, and making detailed arrangements accordingly.

This unaffected simplicity of character was accompanied by some deficiency of imagination. Men who lose their heads under the influence of rank and honour are moved by temptations to which he was comparatively a stranger. His freedom from worldliness was not so much renunciation as insensibility. Titles, orders of precedence, magnificent processions, solemn religious functions, cast no spell upon his sober mind. For the fine arts in general he had no very

cultivated or refined taste. He cared little for architecture, but in literature Oxford had set upon him her ineffaceable mark, and he delighted in the masterpieces of Greek and Rome. Scholar as he was, however, he was utterly without pedantry. The stores of his learning were valuable to him chiefly as an equipment for modern life. He felt with enthusiasm the greatness of his trust, in being called to play a leading part in the midst of the multifarious energies of the present century. No one could have given, by his habits of thought and discourse, a more decisive refutation of Carlyle's sneer at modern religion as made up of 'Hebrew 'old clothes.' When the Social Science Congress met in Manchester, he was invited to preside, and was recognised on all hands as eminently fitted for the office of president by his comprehensive grasp of the numerous branches of social wellbeing. Among the topics of his inaugural address were the tendency of the rural population to migrate to large towns, the condition of the dwellings of the poor, the supply of water from Thirlmere, pauperism and poor relief, the need of healthy amusements for the people. He concluded with an emphatic declaration of his belief: 'The world is God's 'world, not the devil's. Good is stronger than evil; truth 'than falsehood; right than wrong.'

For a man of average powers, the necessary routine of a bishop's duty in a large diocese is laborious enough. Bishop Fraser held during the year about sixty confirmations, at which he laid his hands on more than 12,000 candidates. The numbers increased towards the end of his episcopate. In 1883 the total was 16,354, probably the largest on record for any one bishop. He limited the number to be confirmed at one time to 500. His predecessor had on some occasions confirmed as many as 2,000, a multitude which left no room for parents or sponsors, and prolonged the service beyond the power of reverent attention. At three Ember seasons, Lent, Whitsuntide, and September, he took part with lively interest in the examination of candidates for Orders, and addressed them at evening prayers in his private chapel, on their sacred calling and its duties. On Tuesday in every week he attended at the Diocesan Registry from 12 till 2 or 3, and a large part of his legal business was transacted at that time, with mutual convenience to himself and his clergy. But he was at all times easy of access, rarely allowing any business to hinder his cordial reception of those who wished to see him, although he had a mass of correspondence, which of itself would have given full employment to most men.

There were few days on which the Bishop had not an engagement to preach, or preside at a meeting, or deliver an address. Sometimes all three were required of him on the same day, with journeys intervening, and trains to be waited for in inclement weather at railway stations. Notwithstanding this varied activity, he was rarely seen in a hurry or pressed for time. The ease and speed with which he worked left him intervals of leisure which he could enjoy heartily. He was little disposed to brood over anxieties, however serious. Well disciplined in mind, and well organised in body, he had formed the habit of doing the particular work before him with all his might, and then passing on to another subject with unclouded intellect. To say that he was always in equal force would be absurd; but it is wonderful how high a level of ability he sustained, considering the demands which were made upon him.

The tale of work which his diary of engagements recorded has been equalled by few, if any, of his contemporaries. Probably it was rivalled by Bishop Selwyn, and perhaps exceeded by Bishop Wilberforce. Compared with these two eminent prelates, Fraser appears more versatile than the former, less versatile than the latter; he had a larger sympathy with the intellectual and social movements of the age than the Primate of New Zealand, while he had in common with him a transparent sincerity of character which was not among Wilberforce's many admirable qualities. Both were his superiors in organising power and fertility of resource. While they left behind them a trained school of pupils and a network of institutions, Fraser worked comparatively single-handed. But the confidence which he inspired among men of all classes went far to compensate for this deficiency. He was in touch with the community at large, a bishop of the laity, to an extent for which no Englishman since Latimer supplies a corresponding example.

Part of his popularity was due to the attractive force of a frank and genial countenance. His aspect might be called in the strict and literal sense jovial, the aspect of a benignant Jupiter, kindly though imperial. The cordiality of his expression won the hearts of those who met him, and he felt reciprocally the pleasure that he gave. What made the charm more enduring was the knowledge, which grew as men knew him better, that his face was a true index of his mind. He overflowed with goodwill to mankind, and when it was his duty to take any step which gave pain to others, he suffered as much pain as he inflicted. It was with real

distress that he sent back unfit candidates for ordination. Whenever, on these and other occasions, he spoke harshly, his displeasure was more than half regret at being obliged to be severe.

His sermons were usually delivered from notes on a half-sheet of paper, the text being taken from the Church Service of the day, most often from St. Paul's Epistles. When he wrote out a sermon fully, the difference in literary style and condensation was appreciable. But his thoughts always flowed easily, and there was a remarkable freedom from conventional pulpit diction in his utterance. He spoke frankly as a man to men, not quite according to Cowper's precept—'As a dying man to dying men'—but as a living man to living men, his dominant idea of Christianity being that it was a preparation not so much for death as for life, for the discharge of family and social duties in a godly frame of mind. He preached for about three-quarters of an hour. During the greater part of the time he was engaged in an exposition of the text, with copious illustrations from parallel passages, description of the circumstances under which the words were originally written, and correction, if need were, of any error in the Authorised Version. But the sermon never concluded without some plain address of a practical kind, and there were a few sentences at the beginning or at the close which went point-blank to the affairs of the day. An allusion to the newspapers, or to a placard in the streets, or to some trivial incident which had occurred to him on the way to church, gave a vivacity to the discourse and riveted the attention of his hearers. On such remarks of ephemeral interest the newspaper reporters fastened eagerly; and it was a frequent item in the day's news to read what the Bishop of Manchester had said on the latest social topic, whatever it might be. Those who had not heard him took a false impression of his sermon, for the printed passage was often the only one which deviated from the high road of plain Christian instruction. However, the reporters understood their craft. Just these *obiter dicta* were what the public cared to hear, and the Bishop preached in effect through the press to a far larger congregation than had heard him in church. Dishonest tradesmen, selfish masters, idle servants, gamblers on the turf or the exchange, fashionable ladies who kept their coachmen shivering on wintry nights, and social transgressors of every kind, winced in turn under the Bishop's reproof. For a man so tender-hearted, he could speak with terrible force of moral indignation.

In presiding at the innumerable meetings of societies at which he was invited to take the chair, he was never content to utter vague platitudes on the objects of the society. He came early, and glanced quickly over the report, of which he gave a clear epitome in his opening address. If there was any obscure point in the report or the balance-sheet, he would require elucidation; and the committee were sometimes embarrassed by his discovery of an error which they had overlooked, and which they were at a loss to rectify on the spur of the moment.

Addresses were given from time to time at several of the principal factories, during the dinner hour, by clergy and others, in connexion with the Manchester City Mission. The Bishop willingly responded to invitations to address the workmen on such occasions, and his straightforward manner of speech won their confidence. Lancashire artisans are a formidable audience: intelligent, critical, blunt in the expression of their thoughts, and quick to resent any assumption of superiority, but enthusiastic in their affection for those whom they trust. One consequence of the Bishop's popularity was that he was chosen to arbitrate in disputes between masters and men; and though he met with the usual fate of arbitrators, leaving both sides dissatisfied, he retained their good opinion and goodwill to an extent which is rare in the case of any man, and most rare in a modern bishop.

Nonconformists especially were won by Bishop Fraser's large-hearted sympathy and freedom from ecclesiastical or social pretension. Many who had been accustomed to regard a bishop in the abstract with suspicion as a prelate and a peer, were disarmed by the heartiness with which he met them, and were glad to concede to him of their own accord the respect which his office would not have extorted. His relations with Dissenters were so amicable that a Nonconformist mayor once described him as the 'Bishop of all denominations,' and the phrase was often repeated. Doctrinally he had little in common with the descendants of the Puritans; for his views were in substance those of the school of Hooker, modified by a sense of what he used to call 'the proportion of things.' His fellowship with Dissenters was widely different from that which has often led clergy of the Evangelical School to join hands with them. Not only did most questions at issue between Churchmen and Dissenters appear to him infinitely little in comparison with the primary articles of the Christian faith, but dogmatic questions altogether were of less magnitude in his eyes than practical

beneficence. While he held in principle that charity and all moral virtues had their true root in Christian faith, he did not care to scrutinise doctrine narrowly, content to judge of the tree by its fruits.

During the interval between his first and second visitations of the diocese the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 was passed, and he deals with the subject at some length in his Charge of 1876.

‘Living as we do under an ecclesiastical constitution which was framed in its present shape more than two hundred years ago, when manners and circumstances were very different from what they are now, life would become intolerable unless a liberal and rational construction of the principles of that constitution were, under proper checks and safeguards, mutually conceded. Indeed, one of the worst results—however inevitable in cases where the bounds of permissible freedom have obviously been overleapt—of appeals in matters of such delicacy and difficulty to the peremptory judgement of a court of law, is that judges, by the known tendency of their minds, always narrow the question down to the most technical point involved, and determine this by the most rigid rule, so that, while liberty is abridged, nothing in the way of compensation is gained, and judge-made law, men say, is bad law, because it consists of nothing but a mass of fortuitous and ill-assorted details, out of which it is almost impossible to evolve a principle. I trust, myself, infinitely more to the formative and corrective force of public opinion. . . . When the Public Worship Regulation Act became the law of the land—though I have never regretted that statute, or thought it open to the captious and unreasonable criticism to which it has been exposed—I felt that, if it were rigorously interpreted or severely applied, a train was laid to which any foolish or ill-disposed hand might place a match, and, if an explosion occurred, no one could anticipate the amount of mischief that might be done.’*

‘I am not extreme to mark the colour of a stole (stoles of any colour being of doubtful legality), or the length of a surplice, when I am told that the wearer of these fanciful garments . . . is a man of blameless life, diligent in the discharge of his duties, beloved and trusted by his people, a pattern of laboriousness and good works. If, on the other hand, he is a man merely airing his vanity or his sacerdotal pretensions, . . . there are no words strong enough to express the contempt and righteous indignation that should be felt at such folly. For we are not actors upon a stage, but men, who, if we are not in earnest in what we do, shall, of all who will pass before the judgement seat in the Great Day, be least prepared for that terrible scrutiny.’†

As yet there was no reason to anticipate that the diocese of Manchester would become the scene of the most prolonged

* Charge, 1876, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 8.

and serious of Ritual cases. The moderation of temper in the diocese is described by the Bishop as conspicuous.

He refers in this Charge briefly to the question of Disestablishment.

‘I have small fears of attack from without; my apprehensions arise from disputes and dissensions within. . . . The true defence of the Church of England lies in her doing faithfully and zealously her proper work.’ *

He was in favour of an increase of the episcopate, but a moderate increase only.

‘The cry for more bishops must, I think, be considerably moderated before it is likely to find an echo in public opinion. At present it is a clerical cry mainly. A bishop for every county—even if the counties could offer equal work for him, which is far from being the case—is an extravagant demand. There would be great danger of the bishop rapidly becoming a nuisance.’ †

The personal forecast with which he begins this Charge is interesting:—

‘When I accepted, in fear and with much misgiving, the oversight of this great diocese, I thought that if average health and strength were granted to me, I might perhaps, in some measure, be equal to its duties for a period of a dozen years or so; and I inwardly resolved that when I found my bodily or mental forces begin to fail me, I would ask permission to lay my office down. I do not mean that I contemplate retirement into idleness, or that I desire to take advantage of the Bishops’ Resignation Act, but that I hope I may find some quiet post of usefulness such as I left to come here, where I may still do the Master’s work till the “night comes.” This is not a field of labour in which a bishop with decaying powers has any right to remain; he had better make way for a younger and more vigorous man; and I have now passed the middle point of the period which I had thus marked out for myself. On March 25 next, if my life is spared, I shall have completed the seventh year of my episcopate.’

A memorable incident in Bishop Fraser’s life was the Manchester and Salford Mission, which was held for twelve days at the beginning of February, 1877. Before it began the Bishop addressed the assembled ‘missioners,’ and told them, ‘We do not want to encourage fanatical excitement; there comes terrible reaction from that; but we want to encourage a sober exaltation, a legitimate joy, a tranquillising peace.’ A few days later he said in a sermon, ‘There has seemed to be all through the week a sort of stillness in the air; men and women seemed to be more thoughtful and more serious.’

* Charge, pp. 45, 47.

† Ibid. p. 63.

The object of the mission was not, he said, to proselytise ; he would think it a poor triumph to win over to the Church of England an honest and conscientious Methodist, but he would consider it a great triumph to win over, through the love of Christ, a drunkard or any other evil-doer.

Religious services were arranged at special places and hours so as to meet the engagements of various classes, such as railway operatives, cabmen, policemen, &c., and the peculiar circumstances of various professions, such as medical students and actors. Two addresses were given to the latter by the Bishop in the Royal and Prince's Theatres. He spoke from the stage, in front of a scene representing a Gothic chamber ; and the leading actors and actresses, with the chorus, sat in the stalls. The novelty of his position appeared to him to require some words of apology.

‘ I cannot help thinking that, when people saw placards stating that the Rev. W. J. Knox Little was going to preach in the Cathedral, and when they read the announcement in the newspapers that the Bishop was going to speak to you in the Theatre Royal, perhaps, though they would have no doubt that Mr. Knox Little was in his place, they might have some misgivings whether I was strictly keeping in mine. Those who know their Bibles will remember in the days of old that in a great Asiatic city, a seat of vice and luxury, a great preacher of the Gospel was advised by his friends that he would not adventure himself in the theatre.’

He proceeded to refer to the stern disapproval of the stage expressed by Tertullian and Cyprian, and to the early canons which required actors to renounce their profession before receiving baptism. Probably he was the first bishop of modern times to speak in a theatre. Christianity, he said, had exercised a sanctifying influence on the stage, which he illustrated by an allusion to the Ober-Ammergau Passion play. The last time he had been at a play was thirty-five years before, when he had seen Macready and Helen Faucit in ‘ Othello.’ He considered that such tragedies as ‘ Lear,’ ‘ Hamlet,’ and ‘ Othello ’ fulfilled Aristotle’s definition of the object of tragedy, to purify the passions through fear and pity. He spoke warmly of the personal character of several actors he had known, and expressed a hope that there would enter into modern theatres a spirit of higher morality. In a subsequent address at the Prince’s Theatre he said that he did not think anyone would say he was over-righteous, to wish that no woman was ever called to pose herself in a ballet or pantomime in any way that would compromise her maidenly sense of woman’s purity or woman’s modesty.

Another striking address of a different kind was given by the Bishop to medical students, in which he argued against materialism.

‘I do not ask you to do violence to your conscience or your reason, neither do I ask you to believe in the literal accuracy of the first chapter of Genesis. I do not know that I can even ask you to accept in its literal meaning the third chapter of Genesis. But beneath those great parables—if they are parables—lies the whole story of the mighty influences that affected and determined the progress of the human race. It is a great thing to have a keen intellect, but a greater to have a pure soul.’

He followed the progress of modern science with as close an interest as his many avocations permitted, and with a mind frankly open to receive enlightenment from any quarter. Those who knew him will have no hesitation in recognising him as the subject of the following cynical observations of Mark Pattison :—

‘After a man has been consecrated ten years, he loses all sympathy with the modern spirit. No, there is one exception. The Bishop of — sometimes sits next me at luncheon at the Athenæum, and asks simple questions, just like a little boy, about evolution and other modern speculations. This Bishop really tries to keep pace with the modern spirit; but he is the only one.’*

His third Charge, delivered in 1880, touches this point.

‘I pray the younger clergy to consider what it is that is required in a man who professes to teach a generation such as ours. I do not know a more splendid motive to do one’s very best than a Lancashire congregation, all eyes and ears, when one has anything to say, and God is giving one grace to say it with that power that comes from rational conviction, from intelligence, from sympathy.’

In the same Charge he deals with the question of the prevalence of unbelief. From statistics gathered by house-to-house enquiry in three large parishes of Manchester he draws the conclusion :—

‘It would seem that the number of professing atheists or unbelievers in this, the lower stratum of society, is small—I mean the number of those who have organised or reasoned out their unbelief—but the proportion of those who are living in a state of religious apathy or indifference, not less perilous to the soul perhaps than atheism itself, is vast indeed.’

In fact, out of some 5,000 families visited, nearly one-half attended no place of worship, though only one family ex-

* Tollemache, ‘Recollections of Pattison,’ p. 70.

PLICITLY professed atheism. Of course the parishes in question were not average parishes, but selected as unfavourable specimens.

With reference to facts like these, the Bishop thought that the time was come when it was more needful to provide additional clergy than to build new churches.

‘I believe,’ he said, ‘these alienated households can be won, and I am sure they ought to be won. It is not as though we were seeking to gain proselytes from other religious bodies—an attempt which, in the present condition of things, I should deprecate as much as anybody. These strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, living as without God in the world, belong to, are cared for by, no existing denomination; they are as sheep wandering with no shepherd. It is these and such as these whom we can seek without coming into collision or antagonism with other religious agencies. They are these and such as these for whom a National Church is especially bound to care.’

Sunday schools in Lancashire have attained to a development and organisation unknown to the South of England, the scholars remaining to adult age; and the centenary of Sunday schools, observed in 1880, had a due share of the Bishop’s attention. He spoke with much warmth of the devoted services of the teachers, while he expressed an opinion that the teaching in general was too loose and unsystematic.

A burning question of the time, which has happily cooled, was the Burials Act, which became law in the previous year. He had voted for Lord Selborne’s bill in company with the two Archbishops, notwithstanding the protest of 15,000 clergy against the bill.

‘Though I repudiate the claim of right,’ he said, ‘I admit there is a grievance, and a real grievance. For though it is attempted to minimise it by saying it is only a “sentimental” grievance, it should be remembered that a sentiment, as affecting part of our nature, is as real as a toothache. And though we Churchmen may not be able fully to enter into the grievance of which the Nonconformist complains, that he is obliged to listen to the most pathetic and comforting service to be found in any manual of prayers read over the remains of one dear to him by the lips of a minister of the Church of England, yet, if that minister has been a stranger to his deceased relative—still more if he has been “a little less than kind”—the grievance becomes more accentuated and sharp, and the condition of feeling produced by it is not altogether inconceivable.’

In replying to some clerical critics he said that it would cost him no great pang if he were relieved of his duties in the House of Lords, where he had only twice opened his lips; but when he was there he claimed the right to think for himself and act for himself.

Several pages of this Charge of 1880 are occupied by a discussion of Church reform. We need more liberty, he said :—

‘ We are still tied up too closely by rubrics and within the four corners of the Prayer-book. The beautiful prayers, the very arrangement and order of the services, are perhaps too scholastic to be always intelligible to uneducated minds, too stiff to suit the spiritual needs of a state of society so fitful and so versatile, so fond of easy movement, so soon weary of rigidity and conventionalism. And more liberty, no doubt, we might safely and advantageously have, if only there were more loyalty among us all to the principles and mind of the Church of England.’

He proceeded to speak of that which he held to be the chief hindrance to increased liberty, ‘ the anarchical temper which will recognise no law but its own will, which would wreck a great Church for the sake of preserving an Ornaments Rubric.’ He described the policy of the English Church Union as the same as that of the Home Rulers in Ireland.

At the close of his Charge of 1880 he acknowledges with gratitude the sympathy of the clergy shown to him on the occasion of his marriage at the beginning of the year. In accepting their wedding present, a dinner service of silver, he resolved to bequeath it to his successors in the see of Manchester as an heirloom. Soon afterwards his portrait was painted by Sir J. E. Millais, to be retained by Mrs. Fraser for her lifetime, and afterwards to be the property of the city of Manchester. This portrait has caught an occasional expression of the Bishop’s face, with the characteristic dexterity of the artist; but it is not one of his best works, and the Bishop has an anxious look which was rare with him.

Local circumstances led him to insist often on what he termed the ‘ anarchical temper,’ during the later years of his episcopate. It was the subject of a special admonition, delivered to the clergy in a synod held in November, 1881, in which he charged them, with all ecclesiastical solemnity, not to exceed the limits of ritual practised and allowed in the cathedral church of the diocese. His forebodings in 1876 of the possible explosion which might be the result of the Public Worship Act were fulfilled, to his great sorrow, in his own neighbourhood. At Miles Platting, a poor suburb of Manchester on the road which leads to Oldham, an ecclesiastical suit arose, which embittered and probably shortened the Bishop’s life.

The Public Worship Act of 1874 had passed the Commons with a unanimity for which the oldest member of the House could recollect no parallel. Mr. Gladstone, who came out

from his retirement at Hawarden on purpose to oppose it, found himself deserted by his most constant and undoubting followers. Almost alone, he tried in vain to convince Parliament that the Bill was unsound in principle. When he expounded his ideas of the right of self-government inherent in the Church as a society essentially distinct from the State, he met with little attention and no acceptance. It soon appeared, however, that the clergy, with whom the Act was intended to deal, took their stand upon this ground, and utterly denied the jurisdiction of Lord Penzance's Court. Several showed themselves prepared to give effect to their denial by going to prison rather than plead in their own defence before the obnoxious judge, who sat by a Parliamentary title. More than this : some extreme partisans affirmed the doctrine that a bishop who should recognise the new court would thereby forfeit his claim to the obedience of the clergy under their ordination vows.

The supporters of the Bill took a practical view of the question. If the law were justly administered, what matter how the judge was appointed? They regarded the measure as intended not to alter the law, but to simplify procedure : the law being in any case the law of the Church of England embodied in the Book of Common Prayer. But this position was indignantly challenged by an increasing number of zealous Churchmen, who maintained that recent decisions in leading cases had shown a bias against Ritualism inconsistent with judicial fairness.

From 1878 to 1883 the Miles Platting case, in its various stages, was the chief battle-ground of ecclesiastical politicians throughout England. It corresponded in importance with the Auchterarder case in Scotland half a century before ; and it will probably be told at length by future historians of the English Church. Here it is enough to recall how, by a strange irony of events, it fell to the lot of one of the most kindly, tolerant, and liberal of bishops to bear the blame of allowing the imprisonment of a devoted parish priest in Lancaster gaol during twenty months, merely for persisting in the use of an elaborate ceremonial, with altar lights, the mixed chalice, and Eucharistic vestments. A diplomatist in Bishop Fraser's position would have found means of evading the difficulty in which he was placed ; but at all events his course of action was that of a plain, straightforward man, who held himself bound to administer his trust 'as this Church and realm hath received the same.' Like Casabianca in the poem, he saw the fire spreading

round him, but there was no authority to release him from the duty which his office imposed. He often repeated, 'I had no alternative.'

'If the law is unjust,' he said in his Charge of 1880, 'or has been perverted, there should be a strenuous effort made to repeal the law, or to redress the perversion; but I shall not expect a dissentient opinion from reasonable men when I say that as long as it is law it ought to be obeyed.'

In the same spirit of simple faithfulness to his trust he refused to institute to the vacant benefice of St. John's, Miles Platting, the curate of the parish, who had pledged himself to continue the illegal usages. He was sustained in his refusal by a legal decision, which is of permanent value as upholding the discretionary powers of a bishop against what had been commonly supposed to be the absolute right of a patron. For the time, however, the Bishop's course, maintained with his usual placid courage and good temper, exposed him to censure not only from the Ritualist party, but from others who, on the ground of toleration, sentiment, or policy, desired the ritual question to be laid at rest, in accordance with Archbishop Tait's 'message of peace.' With a strange distortion of his real character and of the facts of the case, Bishop Fraser was represented as a persecutor. It may be said with truth that he had imperfect sympathy with the ideal frame of mind which identifies a symbol with a principle, that he made too light of conscientious scruples which he deemed perverse. But the obloquy which he underwent was not so much incurred by his want of sympathy, real or supposed, as by the loyal steadfastness with which he refused to connive at infractions of the law, although the law was not to his liking.

An opportunity was given to him later of showing the impartiality of his sense of duty, in a case which appeared for a time likely to become no less celebrated, but has happily passed into oblivion. One of the most important benefices in his gift was vacant, and he was solicited to appoint the curate in charge, a man of brilliant ability, whose charm of character had won the hearts of the people in an extraordinary degree. A petition was signed in his favour by nearly all the adult parishioners, and the Bishop's respect for popular suffrage, together with his private regard for the young man, disposed him to consent. But it was represented to him that the curate's tenets were broad and free beyond the latitude of the Church of England. So he refused, and appointed another rector, in the face of a storm of local discontent.

He differed from his friend Dean Stanley as to the abolition of clerical subscription.

'The Dean of Westminster, writing in favour of such abolition with his usual ingenuity and persuasiveness, has not persuaded me. . . . I cannot conceive the continued existence of a Christian society, or, if you choose to call it, a Church, except upon the basis of a definite creed.' *

In his last Charge, 1884, he said that he was prepared to give a general approval to the recommendations of the House of Commons on Church Patronage in 1883, regarding the cardinal points of the question to be, that parishioners should have an opportunity of submitting to the bishop objections to a presentee before institution, and that the bishop should have power to refuse to institute on sufficient grounds of incapacity or moral delinquency.

Of Mr. Albert Grey's Church Boards Bill he said, 'I do not commit myself to all the details of the bill as at present drafted, but its principle has my full approval.'

The importance of adapting the methods of the Church to the present time was always uppermost in his mind.

'I ask you to remember that we are not living in the fourth century, or in the days of the Tudors or of the Stuarts, but in the forty-eighth year of the reign of her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. It is with methods suitable to the spiritual and moral needs of this present time that we are concerned. This seems so obvious as to be a truism; and yet men appear to be continually forgetting it, and to be living, both in thought and conduct, in any other age than their own.' †

Lay help appeared to him one of the chief means of strengthening the Church. He called attention in his Charge of 1884 to a proposed scheme for the association of lay helpers, and to a step which he was about to take for the extension of the diaconate by ordaining candidates under certain conditions 'to the office of deacon, men possessing other means of living, who are willing to aid the clergy gratuitously,' without requiring of them a knowledge of Greek and Latin. He also referred with satisfaction to the establishment of a Deaconess Institution at Rochdale.

Speaking of the temperance movement, he adverted to the case of total abstainers who refused to receive the cup at Holy Communion.

'The only remedy I can suggest in a case of exceptional difficulty is to adopt the principle of spiritual communion, and if those who

* Charge, 1880, pp. 37, 38.

† Ibid. 1884, p. 5.

approach the Lord's Table choose to deny themselves the cup, to allow them to do so on their own responsibility.'

He recognised the value and also the extreme difficulty of a similar movement in favour of purity, for which a society had been formed in the diocese, called St. George's Association; and he declared himself opposed to the legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

'The bill has no principle in it—breaks in upon the table of prohibited degrees at a point where it is almost impossible that it should stop. . . . It surely is not wise to tamper thus with the most sacred institution of family life, and to run the risks which such tampering must involve. But,' he added, 'the main question for us clergy to consider is what must be our course if the change we all but unanimously deprecate should ever become law. I can scarcely suppose it possible that the clergy will be called upon to solemnise these marriages, which would be contrary to the express law of their Church; and, indeed, in the bills hitherto proposed the provision was that they should take place before the registrar. But I scarcely think, if they were made valid by the law of the land, we should be justified in treating persons who had contracted them as though they were living in adultery and had forfeited their Christian privileges.' *

Of the result of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission he spoke despondingly.

'The difficulties of any legislation proceeding on a basis which should command the assent of all parties in the Church—without which attempts at legislation appear to me doomed to failure—have only become more manifest; for the differences of opinion do not touch the details of the report, which might admit of modification, but its very fundamental principles. One party will not consent to the episcopal veto, which can put an initial bar in the way of all proceedings. Another party, and that a very vehement one, will not hear of a body of lay judges to decide in cases of appeal to the Crown. In the face of this wide discrepancy of opinion, which has been emphasised by the trenchant terms in which it has been expressed, he must be a much more sanguine man than myself who expects any satisfactory issue from legislation.' †

It was observed in the spring of 1885 that the Bishop did not bear the fatigue of his Confirmation and other duties so lightly as usual, though he worked on with undiminished diligence. He went in August for a few weeks' rest to the Wye, and paid a round of visits in Gloucestershire and Berkshire. The weather was alternately hot and cold; and one day, after exposure to a cutting wind, he felt a stiffness in his left arm, which was followed by a swelling. A clot

* Charge, 1884, p. 36.

† Ibid. p. 23.

of blood had formed in a vein, and he was warned of the danger that it might move to a vital part. He at once gave up all his engagements, postponed the Diocesan Conference which was to have been held in October, and contemplated the resignation of his office, if the trial of two months' leisure were ineffectual. During September his health appeared to improve, and on October 20 he was present at a service for the Pastoral Aid Society in the cathedral. The Dean said afterwards:—

‘I had not seen him stand and look so like Millais’ picture of him for a long time. He stood erect like a dart, and was singing, as he could sing, with the simplicity of a boy; and the verse which attracted my attention was this:—

“Oh, bless the shepherd, bless the sheep;
Let guide and guided both be one;
One in the faithful watch they keep
Until this hurrying life be done.”

Two days after, while the Bishop was in his dressing-room, he became suddenly giddy, and sank into a stupor, in which state he breathed his last.

The news of his death, unexpected as it was, for the serious nature of his illness was not generally known, fell with the shock of a private bereavement on almost every house in Manchester. The unreserved way in which he imparted to those around him the lights and shadows of his daily life, his public cares, his private happiness, made people of all classes feel themselves to be in his confidence; and his loss was mourned with a rare depth of affection. Among those who hastened to offer wreaths to be laid on his coffin were Nonconformists, members of the Greek Church, and Jews, who remembered gratefully the sympathy to which he had given public expression at the time of the persecution in Russia. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford also wrote a warm letter of condolence.

He had laid his mother's remains in the churchyard of his old parish of Ufton five years before, and his wish was that he might be buried beside her with similar privacy. But as soon as the hour for the removal of his body was known, a procession of nearly a hundred clergy was formed in haste, who followed the hearse through the town, a distance of three miles, along streets lined by a sympathetic crowd. At the railway station the Dean led the singing of the hymn ‘Thy will be done,’ before the truck bearing the hearse was attached to the train.

On the day of the funeral, simultaneous memorial services were held in several churches. The cathedral was attended by the mayors of fourteen towns, of which three lay outside the diocese, together with representatives of nearly forty associations, religious, educational, or philanthropic. At a large meeting convened soon afterwards by the Mayor of Manchester, it was resolved to erect a statue of the Bishop in a public space of the city. For a precedent of this form of commemoration, which was felt on all hands to be appropriate, we must look far back: as far, perhaps, as the statue of good Bishop Belzunce at Marseilles.

During the fourteen years of his episcopate, 117 new parishes and ecclesiastical districts were formed in the diocese; 105 new churches were consecrated, besides 21 erected in the place of old churches. The total cost of these was nearly a million sterling, without including partial restorations and enlargements.

It was a surprise to the public, and especially to those who knew his private liberality, that he was found to have died rich. Although he was in principle opposed to indiscriminate almsgiving, he could ill bear to inflict pain; and his casual charities were large. But his wants were few, his tastes simple, and he had acquired early frugal habits, which remained when wealth flowed to him from various sources. If he had been apt to form extensive projects of any kind, his hand would have followed the generous impulse of his heart in munificent benefactions; but he was essentially a pupil of Aristotle rather than of Plato, practical rather than theoretical. To this cause may be ascribed his inaction as to the long dispute concerning the cathedral revenues, and his apparent indifference to the scheme of a Church of England Hall in connexion with the Manchester University.

From certain points of view his character appears almost perfect, a noble union of manly strength and womanly tenderness. It is only when more imaginative qualities are demanded, that we miss in him the fine aspirations and subtle sensibilities which make the poetry of life. But his simplicity had in it something sublime. Much is said, with more or less reason, of the tendency of modern society to flow in currents so deep and wide as to reduce individual action to insignificance. Bishop Fraser is one of the exceptions to this rule. The corporate life of Lancashire has been moved at its centre, and the ecclesiastical life of all England has been sensibly affected, by the strong personality of this man.

Thousands took heart under his leadership in the uphill battle against spiritual and moral evil. He reached out an open hand to the struggling souls around him seeking truth and goodness in their multitudinous forms. And while he kept his eyes open to the new paths of modern speculation, he stood with his feet firmly planted on the old ways, which were commended to him by the teachers of his youth, by such English divines as Hooker, Pearson, and Davison, by Fathers of the Church such as Jerome and Augustine, and above all by the doctrine of the New Testament as expounded by the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

ART. II.—*The Fauna and Flora of Palestine.* By H. B. TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S. Published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1884.

THE complaint made by Linnæus in one of his botanical lectures in 1747, that we were less acquainted with the natural history of Palestine than with that of the remotest parts of India, is now no longer true, thanks in a great measure to the investigations of the Rev. Canon Tristram, who has visited the Holy Land on several occasions with a view to determine the character of its fauna and flora, and who has recently, in the large volume before us, contributed an account of its natural productions to the various publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Our author has paid four visits to Palestine, and when we consider his high qualifications as a naturalist, we may reasonably anticipate that the result of his labours, based chiefly on his own observations, but embodying also the researches of others, such as Dr. Lortet, M. Locard, and M. Edmond Boissier, would prove most instructive, interesting, and valuable, not only in relation to natural history *per se*, but also in its connexion with numerous animal and plant names which occur in the Bible. On this latter subject Dr. Tristram is a high authority; his ‘Natural History of the Bible’* is a well-known valuable manual; his ‘Journal of Travels in Palestine’† is full of varied information, and appeals to the interest of all classes of readers.

* The Natural History of the Bible, being a Review of the Physical Geography, Geology, and Meteorology of the Holy Land. London, S.P.C.K. Seventh edition, 1883.

† The Land of Israel. London, S.P.C.K., 1865.

A land consecrated by the memories of Christ and His Apostles, a land whose scenes suggested their imagery to Prophets and Psalmists of old, possesses for all a peculiar interest.

‘The phenomena of its climate, the character of its agriculture, the fishes of its lake, the bears of its woods, the wild goat of its rocks, the turtle and stork returning to their haunts amidst its groves, the sparrow and the swallow sheltered in its temple, are subjects, an acquaintance with which may not be essential to a comprehension of the lessons of Sacred Writ, but yet may be of considerable value in enabling the reader to appreciate the force and beauty of the parable or the narrative, and in impressing the scene or the story upon his imagination and his memory.’*

The handsome volume before us contains a catalogue of all the known vertebrata, the terrestrial and fluviatile mollusca, and the flora of Palestine, with remarks on the localities where the species are found, their geographical distribution, habits, peculiarities, &c. The insect fauna, however, is not noticed at all; it has been so little studied, and the local collections hitherto formed are so meagre, that it was thought better to pass over this branch of the subject than ‘to give lists which must necessarily be very ‘imperfect and, therefore, misleading.’ We propose to give in this article a general idea of Canon Tristram’s latest work, as well as to draw special attention, here and there, to some of the animals and plants in their bearing on certain Hebrew Bible names as translated or explained in the new Revised Version of the Scriptures.

In his preface of twenty-two pages Canon Tristram discusses the geographical and geological relations of the fauna and flora of Palestine. After the publication of Dr. Sclater’s views, in the Linnean Society’s Transactions in 1858, on the geographical distribution of the members of the class *Aves*, in which the author arranged the class geographically into six great regions, each area marked by its characteristic fauna and by a great homogeneity of type, Dr. Günther soon showed that the reptilian fauna also similarly admitted of the same arrangement, and since that time, as our author justly states, zoologists appear by common consent to have accepted Dr. Sclater’s views as demonstrable in every province of life.†

* Land of Israel, p. vi.

† On this subject the reader may be referred to Wallace’s important work on the ‘Geographical Distribution of Animals,’ 2 vols., London, Macmillan, 1876.

Palestine is an outlying portion of the great Palæarctic region; according to Schlater's definition of boundary lines it forms an extreme southern province of that region which includes all Europe, Africa north of the Atlas, Western Asia but not Arabia, the rest of Asia north of the Himalayan range, Northern China, and Japan. Now the general character of Palestine both in its fauna and phanerogamic flora shows that it belongs to the Palæarctic region, 'by an overwhelming majority of its species,' but it appears that in each class there are peculiar forms which cannot be referred to that region. How is this phenomenon to be explained? These peculiar forms belong to the Ethiopian and Indian (Oriental) region. All these non-palæarctic types occur strictly and exclusively within the area of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin, owing to the great depression of the Dead Sea valley, 1,298 feet below the level of the Mediterranean Sea (the most depressed spot on any part of the whole globe). This locality has a tropical climate, and hence we can account for the presence in this part of Palestine only of such a decidedly tropical form as the sun-bird (*Cinyris osea*), the only species of sun-bird which reaches so far north. One hundred and thirteen species of Mammalia are recorded as occurring in Palestine, of which a much larger proportion belongs to the Ethiopian region than is to be found in the other classes, viz. 34 out of 113, but some of these Ethiopian types are equally Indian. Some of these 34 Mammalia which may be referred to the Ethiopian region, and which are certainly not Palæarctic, are strictly inhabitants of the desert, and have, therefore, power to traverse the great African and Arabian sand-wastes, and to settle themselves on their northern frontier. Canon Tristram specifies four antelopes, two hares, and eight small rodents.

'The larger Felidæ, in which Palestine is so rich, possessing six species besides the Palæarctic *Felis pardina* (Spotted Lynx), are specifically identical in the two regions (Ethiopic and Indian), or, if distinct, we have not yet ascertained to which races the Palestine species belong. They may have arrived by way of Egypt, or from the Euphrates valley. But there are more sedentary forms, as *Herpestes ichneumon*, and the cats, which seem to point to an earlier settlement than across the recent deserts. Besides, the transit from the east is not more physically difficult or distant than from Africa; yet we find no indication of such immigration in this class.'

Among the Rodentia five forms are Ethiopian in character, the most peculiar of all being the *Hyrax syriacus*, the

Sháphan of the Hebrew Bible, the 'coney' of our English versions; the genus *Hyrax* is strictly Ethiopian, and while other species of this genus extend from Abyssinia to the Cape, the *H. syriacus*, Hemph. and Ehr., is confined to the gorges of the Dead Sea and Arabia Petræa. 'Here we have 'one of the most peculiar and isolated forms of the Mammalian class exclusively confined to the Ethiopian region; but 'with this representative extending beyond that region, yet 'specifically differing from all its congeners.' How came this little animal into Palestine? The whole group is decidedly sedentary in its character, and we cannot account for its presence on any theory of dispersion or immigration. Palestine is unusually rich in birds; its Avifauna is put down at 348 known species, a high number for so small an area covering not more than 5,600 square miles. Of these 348 forms there are 271 Palæarctic species, most of which occur elsewhere; 40 are Ethiopian, inclusive of 10 which are also Indian; 7 are Indian but not Ethiopian; and 30 are species peculiar, so far as is yet known, to Syria.

'But the Avifauna is by no means equally diffused over the whole area. Of the Palæarctic species, almost every one (with the exception of the Accipitres, which are indifferently ubiquitous, and some Natatores, which are winter visitants) belongs to the coast area and the highlands east and west of Jordan. The Ethiopian and Indian types are almost exclusively confined to the deep depression of the Dead Sea basin, which, with the exception of some winter migrants, affords us very few Palæarctic species.'

Thus the Avifauna of the Dead Sea is decidedly distinct and typical in its species, revealing some Indian but more generally African affinities. If we turn to the reptilian fauna, we find the same thing, though here there is a less prominent infusion of Ethiopian types. Dr. Günther considers that herpetologically Egypt must be included in the Palæarctic region, and many of the Egyptian snakes occur in Palestine. There are 91 known species of Reptilia, Chelonia, and Amphibia in Palestine; of course there may be several more not yet recorded. Of these 91 species 49 are Palæarctic, 27 Ethiopian, 'four are Asiatic exclusively, but do not extend into India beyond its frontier, as *Vipera euphratica*. 'One species of serpent, *Daboia xanthina*, belongs to a genus 'otherwise exclusively Indian, and 11 species are peculiar.' The reptilian fauna thus presents fewer anomalies than the other classes of Vertebrata.

'But snakes, in particular, are more limited to the original locality of the individual. In these cases the agencies are wanting by which a

species is rapidly spread over a larger proportion of the globe in course of time, thus becoming mixed with foreign forms; and the groups, like individuals, are more stationary. Besides, this class of life is more susceptible of climate changes than any other, and if any period of excessive cold, like the glacial epoch, had passed over the country, the reptiles would be the first to succumb, without any chance of their recovering their ground during subsequent modifications of the temperature. Yet, even here, we can clearly trace anomalies in the distribution corresponding to the anomalies already mentioned, and to which we do not elsewhere find a parallel.*

The known total number of fluviatile fishes is put down at 43 species; the ichthyological fauna of Palestine is said to be 'beyond comparison by far the most distinct in its character.' Of these 43 species only eight belong to the ordinary ichthyological fauna of the Mediterranean rivers; in the Jordan system only one species out of 36 belongs to the Mediterranean fauna, two are Nilotic (Ethiopian), seven other species occur in other rivers of South-western Asia, as the Tigris and Euphrates (Indian region), 10 more are found in other parts of Syria, chiefly in the Damascus lakes, and the remaining 16 species of the families *Chromidæ*, *Cyprinodontidæ*, and *Cyprinidæ* are peculiar to the Jordan, its affluents and its lakes. There is, therefore, a very remarkable and close affinity of the Jordan fishes to the fauna of tropical Africa, which has in Palestine its most northern limits. The Jordan fishes are represented by three *Chromids*, one *Hemichromis*, and one *Clarias*, and two of these are specifically identical with fishes of the Nile; indeed, as our author says, the affinity is not only of species but of genera, for *Chromis* and *Hemichromis* are peculiarly Ethiopian forms.

The African forms are a very large proportion of the whole, and this affinity has a great and interesting significance, to which we shall refer by-and-by. The similarity between the fishes of Lake Gennesaret and the Nile was long ago noticed by Josephus, who says that the people of the country thought the lake to be a vein of the Nile (*φλέβα τοῦ Νίλου*), because of the identity of the Coracine or sheatfish found in it.*

Of the Mollusca 213 species are recorded as forming the total known number; of these 57 are Palæarctic, 8 Ethiopian, 8 Indian, and 140 are peculiar, and have not yet been noticed out of Palestine. But many of these last have

* De Bell. Jud. iii. 10, § 8.

no special significance geographically considered, as the land shells are chiefly mere modifications of wide-spread Palæarctic forms, such as the 28 species of *Clausilia*. The fluviatile molluscs are more distinct, and there are various peculiar species of *Unionidæ* and *Melaniadæ*, 'which indicate very ancient separation from any adjacent district, the affinities of which are certainly not Palæarctic.'

Passing over the *Arachnidæ* and the *Insecta*, as our knowledge of both these classes is not sufficient for the deduction of any important conclusions, let us next see what Dr. Tristram tells us of the flora of Palestine. In its distribution the flora is parallel with its fauna; about 3,000 species of phanerogamic plants are recorded from the district; the larger proportion consists of the common Mediterranean forms, as might be expected.

The flora of the coast and southern highland region is simply a reproduction of the flora of Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and Northern Syria; about 250 species have not been noticed elsewhere, but all are closely allied to other representative species. A vast number of plants is common to the whole country, and in no latitude is there a sharp demarcation between them. However, as Sir J. D. Hooker, himself a Palestine visitor, has remarked, 'there is a great and decided difference between the floras of such localities as (1) the Lebanon at 5,000 feet, (2) Jerusalem, and (3) Jericho, or between (1) the tops of Lebanon, (2) of Carmel, and (3) of the hills bordering the Jordan; for in the first locality we are most strongly reminded of Northern Europe, in the second of Spain, and in the third of Western India and Persia.' It is, however, in the district of the southern portion of the Dead Sea basin that we find a peculiarity in its flora analogous to the peculiarity in its fauna already alluded to, and a distinctness of character which is most suggestive and full of significant interest. Tristram collected in the little Wady Zuweirah, at the south-west corner of the Dead Sea, over 160 species of plants, of which 27 are common European forms chiefly of very wide distribution; all of these 27 species, with an occasional exception, also extend into Northern India.

The remaining 135 species are African, scarcely any of them entering into Europe, and many of them extremely local. Thirty-seven of the Ethiopian are also Indian plants chiefly belonging to the desert flora of Scinde, and others, as *Cordia myxa*,* though characteristic

* The *Cordia myxa* furnishes the true Sebesten of the European

Indian plants, are equally Nubian and Abyssinian. Although the Dead Sea flora bears a very strong general similarity to the flora of Arabia Petrea, yet there can be no question of its distinctness from the adjacent floras of the same latitude east and west of it.'

Among the plants of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley district a few claim especial notice. The papyrus plant, *Cyperus papyrus* (*antiquorum*), is locally abundant, covering many acres in the Huleh marshes; in this impassable bog our author relates in his 'Land of Israel' how he very nearly lost his life by being engulfed. This celebrated *Cyperus* has long since become extinct in Egypt, and is not known now in Africa further north than in lat. 7° N. on the White Nile. Then there is the *Salvadora persica*, supposed erroneously by Dr. Royle to be the mustard plant of the parable, and the *Calotropis procera*, another species of which genus, the *C. gigantea*, supplies in the bark of its root the *mudar* of commerce, a useful diaphoretic in India. These tropical plants are never found in Palestine except close to the Dead Sea, at Engedi and one or two other places, and are separated by many degrees of latitude and longitude from their other known habitats. It appears that the flora of the Dead Sea area has a small average number of species distributed through a large number of orders. 'In 250 species collected on the east side of the Dead Sea in February, 58 orders were represented, an average of $4\frac{1}{2}$ species to each order.'

Dr. Tristram sums up his deductions in a few clear concise words:—

'A review of the botany as well as the zoology of the Dead Sea basin reveals to us the interesting fact that we find in this isolated spot, comprising but a very few square miles, a series of forms of life differing decidedly from the species of the surrounding region to which they never extend, and bearing a strong affinity to the Ethiopian region, with a trace of Indian admixture.'*

And now comes the interesting question, how was the isolated region of the Dead Sea basin peopled by animals and plants so peculiar and unique, and of such a tropical character? It is nearly 1,300 feet below the level of the ocean, and is occupied, with the exception of a few acres here and there, by the waters of a salt lake, so salt as to be almost brine, and being about eight times as salt as ordinary

materia medica; the succulent mucilaginous fruit being sometimes called Sebesten plums.

* Preface, p. xvi.

sea water ; it is hemmed in by two parallel mountain ranges, rising from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above its level, which are rarely more than twenty miles apart. The idea of a special local creation is a fancy of the past, and may be dismissed at once. Was this region peopled by migrating species of animals in search of new homes, where, finding conditions adapted to their welfare, they settled and increased? We know that a limited number of animals are able to migrate and spread over wide areas ; still the vast majority are confined within their own districts beyond which they cannot pass, not because they are in all cases unfitted for distant journeys, but because of the many insuperable barriers to their advance. A wide ocean is an insuperable barrier to many animals ; even a comparatively narrow strip of water is an effective barrier to some creatures ; a barren arid desert is another ; and, in the case of Palestine, those deserts which isolate that land on the south and east present insuperable barriers to the transport of species, the desert forms themselves being of course excepted—barriers more insuperable, as Dr. Tristram remarks, than either seas or mountain ranges. It is the great Sahara, then, rather than the Mediterranean, which separates the Ethiopian from the Palæarctic fauna. We must turn to geological causes to explain the phenomenon of the presence of a tropical or sub-tropical fauna and flora which now characterise the Dead Sea district. This isolated spot must have been peopled in geological times, before the character of the surrounding region presented, as it does now, insuperable obstacles to transport by migration ; the peopling must have taken place previous to the isolation of the Dead Sea area. Dr. Tristram maintains that it must have been after the close of the Eocene period, because the palæontological character of the most superficial deposits of all Southern Palestine is unquestionably Eocene.

‘ There are no beds of fossils synchronising with the Miocene deposits of Sicily, North Africa, and the Greek Islands. The whole of Syria and Arabia Petræa must have already emerged from the ocean, while the greater part of the Mediterranean and its adjacent coasts and islands was the bed of a Miocene sea, and must have had a fauna and flora contemporaneous with the Miocene flora of Germany.’

It is well known that, previous to the glacial epoch, a warm climate existed in England, and it is probable that a proportionate increase of temperature prevailed throughout the Northern Hemisphere. The Ethiopic flora and fauna are more antique in type than the Palæarctic, and had a more northerly extension than at present. Dr. Tristram happily

instances the well-known traces of a Spanish flora yet lingering on the south-west of Ireland as a parallel with the peculiarities of the Dead Sea basin. There was a time, it would seem, when the great Miocene land extended from Southern Asia to the Azores, when land was either contiguous or but slightly disconnected, which would 'enable south-west Ireland to be stocked by the flora of the Asturias, and Palestine by that of Abyssinia.' During this period the whole of Palestine was peopled by those forms of animal and vegetable life for which the warm climate was suited, and the fauna and flora of the whole country were of an East African or Ethiopian type, identical or representative. At that time the

'present refuges of the remnants of this period, the nooks beside the Dead Sea, were still under water, for they do not now rise above 200 feet above the lake. Towards the close of the Pliocene period the area of the waters of the lake was diminished, as we may see by the marl deposits leaning against the enclosing ranges. Then supervened the glacial period. The climatal changes destroyed the mass of existing life, just as in south-west Ireland all the Spanish flora except the hardiest, such as the saxifrages and the heath, have perished.'

But warmth again returned, and those hardy species which survived the cold period retired to the depression of the Jordan valley, which was then, as now, warmer than the surrounding land, and there illustrated the theory of the survival of the fittest and maintained their existence. This, as Dr. Tristram says, is analogous to the returning warmth after the glacial period in the British Isles, where we see the Scandinavian remnant still surviving on the tops of the Scottish mountains. We have already remarked that the fluviatile fishes of the Jordan have a close affinity to East African types—types which extend as far south as the Zambesi; this affinity being very strongly marked in the identity of the genera *Chromis* and *Hemichromis*, which are exclusively African. Dr. Tristram considers the Jordanic fishes to be the very earliest of the living animals of the country. So close an affinity appears to indicate that the river-systems of Palestine and Africa were connected at some former period, at a time when the present fish fauna was already in existence. But how did these tropical fishes contrive to survive the cold of the glacial period? No doubt many perished, but as the advent of the glacial was, like its close, gradual, the hardiest would survive and probably be modified in time to meet the altered conditions in the very depressed and warm temperature of the Jordanic waters. Zones of elevation on

mountains correspond to parallels of latitude ; so in the Dead Sea basin and Jordan valley we find a zone of depression, the only one known to us, producing similar phenomena and exhibiting the fauna and flora of warmer latitudes.

‘The conclusions at which we arrive,’ to quote Dr. Tristram’s last paragraph in his extremely interesting Preface, ‘are that while the fauna and flora of Palestine are decidedly Palæarctic in type, and belonging to the Mediterranean section of that type, there are traces of a boreal fauna in the north, and a large infusion of Ethiopian types in the Jordan valley ; and that these exceptions can be satisfactorily explained only by a reference to the geological history of the country, which shows that the glacial period, though not extending in its intensity so far south, has left traces not yet wholly obliterated ; while the preceding period of warmth has left yet larger proofs of its former northern extension in the unique tropical outlier of the Dead Sea basin, which is analogous both in its origin and in the present isolation of its various assemblages of life to the boreal outliers of our mountain tops and our deep sea-bottoms ; the concave depression in the one case being the complement of the convex elevation in the other.’

Let us now notice some of the animals, either now living in Palestine or living there in Biblical times, of which Canon Tristram treats. The curious little *Hyrax syriacus*, whose osteological characters seem to place it among the *Ungulata* near the rhinoceros, is not uncommon round the shores of the Dead Sea, is rare in the rest of the country and unknown in Lebanon. It does not burrow as a rule, lives among the rocks in wâdys, and issues forth from its hiding-place at sunset and dawn ; it produces four or five young ones at birth, and is a timid cautious little creature. When feeding we are told that a sentry is usually placed on some commanding outpost, who gives warning of danger by a sharp bark. To this cautious nature probably Solomon alludes when he mentions this little animal among the four things ‘which are little on the earth, but which are exceeding ‘wise’ (Prov. xxx. 24). Its Hebrew name of *Shâphân*, or the ‘hider,’ refers to its retiring habits among the fissures. The Revised Version retains the old rendering of the Authorised Version, and translates the word by ‘coney.’ The rule which guided the revisers in their explanation of the Hebrew names of animals and plants is thus expressed in their preface :—

‘Terms of natural history have been changed only where it was certain that the Authorised Version was incorrect and where there was sufficient evidence for the substituted rendering. In cases of doubt the alternative rendering has been given in the margin ; and even

where no doubt existed, but where there was no familiar English equivalent for the original word, the old version has been allowed to remain, and the more accurate term has been placed in the margin.'

This is on the whole a good rule, but the revisers have not always been exact or judicious in their application of it. The *Sháphán* is first mentioned in Lev. xi. 5, is rendered 'coney' in the text, and explained in the margin to have the Hebrew name of '*Shaphan*, the *Hyrax syriacus*, or rock-badger.' Whenever the same name occurs in later books of the Bible, a reference in the margin refers the reader to the passage where the name has a marginal explanation. We are inclined to think that the explanation by 'rock-badger' had been better omitted. The German *Klippdachs* or *Schieferdachs* represents to the German reader the animal in question, i.e. the *Hyrax*; but an English reader would naturally interpret the marginal 'rock-badger' as denoting some kind of badger, which is not true.

Dr. Tristram speaks of the excellence of the breed of the domestic ass of Palestine, which, he says, is taller, stronger, and fleetier than in any other country he has ever visited. 'The white asses mentioned in Scripture are still highly prized, and command very high prices. A good Syrian ass fetches about 40*l.*, the price of a good horse.' The ancient Romans, we may mention, paid a great deal of attention to the breeding of the domestic ass, which attained a high state of perfection, and for which fabulous sums of money would sometimes be given by the luxurious Romans of the Empire; it is a pity that nothing is done in this country towards the improvement of this very valuable animal both for itself and for the breeding of that other equally valuable animal the mule. The wild asses, *Asinus onager* and *A. hemippus*, are very rare in Palestine, but occasionally enter the Hauran. The wild boar is still common in Palestine, as doubtless it was in ancient times; it is chased and destroyed on account of the dreadful havoc it makes among the crops, but being unclean neither Jew nor Moslem will eat it. Tristram says that both old and young specimens are delicious eating, 'bearing the same relation to pork that 'venison does to mutton.*' Among the *Cervidæ* the roebuck (*Cervus capreolus*, L.) has been seen on the southern edge of Lebanon and on Mount Carmel, Palestine being the most southern and eastern region where the European roebuck is found. The roebuck is given in the Authorised Version as

* Nat. Hist. Bib. p. 55.

the rendering of the Hebrew *tsebhî* in Deut. xiv. 5, and a few other places; the same word is also frequently rendered 'roe.' There is no doubt that the Hebrew word denotes a gazelle, and is so rendered or explained in the Revised Version. The word gazelle does not occur anywhere in the Authorised Version, but very likely this little antelope was intended by the word 'roe;' the name of gazelle probably not having been introduced into this country from the East at the time of the translators of 1611. The roebuck in the Revised Version occurs as the rendering of the Hebrew *yakhmûr*, which Tristram gives as the Arabic vernacular for the roebuck (*C. capreolus*); it by no means, however, follows that a modern Arabic name for a specific animal now denoted the same animal many years ago. At any rate the LXX and the Vulgate agree in explaining the *yakhmûr* as *βούβαλος* and *bubalus*; and Freytag in his Arabic lexicon definitely explains the *yakhmûr* as belonging to that kind which the Arabs call *bekker-el-wash* ('wild cow'), i.e. the Bubale (*Alcephalus bubalus*). The *bubalus* of classical authors is certainly this antelope, the red or bay colour of which is implied in its Arabic name *yakhmûr*, 'ruber.' This antelope was not seen by Tristram in Palestine, but he says it certainly exists on the eastern borders of Gilead and Moab, and that the Arabs not unfrequently capture it. But to return to the *Cervidæ*; the fallow deer still exists sparingly in the north of Palestine, in the woods north-west of Tabor, where years ago it was seen by Hasselquist. The red deer (*C. elaphus*) is no longer found in the country, but its teeth and bones together with those of the reindeer and elk occurring with flints in the bone caves of the Lebanon attest the existence of all these animals contemporaneously with man. Besides the bubale already noticed Tristram mentions three or four more antelopes; the gazelle (Arab. *Ghazal*; Heb. צִיָּ, *tsebhî*) is extremely common everywhere south of the Lebanon, and is the only large game really abundant; *Gazzella dorcas*, L., is the 'roe' of the Canticles and of Scripture generally. We must specially mention the oryx or white antelope (*Antilope leucoryx*, Pall.), as it has a curious historic interest to which we shall refer by-and-by. The oryx is strictly a desert antelope, and is still found on the confines of Palestine, in the Belka and Hauran. The horns are of immense length, 'sweeping towards its back in a wide 'curve, and often exceeding three feet in length.' The horns are often to be purchased in the bazaars of Damascus. Specimens of this antelope are generally to be seen in the

Regent's Park Zoological Gardens. This antelope was well known to the ancient Egyptians, who hunted it, and according to Sir G. Wilkinson kept large numbers in the preserves of their villas. It was known to them by the name of *maḥet* or *raḥet*, i.e. 'white antelope.' It is an inoffensive animal except when brought to bay, when it will use its sharp horns with effect. One of the Arabic names of this antelope is *rīm*, and as the word appears to be connected with the Hebrew *rēm* (the 'unicorn' of the Authorised Version) this harmless antelope has been for many years supposed to denote the fierce untameable animal mentioned in the Book of Job and other places of Scripture; and this leads us at once to the cattle of Palestine. Tristram obtained the teeth of the aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) in bone breccia in Lebanon, but the animal has long been extinct. This is undoubtedly the fierce bovine alluded to in the Bible under the name of *reēm* (רֵעַם), wrongly translated 'unicorn' in our Authorised Version, following the interpretation given by the LXX and Vulgate versions. The Assyrian cuneiform records often mention these wild oxen—for so they are—as being hunted by the Assyrian monarchs. The Assyrian word is identical with the Hebrew; it is *rīmu*, so called from its great height and size. Literary history confirms the former existence of these wild cattle in the very district where Dr. Tristram found their teeth. Thus in a record of a hunting expedition of the time of Tiglath Pileser I. (B.C. 1120–1100) the scribe of the broken obelisk, now in the British Museum, mentions 'wild bulls (*rīmi*) which opposite the land of the Hittites 'and at the foot of Lebanon he slew.' The drawings on the monuments show a strong large ox with powerful curved horns, which proves it to have been a *Bos* and not a *Bison*, whose bones and teeth have also been discovered in the Lebanon. Of course the 'unicorn' of the Authorised Version has disappeared in the Revised Version, where the text very properly reads 'wild ox,' but it is a great pity that the value of the textual rendering is somewhat marred by the marginal rendering of 'ox-antelope,' for which there is not anywhere the slightest authority. If the *reēm* is the 'wild-ox' (*Bos primigenius*), then it is not 'an ox-antelope,' whatever animal the revisers had in view. Marginal readings will doubtless be often taken to explain or illustrate the text readings, and the alternative reading in the margin, according to their own statement in the preface, implies that the revisers had doubt as to the definite meaning of the Hebrew *reēm*; and so, after all, the white antelope (*Oryx*

leucoryx), which long usurped the right of the *Bos primigenius* to represent the Hebrew *reēm*, simply because its Arabic name was similar, is still allowed to retain a portion of its claim. The only species of bovine antelope which would be known to the Jews is the bubale (*Alcephalus bubalus*), the *βούβαλος* and *bubalus* of the Greeks and Romans, but such an explanation of the Hebrew *reēm* is entirely unsupported by any kind of evidence. Dr. Tristram draws attention to the vast number of small rodents, especially dormice and hamsters, which are found in the stony region south of Judea and the sandy and rocky expanses which stretch from Moab to Damascus; they are crepuscular or nocturnal in their habits, and their holes and burrows in regions which for the greater part of the year are utter desert are said to be countless in number; for miles a district 'has the appearance of 'one vast warren of pigmy rabbit burrows; yet for days, 'saving the bounding of a jerboa here and there before one's 'horse, not another trace of rodent life is to be seen.' How do these little rodents obtain food in a desert district?

'This is chiefly supplied by bulbous roots. The greater part of the desert plants are tuberous or bulbous, and after nine months of utter barrenness, the first winter rains soon carpet the waste with a brilliant spangling of bulbous flowers—crocus, iris, squills, asphodels, cyclamens, and others. Their glory is soon over, but the large succulent roots remain, retaining their moisture through the summer, and affording abundant nutriment to the little burrowers' (p. 17).

Of the *Felidæ*, the lion, once abundant in Palestine, has long been extinct, and there is no tradition of its existence among the present inhabitants; it is mentioned as occurring near Samaria by writers of the twelfth century, about which time it disappeared. Lion-hunting was a favourite sport of the ancient Assyrians, and the sculptures of Nineveh abound with illustrations of this most royal of sports.

Dr. Tristram says that the lion is still common in Mesopotamia. The leopard, on the contrary, still maintains itself in Palestine, all round the Dead Sea, in Gilead and Bashan, and occasionally in the wooded districts of the west; it sometimes lurks near watering-places, and pounces at night upon the cattle.

The wild cat (*Felis maniculata*, Rüpp.), a very interesting animal, as being probably the origin of the now cosmopolitan domestic cat with all its varieties, attains a large size in Palestine. It is common on the east side of Jordan, scarce west of it. The domestic cat was quite unknown to the Jews of Palestine in Biblical times, it was not known to

the Assyrians nor to the Greeks as a domestic mouse-killer in their own country; indeed the only people among the ancients who habitually domesticated the common cat appear to have been the Egyptians.

The striped hyæna (*H. striata*) is common in every part of Palestine; it finds a hiding-place in old rock-hewn tombs and in the numerous caves of the country, 'attacks graves and burrows into them, even in the close vicinity of towns.' Though hyænas were doubtless common in Palestine in ancient times, there is no definite mention of them in the Bible; they may be referred to, however, in 1 Sam. xiii. 18, under the word Zeboim, 'valley of hyænas,' where there is now a wild gorge called in Arabic *Shuk-ed-Dubba*, 'ravine of the hyæna.' The passage in Jer. xii. 9, rendered by some commentators 'Is my heritage under me as a speckled hyæna?' is better translated 'as a speckled bird of prey' in the Revised Version; the sentence which follows, 'Are the birds of prey against her round about?' appears to refer to the habit of the smaller birds, 'mobbing' hawks and other carnivorous birds. Wolves are found in every part of the country, lurking among the rocks and prowling about the sheepcotes; they are larger and stronger than European specimens; jackals (*Canis aureus*) are also very abundant everywhere, hunting in packs, wailing and howling every night; under the name of *Shuál* the jackal is more generally denoted than the fox. Thus the *Shuálim* of Judges xv. 4, of which Samson is said to have caught three hundred, must refer to jackals which hunt in packs, whereas the fox prowls about singly. The Revised Version here reads 'foxes' in the text, and 'jackals' in the margin; it had been better simply to have given 'jackals' in the text without any marginal alternative; similarly in Ps. lxiii. 10, 'They shall be a portion for jackals,' which are more decided carrion-feeders than foxes. Two varieties of fox occur in Palestine, the *Vulpes nilotica* and the *V. flavescens*, a much larger animal than the former, of a bright light yellowish colour and very long fine fur, having black ears and 'a splendid brush.' The Pariah dog is the only race of dogs common in Palestine; in size and appearance it is compared with our colley. There are Pariah dogs of the town which live on offal as best they can, and Pariah dogs of the country used for guarding the flocks by the shepherds. They do not seem to meet with better treatment now than in Biblical times; for Dr. Tristram says, 'No dog surpasses the Pariah in instinct and intelligence, neglected and degraded though it be.'

The large Persian greyhound, 'with long silky hairs on the ears and a long fringe of the same on its tail,' is highly prized, and trained to chase the gazelle by the Bedawin. Badgers are common in the hilly and wooded parts of the country, but have not been noticed in the Jordan valley, Palestine apparently being the most southward limit of its range. The badger-skins of the Authorised Version (*ôrôth tekhdâshîm*), which formed the outer covering of the tabernacle, ark, &c. (Ex. xxv. &c.), have properly disappeared altogether in the Revised Version, which now invariably reads 'seal-skins' in the text, and 'porpoise-skins' in the margin. Badger-skins would not be procurable either in Egypt or the wilderness of Sinai. The Hebrew word *takhash* (תַּכָּשִׁיט) seems clearly to be the Arabic *tukhash* or *dukhash*, which Arabic lexicons interpret as *delphinus*, and which may include porpoises, seals, and dugongs.

The bear of Syria (*Ursus syriacus*, Ehrenh.), which in ancient times must have been, from the numerous references in the Bible, familiar to the people, has now, we are told, become very rare in most parts of Palestine. Tristram saw it once only in a ravine near Gennesaret. It is, however, still not uncommon on Hermon and the wooded parts of Lebanon. Primeval forests no longer crown the rugged heights of Galilee, and 'she-bears out of the wood' would no longer find cover between Jericho and Bethel, for that ravine is now entirely bare of timber. The Syrian bear is only a variety of the common brown bear of Europe, and is still more closely allied to the *Ursus isabellinus* of India. Both these varieties are generally to be seen in the Zoological Society's Gardens, Regent's Park.

Dr. Tristram's work contains some admirable coloured plates of some of the animals of Palestine; there is an excellent drawing of a very curious little mammal, the mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*), which has an historical interest as being the animal claimed by some writers to be the blind mole of Aristotle and classical authors generally. It is also in all probability the 'mole' of Isaiah: 'A man shall cast away his idols . . . to the moles and the bats' (ii. 21). The Hebrew expression literally means 'the digging-mice.' The common mole does not exist in Palestine; the mole-rat is common especially about ruins, where it lives and burrows, seldom coming to the surface. The mole-rats and the cave-loving bats are apt representatives, therefore, of the desolation and ruin to which idolatrous man and his works should be devoted. This creature, which is larger than our

mole and belongs to a different family, lives on vegetable food, as onions and other bulbs; it is quite 'blind,' as its specific name of *typhlus* signifies.

The porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*) is common, but from its nocturnal habits seldom seen. It is hunted by the Arabs, who, like the ancient Egyptians, are very fond of its flesh. Syria appears to be the eastern limit of the porcupine. This animal did not appear in the Authorised Version, but the revisers have introduced it, being apparently guided simply and solely by philological evidence. It is now given as the representative of the Hebrew word *kippód* in the passages of Isaiah and Zephaniah where that name occurs, and as there is no alternative reading in the margin, the revisers have no doubt. The Hebrew name *kippód* (Is. xiv. 23, xxxiv. 11; Zeph. ii. 14) is identified with the Arabic *kunfud*, which the lexicons interpret as a 'hedgehog.' In Is. xxxiv. 11, the *kippód* is mentioned with the pelican as marking the desolation of the land of Edom; in Zeph. l.c. 'the pelican and the *kippód*' shall lodge in the chapiters of Babylon. It is associated with pools of water in Is. xiv. 23. The Authorised Version renders the word 'bittern,' which is still common in the swarms of the Tigris, is a haunter of desolate places, a shy and retiring bird. Some bird would be more at home on the top of the column of a ruined temple than a porcupine or a hedgehog; and yet the bittern is a bird that passes its time in impenetrable marshes covered with reeds, and does not often perch on a tree or on any building, though it does sometimes resort, like the heron, to ruined structures. From the extremely shy disposition of the bird very little is known really of its habits. On the whole evidence before us it must be confessed that there is no authority in support of the bittern being the *kippód* of the prophets, whereas the porcupine, whose claim has some philological support, seems to fail to meet the requirements of the texts. It would have been better, we think, to have left the 'bittern' in the text with the reading of 'porcupine' in the margin. The error already noticed in the case of the Hebrew and Arabic names of *reēm* and *rīm* should act as a caution in trusting explicitly to similarity of sound. The bittern, however, does appear in the margin of the Revised Version in Is. xxxiv. 11, as the rendering of the Hebrew *yanshūph*, rendered with more probable correctness 'owl' in the Authorised Version.

Bats abound in Palestine. One species of fruit-eating bat is found in large colonies in the caves of the wāds in

Northern Palestine. Fruit-eating bats (*Pteropidæ*) of the genus *Cynonycteris* are usually arboreal in their habits; the Palestine species *C. ægyptiaca*, which extends through Abyssinia, Egypt, Northern Syria, and Cyprus, has been found only in caves. Those who have read Mr. Villiers Stewart's 'Nile Gleanings' will remember how he speaks of the enormous number of bats which frequent the tombs and caves of Egypt, much to the annoyance of explorers. Dr. Tristram bears similar testimony to the bats of Palestine, some kinds of which swarm 'to such a degree that it is almost impossible to keep a torch alight while creeping through the 'caverns.' Two or three species of bat belong to a tropical family, and are consequently confined in Palestine to the subtropical ravines of the Jordan valley.

Among the birds of prey found in Palestine, Dr. Tristram gives an interesting account of some of the vultures, as the bearded vulture or Lämmergeier (*Gypætus barbatus*) and the griffin vulture (*Gyps fulvus*). The former bird he calls the prince of vultures; it occurs in most of the mountainous regions of Palestine, but only singly or in a pair together.

'Its favourite resorts are the gorges opening on the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley, especially the ravines of the Arnon and the Callirrhoe, where one of the grandest sights a naturalist can enjoy, as he stands on the brow of a gorge, is the spectacle of one of these majestic birds, with a stretch of wing ten feet across, sailing apparently motionless up and down the valley, close to the crest, and often within a hundred yards of the spectator.'

The peculiar habit, often observed in this bird, of carrying off tortoises, marrowbones, and snakes high into the air, and then dropping them upon a rock or stone, repeating the operation till the prey is shattered, has given it the name of 'Breaker' (פֶּרֶס, *peres*) in Hebrew, and of 'Ossifrage' in our own language, borrowing from the Latin. But this prince of vultures sometimes has recourse to a very dastardly mode of securing his prey; he watches the lambs or kids or small antelopes as they feed on the cliffs, and, attacking them, pushes them over the precipice. This habit appears to be referred to in one of the Assyrian names of this bird, *Carib-barkhâti*, i.e. 'the antelope-attacker.' Marrowbones seem a very favourite food of this vulture. The modern Greeks tell curious stories of its ravenous nature. Not only will it swallow marrowbones, but a small axe's head into the bargain. Apropos of this Greek story, a writer in the 'Ibis' humorously remarks that the meeting of the marrowbones and the cleaver in such a situation must

have been most affecting. This bird, under the name of *peres*, is mentioned in Lev. xi. 13 as one of the unclean things not to be eaten; in the Authorised Version *peres* is rendered 'ossifrage.' The Revisers translate 'gier-eagle' in the text with no explanation in the margin, which is no improvement, we think, on the rendering of the Authorised Version. Gier-eagle is a word compounded of the Dutch *gier*, 'a vulture,' and eagle, the Dutch word being cognate with the German *geier*, 'a vulture,' so that the composite name gier-eagle has the same meaning as the scientific term *Gypætus*, 'vulture-eagle;' but ordinary readers will not recognise this meaning, whereas the old English name of ossifrage comes near to the Hebrew *peres* in signification, and is generally understood to denote the Lämmergeier, or bearded vulture. It seems to us that it would have been better to retain 'ossifrage' in the text with the explanation of the 'bearded vulture' in the margin.

Another striking ornithological feature of Palestine is the griffon-vulture, which is employed by the Assyrians and other Oriental nations as a 'type of the lordly and noble.' It is impossible, says our author, in any part of the country to look up without seeing some of these birds majestically soaring at an immense height, and their eyries abound in great colonies in all the ravines of the country. The Hebrew word *neshet* (נֶשֶׁת) doubtless includes both this vulture and the larger eagles, but the griffon-vulture is probably the bird usually intended, and the Arabic name of *nissr* or *nisr* is used definitely to denote a vulture. The expression in Micah (i. 16), 'Make thee bald and poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge thy baldness as the *neshet*,' can only refer to the griffon-vulture, whose baldness at the back of the head is so conspicuous, and is, in fact, implied by the Hebrew word *kárah* (כָּרַח), i.e. 'to be bald at the back of the head.' The revisers retain the 'eagle' in the text and give 'vulture' in the margin; a simple text rendering of 'vulture' would have been better.

The Falconidæ are well represented in Palestine. The golden eagle in winter is not uncommon over the whole country; in summer it is only found in the northern mountain ranges of Lebanon and Hermon. The imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*, Savigny), with its rich dark plumage, white shoulders, and bronze head, is more numerous in Palestine than the golden eagle, and it does not disappear in summer. Dr. Tristram says it is a very noble bird, and comparatively indifferent to the near approach of man; Mr.

Hume (in his 'Rough Notes on Indian Ornithology,' p. 145), on the other hand, says it is 'no better than a hulking kite,' and that he has never observed the slightest indications of daring qualities, adding that he has seen a couple of crows thrash one of them soundly. The testimony of both these observers is probably correct, the hot climate of India, perhaps, being to some extent subversive of courage. Of the family *Strigidae* eight species are mentioned as occurring in Palestine, the most remarkable one being the brown fish-owl (*Ketupa ceylonensis*), which Dr. Tristram was the first to discover near the plain of Acre in December 1863. *Ketupa* is a peculiar Indian form, and is another illustration of the singularly mixed character of the fauna of the country to which we have alluded. The fish-owls, of which only three species are known, have bare tarsi, dive and seize their prey under water; they are very large birds, and feed on fish, crabs, &c. The Palestine species is found in India and Ceylon, and has been seen at Hongkong, 'but the present is 'the one isolated instance of its occurrence west of the 'Indian peninsula.' That very noble bird, the eagle-owl (*Bubo ascalaphus*), the representative of the *Bubo maximus* of Europe, is more common than most of the other species, except the little owl (*Athene glaux*). It is also very abundant in Egypt. 'In the rolling uplands of Beersheba it resorts 'to burrows in the ground. In Rabbah (Amman) it has its 'home among the ruins, and in the ravines of Galilee and in 'the Jordan valley it retires in security to the most inaccessible caverns.' This bird, from its large size and fierce aspect, figures conspicuously in ancient mythological folklore as a bird of ill omen; it is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia as 'a bird of evil' (*itstsur limutti*), as the 'bird of the god whose name is too 'bad to mention;' and the Jews no doubt held similar ideas with regard to it. Accordingly the Hebrew prophets aptly introduced it as a fit emblem of ruin and desolation. The Authorised Version probably had the eagle-owl in view when it rendered the Hebrew word *yanshûph*, whose etymology apparently refers to some creature of the night, by 'great 'owl' or 'owl.' Rabbinical writers identify the *yanshûph* with the *kiphûpha*, i.e. 'the great horned owl.' The Revisers correctly, we think, render *yanshûph* by 'great owl' in Lev. ix. 17 and Deut. xiv. 16; but why in Is. xxiv. 11 do they read 'owl' in the text and 'bittern' in the margin?

We must not linger longer over the very attractive notices of the birds of Palestine, but will just mention the occur-

rence of that curious bird, the African darter (*Plotus Levailantii*), which Tristram discovered in a great breeding colony on the Lake of Antioch, though he did not see it within the confines of Palestine proper. Now, this species is known to occur in South Africa, the Zambesi, Niger, Senegambia, and the Suaheli country, but has not yet been noticed in North-east Africa, Egypt, Nubia, and the Red Sea; but here it is in Syria, a country one would have thought beyond its range, and to get to the Lake of Antioch it must have passed through Palestine. The lake is a vast shallow piece of water, and swarms with eels. About the end of April the darters arrive from the south, lay their eggs on a tuft of coarse grass, and hatch out about the beginning of June, and as soon as the young are able, off they suddenly fly, and are seen no more till the end of the next spring. The Indian species (*Plotus melanogaster*), Dr. Tristram says, might more reasonably have been looked for.

We are told of a very cruel practice of the villagers to decoy the wood-pigeons, which spread over the wooded parts of the country at their spring and autumn migrations in countless myriads; they sew up the eyelids of a decoy bird, which they tie to a perch; 'its struggles attract a crowd of 'its fellows.' The partridges of Palestine are the chukor (*Caccabis chukar*), 'the game bird, *par excellence*,' plentiful everywhere in the hill country among the rocks and bushes, 'where it has no protection, and every conceivable foe,' and Hey's sand partridge (*Ammoperdix Heyi*), which takes the place of the chukor in the Dead Sea basin and the Jordan valley ravines. The ostrich occurs only in the eastern plains of Moab; formerly more abundant, it is now only a straggler from Central Arabia.

Thirty-one species of snakes and two of blindworms (*Typhlopidae*) are recorded to occur in Palestine; the larger proportion of the snakes are harmless; the hooded cobra (*Naja haje*) is rare; it is well known in the plains beyond Beersheba, but does not apparently occur in the cultivated districts. The cobra is doubtless the *pethen* of the Hebrew Bible; the deaf adder which refused to hear the voice of the charmer; then there is a large viper (*V. euphratica*), a very poisonous species, found by Tristram in Galilee; it basks in the sand, conceals itself in little tufts of herbage, and preys on small quadrupeds. Another poisonous viper (*V. ammodytes*) was obtained on the lower slopes of Lebanon. The Indian *Daboia xanthina*, already alluded to, was twice obtained, once on the plain of Acre, and once near Tiberias.

Daboia is a peculiarly Indian genus. Dr. Tristram killed one which had just swallowed a hare, and was unable to move. The horned cerastes (*C. Hasselquistii*), so well known in Egypt, and depicted on the monuments where its form has the phonetic value of the letter *f*, occurs in the desert country of Southern Judea. This poisonous little snake was evidently known to the Hebrews: it is the *Shehîphôn* of Gen. xlix. 17. 'Dan shall be an adder in the path that biteth the horses' heels.' The Hebrew word is, doubtless, identical with the Arabic *sifon*, which is explained to mean a 'small poisonous snake marked with dots and blotches,' which exactly suits the cerastes. The habit of lurking in depressions in the sand is alluded to by Nicander ('Theriac.' 261). Tristram writes: 'I have known my horse rear and shake with terror on descrying this little but deadly serpent coiled up in a depression of a camel's footmark on the path before us.' The Hebrew word occurs only in Genesis l. c. The 'adder' of the Authorised Version is retained in the Revised Version in the text; but the 'arrowsnake' of the margin of the former version is supplanted very properly in the Revised Version, following the Arabic translations, by the 'horned snake.' The Revised Version has got rid of the old ugly word 'cockatrice' which appears in the Authorised Version as the rendering of the Hebrew word *tsiphôni*, occurring four times in the Bible; but they have not got rid of the creature itself unfortunately. In three cases, instead of the cockatrice of the text of the Authorised Version, they give the rendering of 'basilisk,' which, though more euphonious, is equally objectionable in point of fact; for the words basilisk and cockatrice are merely different names of the same fabulous beast, which was supposed to have the head and body of a cock and the tail of a serpent.* In these three instances the Revised Version gives the marginal alternative of 'adder' which the Authorised Version also had; but in the other instance, as the Authorised Version preferred 'adder' in the text and 'cockatrice' in the margin, so the Revised Version, following the rule, has 'adder' in the text and 'basilisk' in the margin. Surely there was an opportunity of abolishing this mediæval monstrosity altogether by simply rendering the Hebrew word 'adder' uniformly in the text. Whether the translators of the Authorised Version

* The name of Basilisk is in modern zoology used to designate a genus of Saurian reptiles found in tropical South America and the Indian Archipelago.

intended the fabulous animal to be understood or not, one cannot positively determine. It is not at all probable that they credited its supposed origin, as being the product of a cock's egg hatched by a snake; nevertheless, certain fables were undoubtedly accepted as facts in mediæval times, as, for instance, that the basilisk could kill by a glance of the eye, a story which even Sir Thomas Browne, scorning most of the absurdities, did not altogether discredit.

We should be glad to know something of the 'arrowsnake' of which so many commentators seem to be enamoured. It has already occurred in the margin of the Authorised Version as the rendering of the *tsiphôn*, or *tsiphôni*, i.e. the horned cerastes. It now occurs as the translation of a Hebrew word *kippôz* (קִפּוֹז) in Is. xxxiv. 15, the only place where it is found. Speaking of the desolation doomed for the land of Idumea, the prophet says, 'There shall the *kippôz* make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow.' One would naturally infer that some bird, rather than snake, was intended. The Authorised Version renders 'great owl.' It seems utterly impossible that the Jews should have been acquainted with the incubating habits of certain snakes (*Pythonidæ*) which are tropical. According to Knobel and Kuenen the text of Is. xiii. 15, 16, is corrupt. Commentators, following Bochart,* refer the Hebrew *kippôz* to the Arabic *kipphâza*, which etymologically denotes some quick-springing or darting serpent, like the *ἀκοντίας* of the Greeks and the *jaculus* of Latin authors. The Arabic word occurs neither in Golius's nor in Freytag's lexicon. The only author whom Bochart cites is Avicenna (A.D. 980), who thus speaks of the *kipphâza*: 'It lies in ambush upon trees, and if anyone passes near, it darts forth and rushes upon him.' It is impossible to say what Avicenna's poisonous tree-serpent may denote; none of the tree-serpents are poisonous, which the *acontias* or *jaculus* is said to be; moreover, trees and tree-serpents are decidedly out of place in sterile and desolate regions. It is probable that the *kippôz* signifies some kind of ruin-loving owl; but as the word occurs only once, conjecture only is possible.

Dr. Tristram obtained a specimen of a crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*) from the river Zerka, which rises in a swamp south of Mount Carmel and enters the sea at the north of the plain of Sharon. The crocodile river is mentioned by Pliny and Strabo. The great Saurian ('the Leviathan' of the

* Hieroz. iii. p. 194, ed. Rosenmüller.

Book of Job) appears to be rare and on the verge of destruction. 'When I look at my crocodile's head,' says our author, 'brought home by myself, and read the long disquisitions 'written in various languages as to the possibility of the 'crocodile inhabiting Palestine, I feel that an ounce of fact 'is worth a ton of theory.' Frogs and toads are common in some parts of Palestine. *Bufo viridis* swarms in multitudes in all moist places; *Rana esculenta*, the edible frog, the only species known to inhabit Palestine, swarms in localities near water. 'In no other country have I seen,' writes Tristram, 'the frog population so dense.' They deafen the weary traveller through the long night. The pretty little tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*) is said to be common in all parts of the country, in woods sitting on the foliage of the trees, but on the treeless plains it is equally common on the leaves of the artichoke and the great umbellifers.

The most characteristic fishes of the Lake of Galilee belong to the family of *Chromidæ*, three species of which are figured in Dr. Tristram's work. *Chromis Tiberiadis* is peculiar to the Jordan and its affluents alone. It is found in the most amazing numbers from the Lake Huleh to the head of the Dead Sea. 'It is by far the most abundant of all the species in the lakes.'

'I have seen them,' continues Dr. Tristram, 'in shoals of over an acre in extent, so closely packed that it seemed impossible for them to move, and with their dorsal fins above the water, giving at a distance the appearance of a tremendous shower pattering on one spot of the surface of the glassy lake. They are taken both in boats and from the shore by nets run deftly round, and enclosing what one may call a solid mass at one swoop, and very often the net breaks. They are also taken in large quantities by poisoned crumbs thrown from the shore on to the surface of the water. By casting nets hundreds are often taken at once.'

When they reach the Dead Sea, which they do in thousands, they do not get further than a few yards, when they become stupefied, and turn over on their backs,

'while cormorants and kingfishers perched on the snags or floating logs gorge themselves without effort, and often heaps of putrefying carcasses washed on the shore poison the atmosphere and afford a plenteous feast to the ravens and vultures.'

The propagation of *Chromis Simonis*, also peculiar to the Jordan system, and restricted to the lakes of Galilee and Huleh, is remarkable, but not unique, as some South American species also exhibit the same phenomenon, e.g. some of the genus *Arius*. The male takes the ova of the female into his

pharynx, and there hatches them. Speaking of the *Chromis Simonis*, Tristram quotes some of Dr. Lortet's observations:—

'The little ones rapidly increase in size and appear to be much incommoded in their narrow prison. They remain in great numbers, pressed one against another, like the grains of a ripe pomegranate. The mouth of the father-nurse now becomes so distended by his progeny that his jaws cannot meet. The cheeks are swollen, and the animal presents the strangest appearance. Some of the young, arrived at this perfect state, continue to live and develope among the folds of the branchiæ. Others have their heads turned towards the mouth of the parent, and do not quit the sheltering cavity till they are about four inches long, and sufficiently active and nimble to escape their numerous enemies. It is difficult to understand how the male, who thus carries more than two hundred young for several weeks, can feed himself without swallowing along with his prey a great number of his fry. It is in the springs close to the lake that these fishes spawn' (p. 167).

Dr. Tristram has spared no pains in his preparation of the catalogue of the flora of Palestine, which comprises about 1,400 species. He has examined the herbariums of several gentlemen, as well as the manuscript catalogue of the flora of Palestine at Kew. Of the unrivalled work of M. Edmond Boissier, '*Flora Orientalis*,' he has unsparingly availed himself, and has expressed an opinion that Boissier's work, for carefulness of detail in description, and for accuracy of statement as to geographical area, has never been surpassed. The flora comprises the whole country of the 'Land of Promise' rather than the 'Land of Possession,' i.e. from the Wâdy el Arish and Petra up to the Orontes valley at Hamath. There are, however, some parts of the country that have only been partially explored.

'To the eastward we have a great volcanic region which has not been even skimmed by the botanical collector, besides the whole of Gilead, possessing by far the richest flora of the whole region, and which has never been worked except by a hurried and passing traveller. It is to the east of Jordan that we must look for our principal future additions to the flora of Palestine; and there lies a rich field for any enterprising young botanist who is not afraid of Bedouin' (p. 206).

Our space will only allow us to mention a few trees or flowers that possess a Biblical interest. *Anemone coronaria*, L., clothes the land of Israel in spring with a wondrous richness of red bloom, though the yellow, blue, and purple varieties occur very early in the year. We quite agree with our author that this most gorgeously painted anemone is in all probability the 'lily of the field,' with which Solomon, in

all his glory, could not be compared. The claim of the *Salvadora persica* to represent the mustard tree of Scripture has never had support from botanical travellers, with the exception of Messrs. Irby and Mangles. This tree, called by the Arabs *chardal*, 'mustard tree,' has pungent seeds, which are used by the Arabs; but it grows only in the subtropical spots of Engedi and the south-east end of the Dead Sea, where, being an Indian plant, it appears to have reached the *ultima Thule* of its northern limit. The *Sinapis nigra*—the true mustard plant of Scripture—grows abundantly in a wild state, and is also a garden plant. Tristram noticed its great height on the banks of the Jordan, and Dr. Thomson says he has seen it as tall as a horse and its rider. It is a pot or garden herb (λάχανον), which, compared with other small garden herbs, may well be called by our Lord a tree; the small insessorial birds would frequent its branches for the sake of the seed, just as in our country they frequent our turnip plants. Dr. Tristram is, we think, correct in identifying the caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*) with the hyssop of Scripture; its Hebrew name *ezôbh* (עֶזְבָּה) appears in the Arabic *azuf*; it grows on walls, and on the perpendicular faces of rocks in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and is very common in parts of the Jordan valley. The mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum*), which is, we believe, the *dudâim* (דּוּדַיִם, pl.) of Genesis and Canticles, was noticed in all the plains littoral and inland, in valleys of the Jordan basin and the plains of Moab. 'Its fruit is much valued by the natives, who still hold to the belief, as old as the time of Rachel, that when eaten it ensures conception. It is a very striking-looking plant, and at once attracts attention from the size of its leaves and the unusual appearance of its blossom.'* It flowers at Christmas in warm situations, and the fruit is gathered in April and May, so that wheat-harvest is the time of its ripening generally (see Gen. xxxiv. 14). The Revised Version retains the correct translation of *dudâim*, i.e. 'mandrakes,' in the text, and gives 'love-apples,' which is the meaning of the Hebrew word, in the margin.

The 'Rose of Sharon' has long been a disputed point. The Hebrew word *khavatsseleth* (חַבְצֵלֶת) occurs only in Cant. ii. 1 and Isa. xxxv. 1; the Revised Version reads 'rose' in the text and 'autumn-crocus' in the margin. We are of opinion that the narcissus (*N. Tazetta*) is intended. The scene of the Canticles is in the spring, when the nar-

* Nat. Hist. Bible, p. 468.

cissus would be in blossom; it is very sweet, has long been and still is a plant of which the Orientals are passionately fond; Hasselquist noticed it on the plain of Sharon; Tristram in cultivated land and lower hills from Gaza to Lebanon; Mr. H. Chichester Hart in the districts between Yebdna and Jaffa (Plain of Sharon). 'Some low-lying patches,' he says, 'were quite white with it.' The October Quarterly Statement (Palestine Exploration Fund), the receipt of which we acknowledge with our best thanks, contains a valuable paper by Mr. C. Hart, entitled 'A Naturalist's Journey to Sinai, Petra, and South Palestine made in the Autumn of 1883.' The autumn crocus has no perfume, and would not be in bloom till late in the year. The narcissus is a bulbous plant, which is apparently implied in part of its Hebrew name—i.e. לִבְשֵׁל, *betsel*, a 'bulb,' an 'onion.'

But quite a different plant has very recently appeared as the true claimant to the honour of being the 'Rose of Sharon;' an Assyrian plant-name is introduced to us by Dr. F. Delitzsch.* Among the names of different kinds of *kânû*, 'reed,' and of objects made of it, occurring on a tablet in the British Museum, and published in 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,'† mention is made of one called *khabatsillatu*, which in sound is identical with the Hebrew name in Canticles and Isaiah, so that Dr. F. Delitzsch without a moment's hesitation upsets all other floral aspirants with one decided blow, and reads 'reed of Sharon:' 'the desert shall rejoice and sprout like the reed.' On referring to the cuneiform inscriptions‡ the Assyrian *kha-ba-tsil-la-tu* is equated in the Accadian column with a word which means 'seed-making reed,' and with another Assyrian expression 'clothing of reeds,' which may denote some kind of clothing made of the papyrus or other similar reed. The papyrus is stated by Tristram to grow in swamps in the plain of Sharon. Professor Sayce found a perfect forest of it in a marsh, about a quarter of a mile in length, to the north of Khirbet Falâik, and just midway between Jaffa and Cæsarea, the old plain of Sharon; but the papyrus plant was known to the Hebrews by the name of *gôme*, rendered 'bulrush' and 'rush' in the Authorised Version, and correctly explained in the margin of the Revised Version as the 'papyrus,'

* The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian Research, p. 34.

† Vol. v. pl. 32, No. 4.

‡ Vol. v. *l.c.*

and it seems hardly likely that the papyrus should be also denoted by the *khabatseleth*, which, according to the old versions, the Targum and the Syriac, points to some bulbous plant, a narcissus or crocus. Still Dr. Delitzsch's 'reed' may be the plant in question; but, as we have said before, too great reliance ought not to be placed on similarity of sound. The absolute identification of the Hebrew word yet waits to be shown.

The 'shittim' wood and 'shittah' tree have disappeared, and we have the correct rendering of acacia wood and tree in the text of the Revised Version, the *Acacia Seyal* being the tree intended. The 'sycomore trees' of the Old Testament are still retained by the revisers. As the Hebrew word (שִׁקְמָה) certainly denotes the *Ficus sycomorus*, 'sycomore-fig' or 'fig-mulberry' would have been a better rendering than 'sycomore,' which to an ordinary reader would suggest the tree so called in this country, which is a maple and not a species of fig. The 'sycamine tree' of Luke xvii. 6 is without doubt the mulberry; both the white and black, *Morus alba* and *M. nigra*, are common in Palestine; it seems to us that it would have been better to substitute the rendering of 'mulberry,' which is definite and intelligible, whereas the anglicised Greek name conveys no information to the general reader. In Job xli. 2 we read of the crocodile ('leviathan'), in the text of the Revised Version, 'Canst thou put a rope into his nose?' The Hebrew word is a 'rush-rope,' which is explained in the margin. The idea perhaps is that of the impossibility of using so frail a thing as a rope of rushes in the capture of a crocodile. The lentils, which formed the red potage of Esau, are the seeds of the *Ervum lens*, L., which grows wild in Moab and is general, probably from cultivation, throughout the country. The Arabic name is identical with the Hebrew עֲרִשִׁים, incorrectly given by our author; it is the only error of print we have noticed in his excellent book. Among the *Leguminosæ* mention is made of the beautiful shrub the *Retama rætam*, translated erroneously 'juniper' in the Authorised Version, retained by the revisers in the text but correctly explained as 'broom' in the margin. This plant is the *rothem* (רֹתֵם) of 1 Kings xix. 4, 5, &c.; it grows on all the hills in desert rocky parts, especially about the Dead Sea, in Gilead and Moab. It is described as being one of the exquisitely beautiful plants of the country. 'The gauzy delicate pink and white hues of a whole hillside covered with shrub in blossom are unsurpassed even by the apple blossom of an English orchard.'

ART. III.—*Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689–1693), together with her Letters, and those of Kings James II. and William III. to the Electress Sophia of Hanover.* Edited by Dr. R. DOEBNER. Leipzig and London: 1886.

BISHOP BURNET, the faithful friend and trusted counsellor of Queen Mary, has recorded his conviction that ‘if ever the sacred remains of her pen are suffered to come abroad, then the world will see with what a searching understanding she penetrated into things.’ He wrote with knowledge as well as with the enthusiasm of personal devotion, but his prediction has been fulfilled rather in the spirit in which it was conceived than in the terms in which it was expressed. The written remains of the good Queen published since her death are of a nature to increase the admiration felt for her by her contemporaries, but because of the moral rather than of the intellectual qualities which they disclose. Three years ago, when an account was given in this Journal* of recent publications throwing new light on the period of the Revolution of 1688 and the fall of the House of Stuart, particular attention was directed to a very interesting series of documents almost entirely from Queen Mary’s hand. This collection, published at the Hague in 1880 by Countess Bentinck, comprised a fragment of memoirs by the Princess of Orange from the beginning to the end of the year 1688, together with a series of meditations by the Queen dating from 1690 and 1691, and a short succession of letters written by her at various times in the six years of her reign. Since the appearance of that notice, though Dr. Onno Klopp’s ‘History of the Fall of the House of Stuart’ has continued to drag its slow length along, and has now arrived at its eleventh volume, and though, both in this and in a few other works, noteworthy gleanings have been made from the Austrian and other archives, little of moment has been added to the memoir-literature of the reign of William and Mary. Quite suddenly, however, the archives at Hanover have within the last few months yielded up a treasure of a biographical value surpassing even that of Countess Bentinck’s collection. The newly discovered *Memoirs of Queen Mary* for the first time place her character in unmistakeably clear relief, and prove it to be one which,

* Edinburgh Review, vol. clv. No. cccxviii.

though it has suffered from excessive praise almost as much as from hasty blame, deserves to be called truly feminine, and in some respects, we do not scruple to say, heroic.

There seems to us no reason for doubting the genuineness of the autobiographical document now published by Dr. Doebner in company with an interesting series of original letters, chiefly from Queen Mary to the Duchess, afterwards Electress, Sophia. The manuscript purports to be a 'continuation of the necessary reflections on my life' in a series of annual chapters or sections covering the period from the beginning of 1689 to the close of 1693. It therefore carries on the Queen's summary narrative from the point at which its earliest portion came to an end in the fragment printed by Countess Bentinck. Mary appears to have formed the habit of writing down from time to time, independently of her brief autobiographical memoirs, such reflections upon her experiences and conduct as occurred to her in the hours which she dedicated to religious or devotional exercise. Of these meditations a few specimens were, as we have said, preserved among the Bentinck papers, but from a passage in the Memoirs now before us it appears that in 1691, at a time of great anxiety and discouragement, she burnt the bulk of them, fearing they might fall into hands she did not like. This passage all but completely tallies with the Queen's statement in one of the fragments published by Countess Bentinck, according to which the Queen was so frightened by rumours, that, though much regretting to separate herself from manuscripts which had often been of great utility to her, she burnt all her meditations. 'The journals,' she however there continues, 'I put in a bag and tyed by my side, resolving, if anything happened, to have them ready to burn.' With regard, then, to the journals or memoirs, her custom seems to have been to make her entries as occasion offered, and at the close of each year to put these materials into a connected shape. This explains the conciseness of the autobiographical annals which have now come to light, and of which the longest section, that for the year 1689, occupies not more than seventeen small pages of print. It also explains the absence, which is much to be regretted, of any memoranda concerning the year 1694, before the actual close of which the Queen died.

Although the evidence for the genuineness of these Memoirs is purely internal, it will not, we think, be disputed by anyone who has compared them with Countess

Bentinck's fragments, with the indisputably genuine letters of the Queen printed in both collections, and with her letters previously published by Dalrymple. Not only is the tone of the longer as well as the shorter piece of autobiography, both of which were manifestly composed for no eye but that of the authoress, perfectly simple and unaffected, but the two repeatedly illustrate each other, and are in their turn alike illustrated by the Queen's letters, in points of detail which it would be tedious to enumerate. Concerning the external history of the *Memoirs* now printed by Dr. Doebner, all that is known is that the manuscript formed part of the papers belonging to the so-called Hanoverian Chancery, which was removed from London to Hanover at the time of the termination of the personal union between Great Britain and Hanover in 1838.* These *Memoirs*, like the fragments previously published by Countess Bentinck, are certainly not in the Queen's own handwriting. At first sight, more especially as no memoirs of Queen Mary exist, either among the manuscripts in the British Museum or at the Hague, a difficulty might be found in the circumstance that the portion printed in 1880 is in French, while that now published is in English. Now, Countess Bentinck's MS. is headed '*Papiers de la Reine Marie, copiés des originaux écrits de sa main propre*,' which seems to exclude the notion of its being a translation. Curiously enough, two letters in French from King James II. included in the Countess's collection are entirely translations, probably from the English autographs now printed by Dr. Doebner; but this may be due to accident. The recently discovered *Memoirs* have no similar superscription, but appear to be a copy dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, and made, if Dr. Doebner's printing be exact, without very great care. He is himself inclined to solve the difficulty by supposing that Mary wrote in French while in Holland, and in English after her return to her native country. In this conjecture there is nothing improbable. Bishop Burnet in his '*Memorial*' describes her as having been almost equally familiar with three languages—of course, English, French,

* We may take this opportunity of expressing a hope that at some not distant day the public may benefit by a systematic examination of the archives of this office—sometimes called the German Chancery—to which the Electoral (afterwards Royal) Councillors at Hanover regularly forwarded their reports, and over which not a few remarkable statesmen, beginning with Bernstorff and Bothmar, presided.

and Dutch. After her return to England she may, however, have naturally preferred to write in English. In one of her letters to the Duchess Sophia, dated 1693, we find her for the first time writing in her native tongue to her correspondent, whom she informs that in this language she writes least ill, and a few months later, in another letter to Hanover, she remarks on her 'ill French,' which she declares she writes 'every day worse and worse.' For the rest, though Lord Macaulay illustrated the defects of feminine composition in Mary's day by an example taken from the Queen herself, neither is the style of these Memoirs more than ordinarily inaccurate, nor the spelling abnormally bad.*

Queen Mary—still, of course, free from the burden of regal dignity—had ended the year 1688, as she writes at the opening of these Memoirs, in 'good temper of mind.' In other words, she had religiously resigned herself to the performance of the task imposed upon her, as she devoutly believed, by a higher Power. Without being elated overmuch by the successful issue of her husband's expedition to England, or feeling such sadness as would, in her opinion, have become 'the daughter of a distressed king,' she restrained even her natural grief at the thought of leaving Holland, and resolved entirely to sacrifice her own will to what she regarded as the will of heaven. Yet it was a hard effort for her to prepare for quitting a country where, so she writes with inoffensive self-consciousness, she had enjoyed the esteem of the inhabitants, and had led a life both suitable to her humour and, as she thought, not unacceptable to her God. This exordium as it were strikes the keynote of the spirit in which the whole of these Memoirs are written. It is a spirit of deep and convinced piety, urged in the direction of rigid principles of conduct by the religious views and habits of life which she had acquired in her adopted country, and by the pietistic current which affected so much of the Protestantism of her age. Of late, as she observes, she had remained in

* In the event of a second edition of these Memoirs, the more or less patent verbal blunders in the text might with advantage be corrected, as there is nothing sacred in the carelessness of a copyist. We do not refer to such misspellings as *Leister* for *Leinster* and *St. Eldens* for *St. Helens*, for which the Queen may herself be responsible, but to errors such as *never* for *ever* (p. 11), *having* for *leaving* (p. 12), *beat* for *be at* (p. 17), *peoples* for *people* (p. 47)—the last a very comical slip.

strict retirement, and had 'led the life of a nun,' with public prayers four times a day. She speaks with great satisfaction of having, during her residence in the Netherlands, overcome the love of dancing, which had formerly been one of her 'prettiest pleasures in the world,' so that she had feared it might be a sin in her to love it too well. Soon afterwards, when she had ascended the English throne, one of the first reforms essayed by her towards 'making devotion looked on as it ought' was the abolition of the practice of 'singing the prayers in the Chapel' Royal at Whitehall. To accomplish this change, and to introduce afternoon sermons in the same place of worship, proved to be within her power; but she could not induce her subjects to 'mind the Sunday more.' It is well known that, though brought up under the same ecclesiastical teaching as her sister Anne, who 'laughed at afternoon sermons,' she had no inclination whatever towards the doctrines or practices of the High Church party. On the other hand, the early training of Bishop Compton had implanted in her, and her marriage with the Prince of Orange had confirmed, an abhorrence of the Church of Rome which nerved her for the choice which she was called upon to make in the critical season of her life. Rightly or wrongly, 'the good of the public' to which she was, according to her own phrase, willing to sacrifice both her personal inclinations and the misgivings of filial affection, signified to her the cause of the Protestant faith. With these views and sentiments her language on religious subjects, of which we do not propose here to quote any specimens, is in complete accordance. She was a diligent reader of the Bible, and in 1690 read through 'in Lent and one week more' the whole of the New Testament, besides several select chapters of the Old. In every striking incident or experience of her life, whether of a public or a private nature, she perceived a judgement, a punishment, or a warning; whether it were the raising of the siege of Limerick, or the death of her friend Lady Dorset, or the convulsion-fits of the infant Duke of Gloucester, or even the fall of new buildings at Kensington. It is clear that the language appropriate to such conceptions had become natural to her, though her modesty inclined her mainly to reserve it for her communings with herself; thus she asks pardon from a correspondent for 'preaching; but 'tho' it may look like it, 'tis only telling you my thoughts.' And in truth her religious feeling had depths which removed it far out of the region of sectarianism and partisanship,

and finds expression in meditations and prayers, at times breathing the spirit of the serenest piety. If ever a timid mind—‘I am,’ she writes, ‘naturally extream fearfull’—has in the carrying out of high resolves been sustained by a strong sense of duty, it was hers. If ever a generous and affectionate heart has, in sole reliance on help from above, taught itself the lesson of resignation, it was that of this sorely tried lady. She was successively deprived of the aid of nearly every affection which might have responded to her own. Her husband never requited her devotion with an undivided attachment, nor was it till after her death that his love for her revealed itself in a passionate outburst. Her childlessness was one of the great griefs of her life, though towards its close her regrets appear to have calmed down. ‘I am a very ill judge of this sort of affection,’ she writes in June 1693 to the Duchess Sophia, who was then bidding adieu to two of her sons on their way to the wars, ‘and can no more comprehend it than that love of a brothere, which I never had.’ From her sister, as we shall see, she was gradually estranged by no fault of her own, but by Anne’s obstinacy in following the counsels of the ambitious intriguers to whom she had surrendered her will. Of her father’s blessing she no doubt in a sense deprived herself. But these Memoirs should remove the last suspicion that she adopted her husband’s as against her father’s cause with a light heart, or with anything but a painful though irresistible sense of a public rather than a private duty. The struggle through which she passed when summoned to England by her husband to ‘come into her father’s place’ repeated itself in a different fashion when King William took his departure for Ireland. She was haunted by the ‘cruel thought’ that her husband and her father would fight in person against each other; ‘and, if either should have perished in the action, how terrible it must have been to me!’ So again, in 1692, when the expedition was threatening from La Hogue, ‘the fear that my father might fall by our arms, or either of them fall where tother was present, was to me the dreadfulest prospect in the world.’ No doubt later in the same year, as will be seen, her affection for her father at last received a shock from which it never seems to have recovered. But of its warmth before this time there can be no reasonable doubt; and it is touching to find Mary, in December 1690, thanking the Duchess Sophia for appreciating her sorrow over her father’s calamities. Nothing but a high sense of duty could

have enabled the Queen to bear up against so much solitary suffering. How incessant were the trials she was fated to undergo, and how among them not the least was the knowledge that her conduct was constantly misinterpreted, a brief recapitulation of the contents of the Memoirs before us may contribute to show.

The departure of the Princess of Orange from Holland in the beginning of the year 1689 was delayed, as that of the Prince in the previous October had been rendered futile, by contrary winds. For the first ten days of January she was occupied in entertaining at the Hague and at 'the house in 'the wood' hard by an interesting pair of guests, with whose ways of life and thought, however, she had little in common. The new Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg (afterwards King Frederick I. of Prussia), on whose co-operation, as that of the only German prince actually prepared for war, so much depended for William of Orange, had greatly perturbed him and the States-General by announcing his intention to leave the Dutch frontier for his Baltic provinces, whither he was now on his way.* William's remonstrances (which proved in some measure successful) were accordingly strengthened by a most enthusiastic reception given at the Hague to the Elector and his consort, and the Princess of Orange had to do double duty in the absence of her husband.

'I took so much care to be civil to the elector and divert the electress, that I gave my self no time for any thing else. The circumstances of time were such we could have no publick entertainments but onely treating them at my severall houses, which I did and played at cards out of complaisance so late at night, that it was ever neer two before I got to bed; yet I bless my God I did not neglect prayers in the morning, but went both to the French and English once in my own house, but I considerd to much the public and my private interest and took so much care of my guests, that I neglected going to church in the afternoon when they were there. . . . The 10th of January the elector and electrice went away; I left them at the house in the wood, where I had given them a breackfast. The electrice I found not only to have a good face but also to be very agreeable, and I believe she does not want wit, but she has been educated with so much neglect of Religion, that I fear she has very little; the elector is a strange man to look on, but they say he has many good qualities, which I could not judge of in so short a time. As soon as they were gone I bless my God I returnd to my old solitary way of living, and found my

* See William's letter to Frederick, cited in Droysen's '*Geschichte 'der preuss. Politik,'* iv. i. 40 *note*; and *ib.* p. 50 *note*, as to the reception at the Hague.

self very sensibly touched with a sense of my neglect during their stay.'

The celebrated couple, whom the Princess had thus, as in duty bound, made welcome to the charms and comforts of the Hague, would probably have had scant pity to spare for her regrets over wasted hours. In the character of the Elector Frederick III. vanity was the moving principle, perhaps because nature had been niggardly to his person. Even before his quite recent accession to the electoral dignity, he had given proofs of his ruling passion, though nothing could as yet be known of his 'grand design' of securing a royal crown, which his pertinacity ultimately enabled him to carry out in his own way. We may readily believe that he remained a 'problematic' character to his kindly hostess, for he was a potentate whose vices were in part the pretences of ostentation; while, notwithstanding many generous impulses, he was unable to rise to the height of an enduring virtuous affection. He behaved ignobly, though it was not without provocation, to his father, the Great Elector; and if Lord Strafford (then Lord Raby) is to be trusted,* he mourned the premature death of his charming queen Sophia Charlotte with an extraordinary profusion of black cloth and crape, but with very little real grief. She, too, though one of the most attractive princesses of her day, could hardly be very sympathetic to her kinswoman the Princess of Orange. Indeed, a suggestive contrast might be drawn between the tendencies of thought and sentiment represented by Mary and those of which Sophia Charlotte, like her mother the Electress Sophia, and like their connexion by marriage Caroline of Anspach, was a brilliant type. But though all these princesses affected the conversation of wits and philosophers, and encouraged a freedom of tone which must have shocked Mary's scrupulous and decorous nature, they had, all of them, warm hearts, and loyally clung to whatever friendships they formed. In the case of the Electress Sophia this is illustrated by the correspondence printed by Dr. Doebner; and as to Sophia Charlotte, though her witty tongue may occasionally have given pain, yet the *châtelaine* of Lützenburg was beloved as well as admired for the beneficent activity of her life; she was a faithful and, an occasional slip in etiquette apart, a most valuable helpmate to her exacting consort, and she died not unworthily of the reasonable religion she had pro-

* See Wentworth Papers, pp. 14, 15.

fessed and of the great thinker (Leibnitz) who, as she said on her death-bed, had still left her some riddles to solve.*

On the departure of these guests the Princess had to await her husband's summons to England in what seemed to her utter isolation. Even Dykvelt, invaluable both for his knowledge of English affairs and for his fidelity to the House of Orange, had been sent to England by the States-General. She had no fears for herself, but many for her husband, whom she had been told an apothecary in France meant to poison. Of this design, which seems to be distinct from the conspiracy against the Prince's life discovered in May 1688 and noticed in the journal for that year, we cannot recall any mention elsewhere. She took comfort when she 'chanced to look'† on the ninety-first Psalm, which has cheered many an anxious heart besides hers. And soon the expected summons came, and after a further delay, caused by contrary winds, she set sail for England, where she arrived after a voyage which had begun with 'a sea like a looking-glass,' and ended with a three days' storm at the mouth of the Thames. She was forced to land at Margate (which, by the way, the editor of these 'Memoirs' rather oddly describes as 'an island to the north of 'Dover'), 'or where they could,' and reached Whitehall in safety before five o'clock on Tuesday, February ¹²/₂₂. She describes very naturally the conflict of feelings which her situation called forth in her, and the agitation of the Prince as well as herself at their first meeting.

'The next day after I came, we were proclaimed, and the government put wholly in the princes hand. This pleased me extreamly, but many would not believe it, so that I was fain to force my self to more mirth then became me at that time, and was by many interpreted as ill nature, pride, and the great delight I had to be a queen. But alas, they did little know me, who thought me guilty of that; I had been only for a regency, and wisht for nothing else; I had never [*query*, ever?] dreaded being queen, liking my condition much better (and indeed I was not deceived); but the good of the public was to be preferred, and I protest, God knows my heart, that what I say is true, that I have had more trouble to bring my self to bear this so envied estate then I should have had to have been reduced to the lowest condition

* See Varnhagen von Ense's monograph on Queen Sophia Charlotte of Prussia in his 'Biographische Denkmale,' vol. iv. Lützenburg was rechristened Charlottenburg in her honour.

† Very possibly she had had recourse to the *sortes biblicæ* so much in vogue in this age. The German pietists called this chance searching of Scripture *Däumelung*.

in the world. My heart is not made for a kingdom, and my inclination leads me to a retired quiet life, so that I have need of all the resignation and self denial in the world, to bear with such a condition as I am now in. Indeed the princes being King has lessend the pain, but not the trouble of what I am like to endure.'

Obviously the Queen here refers to the harsh interpretation put upon her behaviour immediately after her arrival at Whitehall—a passage in her life which has been on the whole unfairly judged. The odious picture drawn by the Duchess of Marlborough is well known, which already Lord Dartmouth perceived to be ridiculously exaggerated. Even Burnet, however, in this instance reflects on Mary's lightness of manner as unbecoming, though he adds that, as she afterwards herself informed him, she was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her. In a striking paragraph of the earliest portion of the *Memoirs*, cited in the article in this *Journal* already referred to, she was found lamenting her hard fate of having to pretend a gaiety which she could not feel, and which she lacked the skill very successfully to simulate. In the pages now before us she repeatedly complains of the still more cruel trial of finding herself charged with a levity of which in her heart she knew she was innocent. Thus it seems clear that the misinterpretation to which she was subjected was due, not to her want of tact on a particular occasion, but to the natural malevolence of a Court and society to which she was almost as much a stranger as was her husband himself. The world ('by which,' as she, with a rare touch of sarcasm, observes, 'one generally does not mean the best people') found it difficult to quarrel with a Queen at once so kindly and so unpretentious in manner,* and therefore blamed her, or affected to blame her, for an inconsistency forced upon her both by her sense of duty and by the necessities of her new position. She was considered too fond of the frivolous gaieties from which in truth she shrank, and too careless of the observances which were so much to her.

'The world who cannot see the heart . . . began to take notice of the change that was in my life, and comparing my way of living in Holland to that here, were much scandalized to see me grown so remiss.'

* Burnet remarks on her vivacity and cheerfulness, which, however, failed to secure her the respectful attention that was her due 'when it appeared that she meddled not in business, so that few found their account in making their court to her.'

It is to her credit that she pursued her course regardless of the comments it provoked from dulness or malevolence, even affecting a cheerfulness which she could not feel. Her heart was far away from the Court gaieties over which she was obliged to preside; thus on the King's birthday in 1689, though a ball was given at her desire, she tells us:—

‘I really thought it no proper time, when war was round about, and my father himself engaged against us. . . . Yet such is the depravation of this age and place where I live, none seems to think of such things, and so ill custom prevailing, there was a ball, but by my writings may be seen, how I endeavoured to spend that day as also the next, which was Gunpowder Treason, God be praised for it.’

Yet she could, when need was, present an unflinching countenance to the idle curiosity of the courtiers; and she relates how, when early in 1691 the King was at the Hague and not expected to expose himself to the dangers of war, she thought it her duty to visit the theatre once or twice, to play every night at comet or basset, and to have dancing on her sister's birthday.

It was not the least serious of Queen Mary's trials that this sister, with whom she had hitherto been on terms so affectionate, and whose conduct during the crisis of their father's fortunes had so well accorded with her own, should so soon after the beginning of the new reign have resolved to pursue the tortuous path marked out for her by her confidential advisers. On arriving in England Mary had been ‘really extream glad to see’ Anne; and when a few months later the child (afterwards called Duke of Gloucester) was born, upon whose puny life so many hopes were based, she looked on her sister's happiness as a particular providence of God, and anxiously awaited the infant's recovery from the early perils of its fragile life. But towards the end of 1689 the Princess of Denmark, instigated by the greed of the Marlboroughs, renewed her attempts to procure the settlement of a revenue upon herself. The King and Queen were then at Holland House, which had been lent to them by the family of Rich when the King had found Whitehall disagree with his health; and the Queen was assiduously superintending the changes in progress to convert Kensington House into Kensington Palace, where she hoped to find more leisure for religious study and meditation. The Court actually moved thither on December 23. Lord Macaulay's gloss on the Duchess of Malborough's account of Anne's conduct in the matter of her revenue is fairly borne out by these Memoirs. They make it clear that Anne was induced

to persist by Lady Marlborough, who 'was like a mad woman,' and that the reproof administered by the Queen to the Princess finally put the latter out of humour with her sister, whom she refrained from visiting in her new abode. But the King thought it an ungenerous thing to fall out with a woman, and therefore went to her (Anne) and told her so; upon which she said he should find by her behaviour she would never give him cause. But, whether or not it was that King William rarely contrived to perform even a gracious act in a gracious way, neither upon this did Princess Anne 'say anything' to the Queen. In 1690 the coldness between the sisters continued, more especially as they differed in their ecclesiastical views; but at last by the advice of her uncle Rochester, the Speaker (the unlucky Sir John Trevor), and Lady Marlborough, who saw no other way to carry her point, the Princess begged the King and Queen's pardon, and thus gained what she wanted, or what she was instructed to want. But this reconciliation was only temporary.* In the following year (1691) when the King was in Holland, and the Queen, as we shall see, was in constant apprehension of a catastrophe at home, Anne's name was implicated by rumour in the plots against the stability of the throne; and it became manifest that her husband, the unfortunate Prince George of Denmark, was to be thrust forward to increase the difficulties of the situation. In passing, we feel bound to express an opinion that this Prince really showed more spirit than it has been usual to allow him credit for, whenever his inglorious career offered him the shadow of an opportunity.

'This was very grievous to me to think my sister should be concerned in such things; yet t' was plain there was a design of growing popular by the princes resolution of going to sea without asking leave, only telling the King he intended it, which I had order to hinder, and when perswasions would not do, was obliged to send word by Lord Nottingham he should not, which was desired by them as much as avoided by me, that they might have a pretence to raile, and so in discontent go to Tunbridge.'

The crisis, however, in the relations between the sisters declared itself in 1692, when Lord Marlborough was 'put out,' and when the Princess Anne, rather than part with dear Mrs. Freeman, retired to Sion House. Whatever may

* It appears from a passage in a letter of the Queen's to Mdle. d'Obdam (in Countess Bentinck's collection, p. 123) that during Anne's last confinement (August, 1690) the Queen kept her company. The child was christened Mary.

be thought of Mary's subsequent conduct to Anne, and whether or not it be correct to assert that the Queen died in peace with her sister, her reflections on the occasion of the breach between them bespeak a depth of feeling of which Anne was altogether incapable. On retiring to Sion House, writes Queen Mary, the Princess Anne

'shewed great passion and kindness for Lady Marlborough, and so much indifference and coldness to me, that it really went to my heart. But when I saw no kindness could work upon her, but afterwards when she had had time to consider, and that I did what I could towards a reconciliation without effect, it made me change quite and grow (at least endeavour to grow) as indifferent as she. But in all this I see the hand of God, and look on our disagreeing as a punishment upon us for the irregularity by us committed upon the revolution. My husband did his duty and the nation did theirs, and we were to suffer it, and rejoice that it pleased God to do what he did. But as to our persons it is not as it ought to be, tho' it was unavoidable, and no doubt that it is a just judgment of God, but I trust the Church and nation shall not suffer, but that we in our private concerns and persons may bear the punishment as in this we do.'

It may be worth adding that, in two passages in the letters written by Queen Mary about this time to the Duchess Sophia, she speaks with a manifestly genuine regret of the breach between herself and her sister.

Thus, amidst troubles and trials not a few, the first year of the reign came to a close, and Queen Mary concludes her review of it with a humble confession of her shortcomings which could hardly, had it become known to them, have failed to touch even those by whom she was so pertinaciously misunderstood. As to the mere worldly experiences of the year, she avows them to have been unpleasant enough, modestly adding that as it is not her inclination to meddle in business, so she thinks the most prudent thing she can do is to let it alone. Unfortunately for her daily peace of mind, but not for her fame as a sovereign, the remaining years of her life were to inflict on her much of that business for which in her self-depreciation she thought herself unfit. Obeying as usual the plain call of duty, and acquitting herself as those who never disregard such a call are wont to acquit themselves, she continued to the last to assert her incompetence. It was not, she wrote to the Duchess Sophia, by her politics that she would find a place in history; and it seems to have been a private opinion of hers that women should not meddle in such matters at all. She thought her sex incapable of bearing the 'violent passions, fears, joys,

‘and troubles’ which crowd upon one another in the changeful course of public affairs; ‘a woman,’ she writes, ‘is but a very uselesse and helplesse creature at all times, especially in times of war and difficulty.’ And now, at a most critical epoch in the career of her husband as well as in the history of her people, to whose love and honour she acknowledges ‘an old English inclination,’ she was to be left without the aid of ‘a man’s head and hands.’ The year 1690 began, she relates, with fears of the King’s going to Ireland, whither, however, he did not actually set out till June. But the question as to the nature of the authority which was to control affairs during his absence had to be settled without further ado. With a considerateness not always characteristic of his dealings with his wife, King William left it to her choice whether in his absence all things should be done in her name, or whether the executive should be virtually left to the Privy Council, with orders to acquaint her of everything. She replied that the effect of either alternative would be the same, inasmuch as she was wholly a stranger to business, and the real responsibility must therefore in any case lie with the Privy Council. She adds, in a passage too long to extract, that since her marriage she had never been accustomed to trouble her husband about business, being well aware that he preferred the relief of discourse with her on other topics, and resting assured that God gives wisdom where it is necessary. Thus, should she ever have to act for herself, she would not be left without guidance.

The arrangement made by King William in 1690 was doubtless the best possible under the circumstances. As is well known, he named a committee or cabinet-council, afterwards known as the Council of Nine, to assist the Queen in the administration of affairs during his absence, thus in reality taking one step further towards the establishment of a system of government which in its later developments would have been extremely repugnant to him. The list of names, according to these Memoirs, first chosen by William, differed to some extent from that which he ultimately drew up in June, and which is the same as that taken by Lord Macaulay from a paper by Sir John Lowther.* The earlier

* We notice that the editor of these Memoirs makes a slip in stating the ‘Lord Stuart’ (i.e. the Lord Steward of the Household) of the text to have been the Earl of Dorset, and the Lord Chamberlain to have been the Earl of Devonshire. The names of the occupants of the two offices should have been reversed.

list did not, like the later, include the dread name (for such it must have been to Queen Mary) of Marlborough, or the name of Monmouth; in the later list Shrewsbury's is wanting, which the Queen must have welcomed in the earlier. We are not, indeed, aware of any evidence beyond that of the more than dubious tittle-tattle of 'Jack Howe,'* which would warrant belief in the story of the Queen's partiality for the Duke of Shrewsbury, the irresistible 'king of hearts.' But she writes in these Memoirs that he had been named to her by the king as one whom she might entirely trust. Unhappily, from a strange mixture of motives among which it now appears was offended pride, Shrewsbury had resigned his Secretaryship of State in the course of the spring, and, unknown to William and Mary, was already intriguing with St. Germain. Of the actual members of the Cabinet Council the Queen records her impressions with an incisiveness showing that, with every wish to follow the King's recommendations, she was capable of exercising that most undeniable of woman's rights, the right of indulging in an opinion of her own. Thus of Caermarthen (Danby) she observes that he was the person who had been particularly recommended to her by the King, and one to whom she 'must ever own great obligations, yet 'of a temper she could never like.' Obligations are not always the surest guarantee of goodwill on the part of the obliged; and though the conclusion of Mary's marriage with William had been largely Danby's work, even this remembrance could not make palatable the 'matchless impudence' which a professed admirer like Dryden noted in one of the most irrepressible of English statesmen. Devonshire, whose services to the cause of the Revolution had, as William's gratitude acknowledged, been equally courageous and consistent, the Queen found 'weak and obstinate, made a meer 'tool by party.' Dorset, the 'best good man' of Rochester's satire, Queen Mary, who was not likely to condone his shortcomings because of his *esprit*, considered 'too lazy 'to give himself the trouble of business.' Pembroke she thought 'as mad as most of his family, tho' very good 'naturd, and a man of honour, but not very steady as 'I found in the bussiness of Lord Torrington.' It does

* He is Lord Dartmouth's authority in the note to Burnet, vol. v. p. 453. Howe was dismissed from the Vice-Chamberlainship in 1692, and, according to a rumour mentioned by Lord Macaulay, fancied that the Queen was in love with himself.

not, however, appear from the Queen's own account of the discussions in the Council concerning the conduct to be pursued towards Torrington before the shameful battle off Beachy Head, and again just after that disaster, what grounds there were for the above charge against Pembroke. On the Queen's own showing, there seems to have been no want of readiness in him, and she selected him together with Devonshire to go down to the fleet after the defeat.* As for the 'madness' of Lord Pembroke, his devotion to 'mad mathesis' can alone explain the phrase; Burnet mentions his mathematical learning which 'made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his notions.' Monmouth, too, whose oddity lay in a different direction, though he for a time held high financial office, the Queen describes as 'mad, and his wife who is mader, governs him.' Of Nottingham she says that he was universally distrusted, though the King believed him an honest man. She seems to have personally felt no want of confidence in him, and when three years later she records that the King was forced to part with this minister, her sympathy seems to lie rather with the isolated High Churchman who constituted a Third Party of his own, than with the more eager Whigs to please whom he was induced to retire. On the other hand, she declares that she will say nothing of Marlborough, 'because 'tis he I could say the most of, and can never either trust or esteem.' Her list concludes with Sir John Lowther, 'a very honest but weak man, yet,' such are the necessities of party, 'chief of the treasury,' and Edward Russell (afterwards Earl of Orford), who 'was most recommended to me for sincerity, yet,' she adds, and Queen Anne in after days would have thought her sister's expression tolerably mild, 'he had his faults.'

With these advisers, whom, according to her husband's explicit instructions, she was to 'follow in all things,' Queen Mary in June 1690 entered upon her first period of administration. Already in the spring before the King's departure for Ireland she had been a prey to the gloomiest apprehensions, and, when afflicted by a sore throat and believing herself in danger, had been so well satisfied with the prospect of death that, as she says, 'I was really rather glad than sorry.' With her illness her contentment had increased, though she kept her thoughts to herself; and on recovering

* See her letter to the King of July 13, 1690, reprinted from Dalrymple in the appendix to Burnet's 'Memorial' (ed. 1842).

she had felt unable to rejoice, 'neither could I so heartily 'thanck God as I ought to have done.' And now, when her husband had started on what was to be 'the terriblest 'journey' ever undertaken by him, she found herself face to face with responsibilities which might well have weighed down even a more self-reliant nature. The treasury was empty; the troops in the country numbered only a few thousands; and the fleet which was to defend its shores against the French armada was under the command of an indolent and conceited man of pleasure. In these straits she showed, after her fashion, a constancy as heroic as that of Queen Katherine in the days of danger before Flodden Field.

'I should have been apt to mistrust my self, and often did fear it was stupidity, not courage, want of knowing my danger, and not constancy of mind, which made me thus, but that I never wanted those who put me perpetually in fear, Lord President himself once asking me the question the King had put to me before he went, what I would do in case of any rising or disturbance in the City, which they both thought likely to happen, I gave them both the same answer, which was that I could not tell how much frightned I might be, but I would promise not to be governd by my own or others fears, but follow the advise of those I believed had most courage and judgment. And indeed that was my private resolution, and was resolved in my self, let what would happen, I would never go from White Hall. I had prepard my self for the worst and, when the King went, believed it was likely we should never meet more, but thought as there were many ill poeple, so it might be that God for ovr sins might deliver me into their hands. I knew there was nothing for me to trust to humanly speacking, when the King was gone. And certainly, if any rising had happend upon the apeering of the French fleet, or had they landed after owrs was beaten, I had been in a very bad condition. I knew all this, and as I am by nature timorous, so I feard the worst; but I knew also that God was above all. . . .'

Thus, she was not altogether cast down either by the bad news of Waldeck's defeat at Fleurus, or by the worse news of the disgraceful calamity off Beachy Head; and soon her firmness was rewarded by the glorious tidings of the King's victory at the Boyne. After this the Irish campaign for a time progressed successfully, though it ended by William finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Limerick. On September 10 he was once more with the Queen at Hampton Court.

It may be questioned whether any part of her married life brought truer happiness to Mary than the few remaining months of the year 1690. Not only had a heavy load been

taken from her mind by the great Irish victory and her father's consequent return to France, but though 'many accidents had happened' in King William's absence, things had remained quiet in England, and she had herself, as she modestly puts it, been 'kept from committing any great fault.' The King had returned in perfect health, which 'was so great a joy to me that I want words to express it;' and he was not only satisfied but very much pleased with her conduct of affairs. Of this he gave the clearest proof by talking more freely to her on political matters than had formerly been his wont. But her dislike of business had not been diminished by her experience of it. She now let it go without the slightest reluctance, being unable, as she confesses, to enter into the popular notion that when persons have once become used to business they cannot give it over. Her fear was rather that she might be supposed to hanker after it, and this made her afraid ever to open her lips to the leading members of the Council. And yet, though the year had ended so much more hopefully for her than it had begun, she was full of forebodings, and the very 'heavenly mindedness and entire resignation' vouchsafed to her seemed to point to some imminent trial. Twice before in her life, she writes, she had felt in the same condition of mind—once when her father King James and his agents were about to seek to undermine her Protestant faith, and again on the eve of her husband's expedition to England.

Hardly had King William, early in 1691, started for Holland, there to attend the conference of the Powers allied against France, than her fears took a more definite shape. Her husband, indeed, returned in safety to England, where he spent the latter half of April, but before his return he had been obliged to witness the capitulation of Mons, for the relief of which he had in vain made the most strenuous efforts. 'Such a mortification,' the Queen piously reflects, 'was necessary to humble us all.' The popular enthusiasm with which her husband had been received at the Hague, and the number of potentates assembled there to meet him, had 'raised her vanity,' and made her overlook the unsatisfactory condition of things nearer home. Here she saw all those whom she had been instructed to trust 'together by the ears, and a general peevishness and sylleness in them all except Lord Sydney.' Unfortunately Henry Sidney, whom the King had put in Shrewsbury's place as Secretary of State, though an excessively pleasant companion and an accomplished man of letters, carried little political weight.

The King's brief visit brought less relief to the Queen than she had looked for. While she was annoyed by a crowd of ladies who thought that, now, being relieved of her administrative duties, she could have nothing to do but to listen to their chat, others who had begun to understand that her influence now went for something came 'to speak to me, to 'speak to the King;' but she concerned herself in no public business except the filling of the vacant sees, which, she says, the King made it a point of conscience to do well.

These Memoirs confirm Burnet's statement as to the conscientious anxiety of Queen Mary about Church preferments, and episcopal appointments in especial. In the present instance the task was one of peculiar delicacy, for the vacancies to which Tillotson and four other divines were appointed had been created by the deprivation of nonjuring prelates. Burnet's assertion that Mary never allowed personal considerations to bias her in influencing Church appointments is borne out by the fact that she on this occasion allowed her old tutor Bishop Compton to be for the second time passed over for the primacy. So bitterly was he vexed by this neglect, that, as these Memoirs inform us, a rumour was rife of his being ready, in company with 'all our High Churchmen,' to join with the nonjurors in forming a malcontent party in the Church.*

The condition of the Church was but one of the causes of anxiety which depressed Queen Mary after the King's renewed departure to the continent at the beginning of May, 1691, and which, as already noticed, troubled her so deeply as to cause her to burn most of her meditations. The subjection

* While on this subject we may cite in a note another passage from these Memoirs, referring, as it would seem, to the revenues of the sees which had been left vacant, and of which, thanks to Queen Mary's intervention, a part was now paid to the deprived prelates:—

'Another thing I did at this time was to propose to the King that of the B[isho]p's revenues he should let them have 2 gn. and himself 3, for there were 5 now dew. This he consented to, as likewise the ways I with the Archb[isho]p found out for laying it out in charitable uses, that none of it might be made another use of.'

Yet Tillotson, though not named Archbishop till April 1691, is said to have received the revenues of the see of Canterbury from Michaelmas 1690, and there appears to be no trace of the King having ever availed himself towards any of the prelates of the power given to him in the Act of April 24, 1689, of reserving to any twelve clerical nonjurors after deprivation any sum not exceeding one-third of their benefices. (See D'Oyly's 'Life of Sancroft,' pp. 273 and 274 note.)

of Ireland was indeed in this year completed ; but the King's campaign in Flanders, notwithstanding all the preparations that had been made for it, led to little or no result. At home the intrigues of the Princess Anne's followers—or leaders—were very active, and Marlborough, the foremost of them, was in the midst of the Flemish campaign, carrying on secret dealings with the Pretender. Rumours of treason were rising on every side. At the same time Queen Mary's tender and compassionate nature was troubled by the pressing question as to how she should deal with two convicted prisoners, viz. Lord Preston, who had been arrested for conspiracy on the last night of the year 1690, and Crone, who had been captured after effecting the delivery in London of letters from Mary of Modena, in the previous month of March. The Queen had before this reluctantly sanctioned the execution of Ashton, Preston's fellow-conspirator ; and she had likewise been much shaken by a distracted appeal from a poor woman whose son had been condemned to death for murder. She was therefore gladdened by being allowed in the present instances to use the prerogative of mercy. Lastly, private sorrows and annoyances came about this time to fill her cup. She was much grieved by the death of the Countess of Dorset, one of the ladies of her bedchamber, and a niece of her old tutor, the Bishop of London, and there were bitter thoughts mixed with her mourning.

‘Her death was the more sensible to me because I lookt on it as a punishment for my sins ; for I must confess and set it down here, that it may keep me from the like again. I own then to my shame that there was one among my Ladies who had been sick, and whom I not only could have spared, but came to near wishing she might make room for Lady Nottingham of whom I had heard so much good and liked so well that I thought my set could not be more mended then by the change. But it pleased God to make room for her another way, by removing Lady Dorset who was really grown very dear to me, and consequently the loss of her very sensible.’

We fear there can be no difficulty in interpreting the painful allusion in this passage. It is well known how the happy relations between the Prince and Princess of Orange, which had been restored or established by the exertions of Burnet, were disturbed by a moral weakness which William shared with the great majority of the princes of his age.* His

* Already, before Burnet's arrival at the Hague, there had been rumours of the Prince's misconduct, which diplomatic gossip had done its utmost to send home fresh to England. (See the particulars as to

acknowledged mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards Countess of Orkney, was already, at the time of the Prince's expedition to England, a lady of honour to the Princess, to whom her mother had been governess. Whatever may have been her deficiency in external attractions, she, whom Swift called 'the wisest woman he ever knew,' was a person of wit and address, and made herself of use to the King in conducting personal negotiations such as required a delicate hand. The letters in the Shrewsbury Correspondence* which illustrate this fact also show that the intimacy between the King and Elizabeth Villiers continued in the year before the Queen's death. The anecdote is well known as to the request which Queen Mary left behind her concerning her husband's mistress; and in 1695 the latter married the gallant officer who was soon afterwards raised to the earldom of Orkney.

But this, like her other griefs, Queen Mary had taught herself to bear with resignation, and she hastens to cover her reference to it in her *Memoirs* by a grateful record of the kindness shown to her by her husband on his return to England in October, 1691, noting how much more of his company he gave to her after coming home this time than she had formerly been allowed to enjoy. She felt again happy and at ease, as she once more found time for her religious exercises and the study of Scripture, now interspersed with attentive readings in English history. A fire at Kensington, following within a few months upon another at Whitehall, she regarded as a warning against too much trust in worldly contentments; and the end of the year found her full of a spirit of submissive trustfulness which was to be her best help in the troubles still in store for her. We have already seen how deeply she was moved by her disagreement with her sister, which came to a head with the disgrace of Marlborough in January, 1692. She could not know that at this very time Anne was inditing

Skelton's reports from the Hague in the Clarendon Correspondence, vol. i.) The Prince seems then to have concentrated his infidelities.

* They are less amusing than those written by the Countess of Orkney in her old age and preserved among the Suffolk Letters; but it is curious that they should be written in an English which is at times rather odd or foreign. Probably the conversation of Elizabeth Villiers, who had spent her later girlhood and early womanhood in Holland, where her sister married William's faithful friend Bentinck, was not the less palatable to the King because of the Dutch which lurked in, and animated, her English. It is a curious coincidence that Charles II. should have made the acquaintance of her first cousin, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, in the Low Countries.

a 'most penitential and dutyfull' letter to their father, then still at St. Germain's.* Before King William took his departure for Holland in March, in a state of health which caused the Queen the gravest anxiety, he had made certain ministerial changes, and had sought to gratify the Tories by admitting Rochester and Sir Edward Seymour to the Privy Council. The admission of the latter was distasteful to the Queen. On the other hand, her satisfaction at Rochester's being sworn of the Council may, as Macaulay suggests, have been due to his having taken her side in her dispute with her sister; Burnet, according to his wont, attributes to himself 'in some sort' the restoration of Rochester to his niece's favour, and expresses regret for his mistake in hoping that good might come of the attempt to conciliate him. The Queen's simple expression of pleasure at the favour shown to her uncle raises a doubt whether she required much persuasion to make friends with him, although on her arrival in England she had thought it her duty to treat him coldly.† Family feeling was strong in the Stuarts, and Mary had a tender heart. No essential change, however, took place in the composition of the ministry with which the Queen had once more to undertake the task of government during the King's absence from the beginning of March to the end of October. Already about the first week in April she fell ill, and though she solemnly declares her greatest trouble to have been that for the first time in twelve years she had missed going to church on the Lord's day, it is clear that she felt her life to be in no slight danger. She says that, though resigned, she felt unwilling to die, adding with characteristic simplicity that she flattered herself this unwillingness proceeded only from her concern for worldly matters, i.e. from a fear that some of her debts should remain unpaid, and that the breach would be left open between her husband and her sister. But, before she had thoroughly recovered from this illness, there came the all but crushing news of the projected French invasion, and the 'disclosures,' the authenticity of which unhappily seemed only too probable, of 'Young's plot.' The Queen, who says that she was likewise told of dreadful designs against herself, owns that she was filled with the gravest apprehensions, and thought it her duty to prepare for the worst. 'So, having no children to be in pain for, I 'committed myself to God, and waited, not without patience,

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.' vol. ii. p. 476.

† See the Correspondence of Clarendon and Rochester.

‘for the end.’ King William, who never showed himself more fully equal to his great destiny than at this crisis, sent Lord Portland to assure the Queen that, in case of any actual landing being effected by the French expedition, he would come in person to protect their throne. But to the Queen even this assurance bore a terrible anxiety with it; for her father, King James, was waiting with the French armada at La Hogue, and thus the dreaded hostile meeting between him and her husband might, after all, take place. She neither could perceive how, ‘humanly speaking,’ this meeting could be prevented, nor look forward with confidence to her successfully preserving the safety of the realm entrusted to her charge. At the same time she learned that the King of France had proceeded to the siege of Namur, which King William had gone to raise. In this twofold suspense, with the life of her husband in immediate danger, and the fate of her country depending on the event of a single battle, she awaited her doom. ‘I never,’ so she ends a graphic description of her fears, ‘was in that condition in my life.’

But her release was at hand. She notices that on the 19th of May, the day on which the fighting at La Hogue began, she was ‘more than ordinarily devout’ in her prayers and meditations. Two days afterwards a victory was announced, and after a few days more had passed, and the news had come of the subsequent destruction of the French fleet, all doubts were removed as to the magnitude and completeness of the success. Yet even now she was too true a woman, and too true a wife, to be able to surrender herself entirely to the satisfaction inspired by the glorious tidings. She could hardly bear the suddenness of the revulsion, and still feared for her husband’s personal safety. She records with a remorsefulness which it would hardly be right to call morbid, and with a sincerity which does her infinite credit, that the reason why she, with the assent of several of the bishops, delayed the public thanksgiving for the victory till it was too late, was her expectation that the sea-fight of the Hogue would be followed immediately by a land-battle in Flanders, and that in this King William would in his turn cover himself with glory. Thus it came to pass that in England alone, which had most benefited by the victory, no solemn thanks were returned to the Giver of it. It seemed to her, in her simple pietistic way of reasoning, as if a swift retribution had followed on this national neglectfulness. While critics, competent or incompetent, were still wrangling over the mistakes by avoiding which the blow struck against

France might have been made more decisive, the tide of success began to turn. Early in August King William was defeated at Steenkirk. About the same time the grand naval enterprise, which was to have crowned the advantage gained at La Hogue by the capture of an important French port, ended in the return of the expedition, after making 'us ridiculous to all the world by our great preparations to 'no purpose.' Finally, the Queen, whose health was very weak (she regretfully mentions her having a short time before spent 'nineteen days of folly' in drinking spa waters at Kensington), was terribly shocked by the report of Grandval's confession at the court-martial which had sentenced to death this would-be assassin of her husband. She seems to have seen no reason for disbelieving the prisoner's account of his interview with her father at St. Germain's; nor, more especially in view of the conduct of James II. with reference to the assassination plot of 1696, is it possible to find any intrinsic improbability in Grandval's statement that James had assented to his murderous proposal. To Queen Mary the catastrophe in her relations with her father seemed to have come at last:—

'The 10th of August I received Grandval's tryall, in which I saw that which must afflict me while I live, that he who I dare no more name father was consenting to the barbarous murder of my husband. T' is impossible for me to express what I then felt. I was ashamed to loock any body in the face. I fancied I should be pointed out as the daughter of one who was capable of such things, and the people would believe I might by nature have as ill inclinations. I lamented his sin and his shame; I feard it might lessen my husband's kindness to me. It made such impressions upon me that I was uncapable of comfort. As for the printing of the tryal, I could not tell what I should do. The Lords all thought it necessary. I saw it was so, I knew it would be printed beyond sea, but I thought it was a hard thing on one hand for me to publish my own shame, and it might loock as ill on the other to conceal the mercys of God in saving my husband. So I kept the paper by me till the French one came over printed, of which blame was laid upon Ld. Nottingham, who was not in fault; and I had the trouble of seeing it come out, and the fears of displeasing my husband. But he was so kind as not to take it ill of me or not to love me less for that my great and endless misfortune.'

Two months later King William, in the teeth of a severe storm and of the Dunkirk privateers, returned in safety to England. The prospects at home and abroad were still dark enough to excite melancholy thoughts in the Queen, who had as usual resigned the entire conduct of business into her husband's hands. There was much distress in England, and

together with it, as Burnet relates, 'great corruption' and open immorality, so that the King approved the orders given by the Queen in his absence to carry out rigorously the laws against drunkenness, swearing, and Sunday desecration; while to herself the breach with her sister and the discovery of her father's connivance in the design against her husband's life seemed 'two very great blows.' Thus in her *Memoirs* she ends her summary of this year, 1692, with very solemn thoughts, and in the prayer with which the record concludes she once more entreats the forgiveness of Heaven, most especially for 'the neglect of publick praise so 'justly dew,' when a broad ray of success had shone across her and the country's doubts and fears.

No such signal encouragement was granted to her during the last year which she lived to summarise her experiences in these *Memoirs*. On this occasion, as she confesses, she hardly dared to commit her reflections to paper, 'for 'tis the year I 'have met with more troubles as to publick matters than 'any other.' In 1693, when King William quitted England for the campaign towards the end of March, the condition in which he left affairs and parties behind him was the reverse of promising. Factionousness was still on the increase, and he had been obliged, as the Queen writes, to court the goodwill of those who least merited it, and to retain them in office, while on the other hand 'one who had served him 'longest and most faithfully was so discouraged that he 'was ready to leave him.' It is not very clear who is here referred to—perhaps Portland, who was probably beginning to feel the pangs of jealousy, as Keppel, supported by an influence which the Queen had most reason for abhorring, rose in his master's favour. Or it might conceivably be Burnet, who had been deeply offended by the burning of his Pastoral Letter by order of the factious House of Commons. And on all sides the Queen found herself confronted by what she calls a growth of 'corruption' in the society around her; she finds a proof of it in the conduct of 'the 'whole nobility' at Lord Mohun's trial.* She felt sick at heart to have in such times to maintain the authority of the Crown amidst a public who, she writes, were as angry with her as she could be with them. And her misgivings were verified; for her administrative mishaps added to the vexations of the King, who in the course of the summer had to

* In reality an overwhelming majority of the House of Lords acquitted the accused peer against the evidence.

digest as best he might the loss of the Smyrna fleet and his own defeat in the great battle of Landen. The Queen records sadly that with regard to her conduct of the government, 'whereas other years the King had almost ever approved all was done, this year he disapproved almost everything.' Her first piece of ill-fortune arose out of Lord Bellamont's 'impertinent behaviour,' as she terms it; probably he had resented the dismissal of his petitions and charges against Lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter, which he thereupon presented to the House of Commons in the form of articles of impeachment.* Of greater importance was her inability to bring about harmony of feeling and action in the Council, where both parties were represented. Her narrative fully bears out Lord Macaulay's description of the species of anarchy which towards the close of the year obliged the King to attempt the gradual formation of a compact Whig administration—the first English Ministry, as it is called by the historian.

'I found all the Council more than ever divided, the old ones not mightily satisfied with the new comers, and they believing me to much inclined to t' other party, in a great coldness and strangeness to me; the man I found the most constant in serving the King his own way, and who was the only one who really took the most and greatest pains to do so, more and more disliked, and people more inveterate against him.'

The personage in question may have been Caermarthen (Danby), whom the Whigs, on the whole strengthened by the changes made by the King early in the year, thoroughly detested; but the context seems rather to point to Nottingham, from whom the King after his return was 'forced to part, to please a party which he cannot trust.' When her husband was once more in England, things seemed to the Queen to mend, and her last notice of home affairs records this impression. The Triennial Bill had on its reintroduction been unexpectedly thrown out; in supply the King had obtained the greater part of the army estimates; 'everyone' was 'resolving to try one year more at least.' The Memoirs of Queen Mary contain no phrase more significant of the instability which in the eyes of many Englishmen characterised the *régime* of which she formed part. Before the year

* These transactions are not mentioned by Burnet or Macaulay, but will be found detailed in that invaluable work, Collins's 'Peerage of England,' vol. iii. p. 269 (2nd edition), art. 'Coningsby, Countess of Coningsby.'

was at an end, during which the lukewarm supporters of her and her consort's government had magnanimously promised to hold out, the Queen herself was at rest. If, as we believe, the Revolution settlement proved an enduring benefit to the nation, then it is certain that a grateful recognition is due to the brave and self-sacrificing spirit in which Queen Mary did her part to secure and defend that settlement. King William never became fully conscious of the value which in his heart he set upon his wife till he had lost her. And the more her pure and noble character reveals itself to posterity, the more it becomes certain that England too has reason to hold in reverence the memory of good Queen Mary.

We have left ourselves no space for dwelling separately on the letters of the Queen to the Electress Sophia, which, together with a few from James II and William III to the same princess, are appended to the Memoirs. Though here for the first time printed from the Hanover archives, they contain nothing altogether new. But they illustrate afresh such points as the temper of King James before the expedition which cost him his throne, and the grief of Queen Mary for the sake of her father, in whose eyes her husband was a 'vemper,' (p. 86), and she an unnatural child. Here and there in these letters she naturally enough shows a vivacity which was by no means wanting in her nature, though it is altogether absent from the Memoirs; but the letters written by her to the Duchess Sophia during a period extending from the middle of 1689 to the middle of 1694 are in every way consistent with the Memoirs themselves, of which they thus help to prove the genuineness.

ART. IV.—1. *A Popular History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century.* By AGNES M. CLERKE. Edinburgh : 1885.

2. *The Story of the Heavens.* By ROBERT STAWELL BALL, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin, and Royal Astronomer of Ireland. London : 1885.

ONE of the notable contributions to the scientific literature of 1852 was a History of Astronomy written by Robert Grant, at the present time Professor of Astronomy, and Superintendent of the Observatory, at Glasgow. The book assumed to be an account 'of the establishment of the 'theory of gravitation by Newton, and of its developement 'by his successors, and of the progress of research on all 'other subjects of celestial physics,' and was therefore widely comprehensive in its range.

During the past year, and consequently about a third of a century since the publication of Robert Grant's History, another work on the same subject has appeared which is designated 'A Popular History of Astronomy during the 'Nineteenth Century,' and is written, not by a Fellow of the Royal Society, but by the gifted member of a scarcely less interesting association—a sisterhood, be it remarked—for the narrative is traced by the pen of a lady on whom the mantle of Mrs. Somerville seems to have descended, and is no unworthy continuation of the earlier record, which still retains in regard to the annals of astronomical science an honourable position. These two histories to a certain extent overlap each other in the periods to which they apply. But this is unavoidable in the circumstances of the case, as it was simply impracticable to attempt to speak of the progress which astronomical science has made in the most recent thirty-four years of its history without a passing glance, at least, at the position which it had attained when the last eventful, and really marvellous, stage of its developement began. The first third of Miss Clerke's 'Popular History 'of Astronomy,' the volume to which these remarks apply, is technically classed as the progress of the science during the first half of the present century. The remaining two thirds concern the progress made since the publication of Robert Grant's book; and there is evidence in the pages of this interesting portion of the work that they constitute the part which was most prominently in view when the lines of

the structure were laid. In her preface Miss Clerke herself remarks:—

‘ Since Professor Grant’s invaluable work on the “ History of Physical Astronomy ” was published a third of a century has elapsed. During the interval, a so-called “ new astronomy ” has grown up by the side of the old. One effect of its advent has been to render the science of the heavenly bodies more popular, both in its needs and in its nature, than formerly. More popular in its needs, since its progress now primarily depends upon the interest in, and consequent efforts towards its advancement of, the general public; more popular in its nature, because the kind of knowledge it now chiefly tends to accumulate is more easily intelligible—less remote from ordinary experience—than that evolved by the aid of the calculus from materials collected by the use of the transit-instrument and chronograph.’

Miss Clerke also alludes in explanatory words to her reason for the historical form in which her narrative is cast. She says:—

‘ There are many reasons for preferring a history to a formal treatise on astronomy. In a treatise, *what* we know is set forth. A history tells us, in addition, *how* we came to know it. It thus places facts before us in the natural order of their ascertainment, and narrates instead of enumerating. The story to be told leaves the marvels of the imagination far behind, and requires no embellishments from literary art or high-flown phrases. Its best ornament is unvarnished truthfulness, and this at least may confidently be claimed to be bestowed upon it in the ensuing pages.’

Most readers of scientific literature will recall numerous instances to their mind which accord with this notion of the attractiveness and charm of the historical method of treating any popular exposition of science.*

The sun is so obviously the great primeval source of astronomical knowledge, as well as of light and heat in our mundane system, that it naturally assumes a very prominent place in both divisions of Miss Clerke’s fascinating narrative. Miss Clerke indeed seems inclined to take the discovery of the identity of the sun-spot-period with magnetic disturbances upon the earth, as the era from which her own ‘ Recent Progress of Astronomy ’ historically begins. Her ground for selecting this incident as her ‘ radiant point ’ of recent progress will be apparent from her account of the discoveries that have been made since that time in reference to the

* Professor Whewell’s ‘ History of the Inductive Sciences,’ and G. H. Lewes’s first sketch of the ‘ Biographical History of Philosophy,’ which was written five or six years before Grant’s ‘ History of Physical Astronomy,’ may be referred to as apt illustrations.

physical condition of the solar orb. But, no doubt, the circumstance is in some measure also to be referred to the convenient border-line which this stage in the investigation establishes. Alexander von Humboldt published in 1851, in the third volume of '*Kosmos*,' an account of the sun-spot observations of the Dessau apothecary, Heinrich Schwabe, which had been secured at the cost of twenty-five years of incessant application and study. As a matter of fact, the patient observer did not anticipate the great result which was to follow from his labours. He was looking for an intra-mercurial planet, and, as he himself remarked when the unanticipated issue of his work became apparent, his fortune had been like that of Saul; for whilst 'seeking his father's asses he had found a kingdom.' Miss Clerke says in reference to Schwabe:—

'During forty-three years his "imperturbable telescope" never failed (weather and health permitting) to bring in its daily report as to how many, or if any, spots were visible on the sun's disc, the information obtained being day by day recorded on a simple and unvarying system. In 1843 he made his first announcements of a probable decennial period, but it met with no general attention; although Julius Schmidt, of Bonn (afterwards Director of the Athens Observatory), and Gautier, of Geneva, were impressed with his figures, and Littrow had himself, in 1856, hinted at the likelihood of some kind of regular recurrence. Schwabe, however, worked on, gathering each year fresh evidence of a law such as he had indicated; and when Humboldt published in 1851, in the third volume of his "*Kosmos*," a table of the sun-spot statistics collected by him from 1826 downwards, the strength of his case was perceived with, so to speak, a start of surprise; the reality and importance of the discovery were simultaneously recognised, and the persevering Hofrath of Dessau found himself famous among astronomers. His merit—recognised by the bestowal of the Astronomical Society's gold medal in 1857—consisted in his choice of an original and appropriate line of work, and in the admirable tenacity of purpose with which he pursued it.'

Galileo noticed the dark spots on the face of the sun very soon after his construction of the telescope. He first mentioned them in a '*Dissertation on Floating Bodies*' which he published in Florence in 1612.* He soon noticed that the spots travelled across the sun in a period of about fourteen days, and that they appeared to move more quickly whilst near the middle of the disc than when towards its sides. He

* The '*Sidereal Messenger*,' which gave the first account of Galileo's discoveries in the heavens with his newly constructed telescope, was published in Venice in 1610.

inferred from this that the spots were in reality attached in some way to the body of the sun, and carried round upon it by its movement of rotation. In his 'Dissertation on Floating Bodies' he speaks of the sun as completing a rotation upon itself in about a month. His first estimate was soon afterwards corrected into a period lying somewhere between twenty-four and twenty-five days, and it was at the same time noticed that the axis of the sun's rotation was approximately perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and that the spots were confined to a 'royal zone' not extending more than thirty degrees from the solar equator. Beyond this nothing was added to man's knowledge of the physics of the sun during a period of 164 years.

In the month of November, 1769, Alexander Wilson, the Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow, enjoyed the favourable opportunity of watching an exceedingly large spot as it passed across the face of the sun, and he noticed that it behaved precisely as it must have done if it had been a deep pit hollowed out into the surface of the rotating sphere. By the year 1774 he had arrived, through close observation, at the conclusion that the spots were unquestionably vast excavations in the solar substance. From this he inferred that the greater part of the solar orb is solid and dark, and that the inner dark globe is encompassed with a thin coating of resplendent substance from which alone issued the vivifying heat of the great luminary. This conception of Wilson at length became matured into the idea of the elder Herschel, sketched in the following paragraphs of Miss Clerke's 'Popular History:—

'A cool, dark, solid globe, its surface diversified with mountains and valleys, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, and "richly stored with inhabitants," protected by a heavy cloud-canopy from the intolerable glare of the upper luminous region, where the dazzling coruscations of a solar aurora some thousands of miles in depth evolved the stores of light and heat which vivify our world. Such was the central luminary which Herschel constructed with his wonted ingenuity, and described with his wonted eloquence.'

"This way of considering the sun and its atmosphere," he says, "removes the great dissimilarity we have hitherto been used to find between its condition and that of the rest of the great bodies of the solar system. The sun, viewed in this light, appears to be nothing else than a very eminent, large, and lucid planet, evidently the first, or, in strictness of speaking, the only primary one of our system; all others being truly secondary to it. Its similarity to the other globes of the solar system with regard to its solidity, its atmosphere, and its diversified surface, the rotation upon its axis, and the fall of heavy bodies, leads us on to suppose that it is most probably also inhabited,

"like the rest of the planets, by beings whose organs are adapted to the peculiar circumstances of that vast globe."

This notion of Sir William Herschel as to the world-like condition of the sun was conceived just about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and therefore approximately 190 years after telescopic powers of observation had been placed in the hands of astronomers by Galileo. It thus brings the progress of solar astronomy to the opening of the first half of the nineteenth century. Miss Clerke tersely characterises this generalisation of the elder Herschel in the following words:—

'It was nothing less than the definitive introduction into astronomy of the paradoxical conception of the central fire and hearth of our system, as a cold, dark, terrestrial mass, wrapt in a mantle of innocuous radiance—an earth, so to speak, within, a sun without.'

Sir John Herschel took up the mantle of his father soon after it had fallen from his shoulders. Sir William Herschel died in 1822; in the years 1836 and 1837 Sir John was closely occupied with the study of the sun-spots in the clear atmosphere of the Cape of Good Hope. In March, 1837, he measured and sketched a group of spots which comprised a superficial extent of not less than 3,780 millions of square miles.* He satisfied himself at this time that the rotation of the vast sphere must have something to do with the production of the spots, and with their localisation upon the area of most rapid circumferential motion. Francis Baily, who first noticed the breaking up of the horns of light into a series of bright beads during the progress of an annular eclipse, drew attention in 1842 to the coronal halo of effulgence which starts out round the moon during a total eclipse of the sun, and also to the red prominences which have since received so much attention from astronomers. Miss Clerke gives a very interesting narrative of Baily's first observation of these marvellous appendages with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -inch achromatic telescope, which is unfortunately too long to quote, but which is well worthy of notice.† Arago carefully measured the red prominences described by Baily, and found that they extended up from the limb of the sun 56,000 miles, or to a distance equal to seven times the earth's entire diameter. This measurement, and the allusion which has just been made to the extent of surface concerned in the group of solar spots

* Results of Astronomical Observations made at the Cape. 1847. Page 432.

† See 'A Popular History of Astronomy,' p. 80.

mentioned by Sir John Herschel, suggest the introduction in this place of a few explanatory words regarding the notion of immensity which was now beginning to be realised by scientific men when considering the forces which are in operation in the sun. The moon, as is well known, circles in space at a distance of about 240,000 miles from the earth. That is, it lies about thirty of the earth's diameters away from the terrestrial surface. This, at any rate, is a measure that the ordinary human mind is competent to grasp. Most people can understand what the stretch of space is that a railway train travelling at the rate of thirty miles an hour, and going on continuously without stopping, would traverse in 333 days. Such would be the railway journey to the moon if a permanent way could be laid across the gap of space that lies between the earth and its satellite. It would take the same railway train very nearly 2,200 days, or something more than six years, to accomplish the journey which the moon performs every month about the earth. But a globe which could just be contained within the orbit of the moon would only have a sixth part of the volume of the sun. The diameter of the solar orb is nearly twice the breadth of the moon's vast orbit. It would take 1,330,000 earths, all kneaded together into one lump, to make up the bulk of the sun. The railway journey round the sun, if made at the rate of speed and with the unbroken continuance already alluded to, would require eleven years for its completion. The most recent estimate for the circumference of the sun gives it a girth of 2,666,000 miles, and thus corresponds with a surface of 2,850,000 millions of square miles. A sun-spot which was observed and measured in 1858 would have required eighteen earths placed side by side to form a bridge across it, and it was estimated that one hundred earths would have been required to fill in the cavity up to the level of the solar surface.

Some time after Sir William Herschel's conception of his idea of the physical condition of the sun, the first steps were taken towards the construction of the spectroscope, the instrument which has so serviceably supplemented the telescope in supplying means for investigating the nature of the external bodies of space. Fraunhofer, while experimenting with the formation of achromatic lenses for the telescope, discovered the dark absorption lines of the solar spectrum, counted six hundred of them, and mapped out three hundred and twenty-four as having unvarying places in relation to each other, and as being easily identified on that account.

In 1859 Gustav Kirchoff, the Professor of Physics of the University of Heidelberg, ascertained that certain of the rays in the spectrum-bands were coincident with the light emanating from artificial sources of illumination. By following up this clue he was able to prove that the terrestrial elements, sodium, iron, magnesium, calcium, chromium, copper, zinc, barium, and nickel, were present as vapours in the solar atmosphere. This indefatigable experimenter published, in the 'Transactions of the Berlin Academy' for 1862, a chart of the lines of the solar spectrum nearly eight feet long, with comparative references to the corresponding luminous lines of terrestrial elements, arranged, for facility of comparison, along the margin. The spectroscope is always used with the telescope when celestial observations have to be made, because in that way the two lights, the one drawn from the celestial and the other from the artificial source, can be looked at side by side.

One of the first things which the spectroscopic examination of the nature of the heavenly bodies accomplished was the discrediting and dissipation of the Herschelian conception of the habitable condition of the solar orb. It is something very different from the idea of 'an earth within' and a sun without' which science has now to contemplate under the illustrative aid it has received from the improved methods of investigation. The drift of the sun-spots upon the solar face has been substantially established. The fact that the sun rotates upon itself is clearly seen by the behaviour of the sun-spots. They appear at one rim of the solar disc, cross the circular face, and then disappear at the opposite side, and they do this in such a way as to leave no possible doubt that they are carried along with the surface of the sun as its body turns round upon a central axis. But practically it has been found very difficult to fix the exact time in which the sun accomplishes each complete revolution, because the spots, which can be observed in estimating the movement, shift their own position upon the bright disc. The rotation of the sun takes place in from twenty-five to twenty-six days. Within that time any spot that is fixed upon by the eye crosses the sun's face, goes round behind, and appears upon it again. But different spots are sometimes a little longer and sometimes a little shorter time in completing this progress. They always go in the same general direction, but sometimes with a quicker and sometimes with a slower pace. It was soon observed, also, that they occasionally whirl round as they drift, and

there can be no doubt that they are at all times evanescent and short-lived. They burst suddenly out, enlarge for a few days, and then break up and entirely disappear. From this the notion very naturally arose that they were of the nature of mighty cyclones, or whirlwinds, breaking out in the shining atmosphere of the sun, and allowing the darker mass of the solar orb to be seen when the flame-coat is torn asunder by the violent gyration. Father Secchi, of Rome, however, by long and close study of their behaviour, has clearly established the fact that the gyrations, or whirlings, which they manifest are only occasional and temporary incidents of their economy. The spots very commonly whirl when they first break out, and the whirling is renewed now and again after their complete developement, and as they break up and fade away. But there is no persistent and uniform gyration, such as a storm-movement like that which occurs in the terrestrial atmosphere would necessarily present. The cyclone theory of sun-spots, which was first suggested by Sir John Herschel in 1847, and to a certain degree modified by Faye in 1872, is now, therefore, held to have virtually broken down. The labours of Fraunhofer and Kirchoff have shown that there certainly are glowing vapours near the sun possessing great powers of resistance to heat, but that these vapours constitute a *comparatively* cool investment of a more central mass, which is many times hotter than the vapours themselves, and which is the true source of calorific and luminous vibrations. The sun, instead of being, as in the Herschelian conception, 'an earth within and a sun without,' is in reality an orb of fire. The continuous spectrum derived from the main body of the sun effectively proves that the central mass is itself at a very high temperature, while the dark Fraunhofer lines which intersperse the continuous spectrum as certainly show that the great central sphere is surrounded by a complex atmosphere of metallic vapours, cooler than itself, and that the spots are clouds of such vapours caused by depressions of temperature where antagonistic currents of the vaporous atmosphere encounter each other. The condition is exactly the opposite of that which was conceived in the theory of Herschel. Outwardly setting currents bring the high temperature of the intensely heated interior mass to be radiated into space, and to constitute what may be familiarly spoken of as the proper function of a sun. The entire mass of the great luminary is now looked upon as being more or less of a gaseous character, although the gaseous constituents most

possibly may be in an approximately condensed state towards the central portion of the solar orb, so as to assume a paste-like consistence. The external photosphere, which glows so brilliantly with light, is properly the region to which the ascending or outwardly flowing currents bear the incandescent vapours—the region where the incandescent vapours merge into circumsolar space.

‘Uprushing floods of mixed vapours with strong affinities—say of calcium or sodium and oxygen—at last attain a region cool enough to permit their combination; a fine dust of solid or liquid compound particles (of lime or soda, for example) there collects into the photospheric clouds, and, descending by its own weight in torrents of incandescent rain, is dissociated by the fierce heat below, and replaced by ascending and combining currents of similar constitution.’

The spots, in this point of view, are pitted openings left in the external seething substance. Professor Henry and Professor Langley, of the United States, have made it clear that the so-called dark nuclei of the spots really radiate less heat than the surrounding parts. The spectroscope indicates that the dark nuclei are regions of relative coolness when compared with other portions of the solar sphere. The sun-spots, according to the most recent views of investigators, are connected with, if not the immediate results of, violent eruptive action, which also gives rise to the bright lines and prominences exhibited from time to time round their darker parts.

‘Matter in which inconceivable powers of expansion are lodged, by virtue of the suppressed fury of its interstitial movements, is held down in the rigid grasp of its own weight. The slightest disturbance of this delicately adjusted balance of forces suffices to produce an outbreak. The gun is ready loaded, it only needs to pull the trigger. It is true that we cannot, in either case, tell exactly how the trigger is pulled—whether by local increase of heat or local relief of pressure, or by both in combination—but it is easy to see that the eruptive capacities of our own quiescent little globe must, in the sun, be intensified to a degree beyond the reach even of imagination.’

The immediate cause of the mighty outbursts in the sun is, as yet, entirely unknown. But there is, at any rate, no doubt that it is an action which is subject to periodical increase and diminution of intensity, marked by recurring intervals of a little more than eleven years, and that the occurrence of the exacerbations of intensity is accompanied by strange perturbations of the magnetic forces manifested upon the earth. The earlier conjecture, that the emission of light and heat is increased during the prevalence of abundant supplies of sun-spots, seems hardly to be confirmed by

the most careful observations of modern times. But this particular province of physical investigation is a very delicate and complicated one, and must be held to require a longer examination than it has yet received before any authoritative decisions can be pronounced.

Perhaps the most hopeful of all the advances of science in connexion with the investigation of this branch of physics is to be found in the circumstance that photographs are now continually taken of the aspects of the sun, and carefully preserved for future comparison and study. The sun now sits for its portrait to photographers *perpetually*. The vast earth literally bristles all over with observing stations, from which an unceasing outlook is kept up into the surrounding regions of space. Miss Clerke remarks in her introduction that on the 1st of January, 1882, there were not less than 144 officially recognised observatories at work within the precincts of the United States of America alone. For a very long period the most interesting of the features of the solar face could only be seen during the rare and very brief intervals when the resplendent luminary was screened from the earth by the intervention of the passing moon. But now, thanks to the perfection of the spectroscopic and to photographic methods of investigation, the corona, red prominences, and other versatile aspects of the sun can be watched and automatically recorded whenever the earth's atmosphere is itself destitute of clouds. In consequence of the solar spectrum being dispersible by the action of prisms, whilst the bright-line luminosity of glowing vapour is altogether untouched by the same dispersive agency, the continuous spectrum can be weakened by batteries of prisms until it almost faints into invisibility, and the luminous vapour-lines and prominences then still stand out undimmed and in brilliant relief. Vibratory emanations, which are too faint to be caught by the nervous organisation of the eye, are in their turn registered by the more exquisitely sensitive surfaces of the photographic plate. By the application of these super-subtle powers of instrumental manipulation it has been settled that there is a deep stratum of hydrogen gas, and of some congenial element unknown upon the earth, to which the name of 'helium' has been provisionally given, completely enveloping the solar orb, and that the 'red prominences' are eruptive outbursts from this stratum, shot out from time to time, to a distance of 80,000 or 90,000 miles. The coronal effulgence is due in part to the light of glowing vapours floating round the sun, and

in part to opaque matter scattered there, catching and reflecting the continuous spectrum light of the more central part of the solar mass. Even this coronal glory is now photographed under favourable circumstances. It was first fixed as a permanent image by Dr. Huggins. The result was attained through the discovery that chloride of silver is exceptionally sensitive to the coronal light, and in the same degree insensitive to the other luminous emanations.

Hydrogen and its problematic analogue, helium, constitute the chief, and possibly on ordinary occasions the entire, mass of the vapour-stratum of the sun which has been designated its chromosphere, and of the ruddy prominences which are projected out therefrom. But occasionally other elements make their appearance spasmodically in it, as if thrown up from beneath by the influence of violent intestine disturbances. During two months of observation carried on upon the summit of Mount Sherman, in 1872, Professor Young noticed as many as 273 lines associated with the chromosphere. It has hence been conceived that there is a continuous layer about the sun of which the lower parts only are habitually occupied by the heaviest metallic vapours; but that this normal arrangement is apt to be overturned by exceptionally violent eruptive disturbances. Respighi, Spörer, and Bredichin believe the chromosphere itself to be entirely composed of a congeries of minute flames set close together like blades of grass. Professor Young describes the appearance as resembling countless jets of heated gas, issuing through rents and spiracles of the whole surface, which is in that way clothed with heaving and tossing flame. During his residence upon Mount Sherman in 1872 he observed actual movements of prominences when subjected to violent disturbance, which he estimated to have the astonishing velocities of 250 miles in the second, or 15,000 times that of an express railway train at the top of its speed. Upon one occasion he saw prominence-pillars ascending with a speed of 166 miles per second, until they reached the height of 200,000 miles from the solar surface, and then faded gradually away like a dissolving cloud. In 1881 he observed an exploded prominence rise to the height of 350,000 miles. It has been calculated that a speed of 379 miles per second would suffice to carry exploded ponderable matter quite clear of the sun's immediate attraction.

Mr. Lockyer now inclines to think that many of the so-called terrestrial elements are really compound bodies, capable of being, at least spectroscopically, resolved into

their more fundamental constituents. He looks upon the three lines of hydrogen—namely, the red, yellow, and green—and upon the almost countless series of lines of iron, as due to the light of resolved ultimate constituents of this character. The term ‘element’ he now regards as merely indicating a terrestrial incapability of reduction. According to the investigations of Dr. Draper, of New York, *oxygen* is now distinctly detected in the sun. But it seems always to remain at a low level, as it never presents its lines in the spectrum of the chromosphere. It probably belongs essentially to the hottest layers from which heat is radiated off into space.

A considerable amount of scientific labour has been devoted during recent years to form some reliable estimate as to the temperature of the radiant surface of the sun. The investigation, however, is so subtle and difficult that no absolute conclusions have yet been arrived at in regard to it. Sir Isaac Newton thought that the heat of the sun was at least two thousand times greater than the temperature of red-hot iron. Pouillet calculated that the solar heat which falls on a square centimetre (nearly a seventh part of a square inch) of the terrestrial surface is sufficient to raise 1.7633 grammes (nearly a troy pennyweight) of water one degree of Centigrade every minute; and, having adopted this as what he termed a ‘calorie,’ or constant unit of solar heat, he, estimating backwards, inferred that the heat issuing from a similar measure on the surface of the sun would there serve to melt a layer of ice 11.80 mètres (36 feet and an inch) thick every minute. Pouillet spoke of a temperature somewhere between 2630° and 3170° Fahrenheit as the probable amount of the heat of the sun. Ericsson assumed the enormously higher quantity of 4,000,000° Fahrenheit. Professor Langley, from observations made with his recently constructed bolometer, or ray-measurer—a very sensitive instrument, in which calorific vibrations are converted into electric currents—gives as a probably exact result from 1800° to 2000° Centigrade, and, by a very beautiful series of experiments of an altogether independent nature, he satisfies himself that the sun’s hemisphere radiates eighty-seven times as much heat and 5300 times as much light as an equal area of incandescent steel in a Bessemer converter, in which the air-blast has been sustained for about twenty minutes. This may perhaps be fairly looked upon as the most trustworthy approximation to any definite conclusion that has yet been found possible in this very

difficult branch of human knowledge. Its large amount, at any rate, very satisfactorily accounts for the enormous quantity of work that is done upon the terrestrial surface by solar heat, after its journey of 93 millions of miles across the gap which separates its source from the earth.

An attempt, very interesting in a practical point of view, has been made by modern science to conceive some method by which it may be possible for the heat radiation of the sun to be maintained, notwithstanding its obviously enormous expenditure. The recuperative theory of solar heat, which was advanced by Sir William Siemens a little more than three years ago, attracted considerable attention, and was discussed at some length in the pages of this Journal, as will be remembered by our readers.* Miss Clerke judiciously remarks, in reference to this hypothesis, that it represents ‘a mechanical circulation combined with a pendulum swing of chemical change, which might go on for ever, if one condition only were granted, an unlimited supply of motor power.’ This, however, unfortunately for the theory, is not available, it being an inexorable law of nature that there can be no work without waste. The heart-throb of Sir William Siemens’s reverberatory and regenerative system resides primarily in the ‘rotation of the sun.’ In that there is some reserve of mechanical power to work the mechanism. But Sir William Thomson has shown that, if this reserve were all drawn upon, and converted into heat, it would only suffice to keep up the sun’s emission of calorific power for one hundred and sixteen years and six days; a mere passing moment in the scale of cosmical time. Professor Helmholtz’s idea of the ever-progressing shrinkage, and gradual dispersion of the original heat, of the sun presents a more intelligible and rational conception of the probable state of the case.† Helmholtz has pointed out that, if any orb in the regions of space diminish in size without the loss of ponderable substance, it is certainly growing hotter as well as smaller, in consequence of the outer portion of the sphere being gradually pressed in upon the inner and more central parts. If the diameter of the sun were contracting 250 feet every year, or a mile in a little more than twenty years, at which rate it would require 9,500 years to accomplish a contraction of 450 miles—an amount that would still, at the sun’s vast distance, be alto-

* Siemens’s Theory of Solar Heat, *Edinburgh Review*, No. cccix., July, 1882.

† See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. clvi. (No. cccix.), p. 47.

gether inappreciable to the most powerful instruments—this would amply suffice for the restoration every year of the heat that is dispersed in the same time into space. Professor Helmholtz, and the distinguished physical astronomers who incline to accept his views on this matter, consider, it will be borne in mind, that the action referred to as going on in the sun is not in reality tantamount to the maintenance, in Sir William Siemens's sense, of a perpetuity of solar existence, but only contemplates a lengthening out of its decline of vitality.* Professor Young speaks of the process as furnishing a rational account of 'the principal revenue of solar energy.' Helmholtz looks upon the entire life of our solar system as being most probably comprised within a period of something like thirty millions of years. He holds that the gradual cooling of the solar mass and the ultimate extinction of the solar fires is a result which would be in accordance with all else that is known of the general order of nature: the succession of birth, growth, and decay. Miss Clerke remarks, in alluding to the Helmholtz theory, that the process, 'although not terminated, is a strictly terminable one,' and adds that it is the theory of solar energy which is most generally regarded as true.

The grand views of magnitudes which arise in connexion with the consideration of the physical condition of the sun are, as a matter of course, all dependent upon the measures that have been made of its distance. Because the solar sphere has the apparent size of a 1-foot ball held 108 feet away, it must therefore be about 860,000 miles across if it be 108 times 860,000, or 93 millions of miles away; that is, in a familiar form, the rationale of the process by which the idea of its magnitude has been acquired. Miss Clerke relates very fully, and charmingly, the history of the labours which have been devoted by scientific men to attain exact accuracy in this fundamental particular. So much the greater pains have been taken in the matter because the distance of the sun is unavoidably the unit of measure which has to be employed in making all further investigations as to the profundity of space. The semidiameter of the earth's sphere is necessarily the fundamental unit in astronomical surveys; and any error in its determination is multiplied in

* Professor Newcombe calculates that, if the sun maintain its present rate of radiation, it would, of necessity, shrink to one-half its present diameter in five million years, and be then eight times more dense than it is now.

an infinity of ways in all further consideration of the planetary and stellar distances. But the measure which has to be accomplished in approaching the solution of this problem in the most direct way is about the same thing as taking the apparent size of a halfpenny when held two thousand feet from the eye. This is the amount which is known as the horizontal parallax of the sun; that is, the difference of the position which the sun holds in the vast field of space amongst the stars according as it is viewed from one or the other extremity of the half-diameter of the earth. The transits of Venus have been employed as an indirect means of getting at this measure through the intervening stages of mathematical calculation, since the first introduction of the method by Horrocks in 1631. During the last two transits of Venus—those, namely, which occurred in 1874 and in 1882—the most strenuous efforts were made by the astronomers of all civilised nations to get as exact a measure as was possible. In 1874 eighty distinct stations, scattered over the most suitable portions of the earth, were established at an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of money. But the result is that the method, so long cherished as the favourite one of astronomers, is now found to have failed them. It is universally admitted by all that the sun is considerably nearer to the earth than it was conceived to be a few years since. But, so far as the transit observations are concerned, Mr. Stone gives 92,365,000 miles as the corrected distance derived from the observations of 1874. M. Faye gives 92,750,000 miles; Professor Young 92,885,000, and Dr. Ball 93,000,000. Doctors, therefore, disagree in this matter very materially. From the transit observations of 1882, the probable error was held by Professor Houzeau, the late director of the Brussels Observatory, who devoted great labour and care to the reduction and comparison of the calculations, to amount to 900,000 miles either way, or to a total uncertainty of 1,800,000 miles. By a common consent of the best authorities, the possible error in the measure of the sun's distance by this method of observing is held to be not less, certainly, than a million and a half of miles.

The numerous collateral methods by which the argument for the reduction of the original estimate of the sun's distance by something like two millions of miles has been enforced have been explained by Miss Clerke in what, but for the solecism of the expression in the circumstances, we should be tempted to characterise as a most 'masterly' way. A very intricate and complicated subject is made very intelligible

and plain. Fortunately, however, the resources of astronomy do not appear to be exhausted by the processes which have been so far alluded to. The Astronomer-Royal, now Sir George Airy, suggested in 1857 a plan of observation that might possibly lead to more satisfactory results. He pointed out that, if a planet outside the earth's orbit, such as Mars, be watched from some suitable spot, when it traverses the portion of its journey which lies nearest to the earth, the observer is carried by the rotation of the earth during the few hours that intervene between the rising and setting of the luminary to a position in space some thousands of miles from the starting-point, and that accordingly provides a very convenient base for parallax observations. All that is necessary is for the selfsame observer to fix the apparent position of the planet just after it rises and just before it sets; the distance he has been carried by the surface of the earth upon which he stands in the interval is then the base from either extremity of which he can contemplate the planet for the purposes of survey. Dr. Gill went to the Island of Ascension in 1877 to carry out an observation of this character on Mars, when it was in opposition to the earth, or, in other words, approached the most nearly to the earth, and so increased to the utmost stretch its parallactic displacement amongst the more fixed luminaries of the sky.* The result of Dr. Gill's investigation was the fixing of the distance of the sun at 93,080,000 miles. Professor Galle, of Breslau, has selected twelve of the minor planets lying between Mars and Jupiter as eminently suitable for the repetition of this process of measuring, and he thinks that these small planetary bodies may be employed with even better results than Mars, because they present only a minute speck even in the telescopic field, whose position in the sky can be more exactly fixed than that of a body of larger apparent dimensions. Observations of Phoebe, Flora, Juno, Victoria, and Sappho have already been made, and Dr. Gill holds out the promise that the continued use of such opportunities, as they occur, affords the most hopeful chances of ultimately overcoming the difficulties of this complicated and subtle problem. The

* The Island of Ascension is situated in very nearly eight degrees of south latitude. Consequently an observer there is carried almost the full breadth of the earth's diameter, or 8,000 miles, during a half-rotation of the earth. Dr. Gill thus looked at the moon under the combination of its morning and evening observations along the two sides of a triangle whose base was nearly 8,000 miles.

opportunities for repeating the observation with these minor planets frequently recur; no elaborate preparations are required; and a single observer, armed with one good instrument, can do all the necessary work. He is as capable, under the circumstance of being transported every day automatically between the two observing stations, as two distinct observers would be working simultaneously at the two stations.

In the chapter on 'Planetary Discoveries in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,' an old tale is retold by Miss Clerke in a very attractive and charming manner. The narrative begins with an account of the organisation of 'the celestial police at Lilienthal to track and apprehend the planetary vagrants, who, if Kepler's law was to be maintained in its position of truth and supremacy, must have been lurking unseen, and getting up disturbances in the wide space intervening between Mars and Jupiter.' In 1801 Giuseppe Piazzi, who had been laboriously constructing a catalogue of stars for nine years, caught the first sight of the small planetary wanderer, which afterwards became known as Ceres, the first of the band of the minor planets, or asteroids. A year subsequently Olbers discovered Pallas moving along through the same track, and at nearly the same distance from the sun. He noticed also that the two bodies passed through precisely the same point in the heavens at one place, and he hazarded the bold conjecture that they were both fragments of a planetary body, which at some former time had been shattered by an explosion when traversing that part of its orbital path. In two more years Juno and Vesta were discovered by Olbers and Harding respectively, and the quartet of the asteroids was completed, which remained as their representatives for many years. It was found that all the four bodies travelled in orbits which nearly coincided in the constellations of the Whale and the Virgin at opposite parts of their elliptical paths. La Grange calculated that a shattering velocity, which amounted to twenty times that with which a cannon-ball left the mouth of the gun, would have sufficed to launch these asteroidal fragments asunder upon their several paths. By the end of the first fifty years of the century other members of the group had been added to the list of the minor planets, and the four had become thirteen. The derangements produced in the movements of these minute bodies by the attraction of Jupiter's vast mass gave a satisfactory measure of the specific density of this planet. The splendid star-maps of Harding and of

the Berlin Academy were put in hand under the impulse of this discovery, that there might be a fixed guide always at hand for the institution of comparisons between wandering and fixed stars. Adams and Leverrier calculated out the spot in the heavens from which a previously unseen planet was exerting a deranging influence upon the movements of Uranus at a certain portion of its path. Sir John Herschel, at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1846, referring to this hypothetical new planet, said: 'We see it as Columbus saw America from the coast of Spain. Its movements have been felt trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis with a certainty hardly inferior to that of ocular demonstration.' The ocular demonstration was added to the anticipatory presumption very soon. Fourteen days afterwards—that is, on September 23—Professor Galle, with his large telescope, at Berlin looked directly at the spot to which his attention had been directed by Leverrier, and at once saw the star, distinguishing it from its neighbours in the group by finding that it was shifting its place among them. Professor Challis, not knowing at the time anything about the Berlin star-maps, had mapped down the positions of 3,150 stars as a preliminary to a comparative scrutiny, and he afterwards found that he had seen and registered the position of the wandering stranger three times without recognising its identity and character. Seventeen days after the discovery of this new planet, Neptune, at Berlin, an attendant satellite was observed by Mr. Lassell at his splendidly appointed observatory near Liverpool, although it was at the time lit up by a sunlight that was nine hundred times fainter than the light of the moon. The mass of Neptune, at a distance of more than 2,800 millions of miles from the sun, was ascertained by the movements of this satellite to be somewhere about five times lighter than the mass of the interior of our own globe. A new satellite was next added to the family of Saturn, just where its presence was required to complete the Keplerian scheme of the symmetry of the system, and in the last year of the half-century the dusky ring of Saturn was discovered by Witham Bond, of the United States.

Schröter, for some time Oberamtman of Lilienthal, near Bremen, devoted thirty-four years of his life to the close study of the telescopic aspects of the moon and planets. He determined the presence of a dense atmosphere round Mercury. In 1859 Leverrier suggested, from certain irregularities in the movements of Mercury, that there was

probably a hitherto unnoticed planet of about the same size as Mercury, revolving at less than half its distance from the sun. This suspected supernumerary of the system, named Vulcan by anticipation, has been anxiously sought for by a host of observers at all convenient opportunities, but up to the present time without any assured result. The period of the rotation of Venus has been approximately settled. It is an interesting illustration of the indefatigable patience and care bestowed upon these pursuits by astronomers, that twenty-two seconds of time were added to the rotation period of Venus at the cost of ten thousand observations made by De Vico at Rome. An atmosphere has been well observed surrounding Venus, possessing twice the density and twice the refractive influence of the earth's atmosphere at the surface of the globe. The 'clean-silver' gleam of Venus is attributed to this ærial covering, which apparently gives back $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the light that falls upon it. The moon was an especially favourite object of study to Schröter. Almost innumerable 'rills,' consisting of clefts in a hard rocky surface some hundreds of yards deep, a couple of miles across, and occasionally 150 miles long, were discovered by him on the lunar surface; 22,856 craters have been marked down in Schmidt's 'Map of the Mountains of the Moon,' which was compiled at the cost of thirty-two years' labour. A very slight presence of radiant heat has been detected in moonshine. The constant inclination of the same side of the moon towards the earth has been traced to the tidal drag which the earth exerted upon the moon in primeval times when the moon was liquid, or plastic, and a similar retardation of rotation is suspected to be affecting the earth. It is another noteworthy illustration of the surpassing refinement of the investigations dealt with by modern astronomy that Delaunay alludes to the tidal drag as occasioning a lengthening of the terrestrial day to the extent of one second in 100,000 years!

Mars is almost universally accepted as being a kind of duplicate earth. It is endowed with land, water, clouds, and air, and snow accumulating round its poles in their respective winter seasons. The atmosphere of the planet is, however, obviously much more rare than that of the earth, so that it only exerts at the planet's surface a pressure of about two pounds and a quarter to the square inch. The climate of Mars is conceived, from the small amount of snow that accumulates at the poles of the planet, to be comparatively mild. The water is distributed into a very curious

series of long parallel canals which run out from the ocean basins to an extent in some places of three and four thousand miles. Two moons have been discovered since 1877, presenting a diameter of not more than six or seven miles, and one of them completing a revolution round the planet in a very little more than seven hours.

At the close of the last year the minor planets known to be circulating between Mars and Jupiter amounted to the very considerable number of 253. The notion that they are the fragments of a disrupted planet no longer seems to be tenable in the circumstances of increased acquaintance with them. But they are most densely congregated towards the region of space where Bode's law would have placed the intervening planet. They seem also to have been drawn away from certain void spaces by the attractive influence of Jupiter. M. Niesten has calculated that the whole of this cluster of minor planets taken together cannot amount to more than the four-thousandth part of the earth's mass.

One of the most remarkable revolutions in astronomical theory that have occurred during the most recent period of its history is the change that has come over the views of astronomers in regard to the condition of the large exterior planets of the system of which Jupiter is, in more senses than one, the great monarch and prototype. When Professor Whewell wrote the paradoxical book which he called 'On the Plurality of Worlds,' in 1854, and which he designed to prove that there is only one world existing in space, the orthodox astronomers raised an indignant protest, and fought fiercely to establish the mundane character of Jupiter. It was then thought that the clouds seen so clearly streaking the sky of the mighty sphere spoke in unmistakeable language of the presence within them of living inhabitants whose organisations were ministered to by the familiar agency of air and water. The vast sphere, some 86,000 miles in diameter, is now nevertheless regarded, not as a world clothed with teeming life, but rather as a developing earth in a transitional state of preparation for mundane functions. In the year 1853 Mr. Nasmyth threw out the shrewd suggestion that Jupiter looked very much like a miniature sun which had not yet had time to cool. A few years afterwards—that is, in 1865—Zöllner expressed his conviction that the proper position of Jupiter was that of a *sun-like planet*. The sun's heat, at the distance of Jupiter, does not possess more than the twenty-seventh part of the energy which it displays upon the earth.

But there are unmistakeable indications of movements going on around the Jovian orb which are plainly discerned by telescope-watchers, and which speak of a much more vast heat-energy than the sun is capable of exerting at so great a distance. The aspect of the face of Jupiter recalls forcibly to the mind the violent surgings and upheavings of the solar spots, and strongly suggests the agency of a similar eruptive force. Some observers have conceived that Jupiter even emits more light than it receives from the sun. But, whatever may be thought of this question of its inherent luminosity, there scarcely now remains any doubt as to its condition of high temperature, and as to its independent radiation of a large quantity of heat. From this point of view the thought unavoidably presents itself that possibly the four satellites, which form so beautiful a group of attendants upon the vast globe, may in reality already be 'worlds' ministered to by the 'sunlike planet.' In the remote regions of space in which they whirl, these satellites, with the supplementary heat-radiation they receive directly from their own great primary, and with the secondary contribution which reaches them from the sun, might easily enjoy a climate not differing very materially from the climate experienced by the inhabitants of the earth. The four satellites of Jupiter, taken together, would make up a world not by any means contemptible so far as size is concerned. They would constitute a sphere about ten times as large as the moon, and about one fifth part of the size of the earth. Mr. Edmund Ledger, in his Gresham Lectures in the years 1881 and 1882, at the conclusion of his description of the satellites of Jupiter used the following memorable words:—

'We may some day be able to discuss upon much better grounds than at present the possibility, or otherwise, of the hypothesis that these satellites may be worlds peopled by inhabitants, who may look upon Jupiter as a sun with four attendant planets, rather than as a planet with four attendant satellites journeying round a far-distant sun.'

All the outer planets of the system seem to constitute, with Jupiter, a group allied naturally together in the physical conditions of their existence. They are all of a very large size, of low specific gravity, and rotate very rapidly. Saturn is of even a lighter consistence than Jupiter. It would float upon water as a whole. It is probably, in the main, a mass of highly heated vapour, kept in constant agitation by the processes incident to its cooling. The discovery of a hydrogen band in the light of the spectrum of Uranus by

Secchi, Huggins, and Vogel, has been taken to indicate that there must be in this planet a temperature high enough at least to separate water into its constituent elements. The remote Neptune is almost certainly as much the twin of Uranus in its general features as Saturn is of Jupiter. The rings of Saturn are pretty surely a dense aggregate of small bodies circulating in independent orbits round the primary planet. The dark, or so-called crape, ring discovered by Bond in 1850 can hardly, however, be of the same nature as its bright associates. Its intrinsic character is, therefore, still looked upon as a question which remains to be disclosed in the future.

The nebular hypothesis of planetary evolution formulated by Laplace in 1796 is accepted as a bequest made from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. It is still contemplated as having a qualified measure of probability in its principal conceptions, although unquestionably quite inadequate to account for all the arrangements of the system that are now known. The discoveries of the spectroscope have added to the weight of the assumption of a common origin for the sun and planets, by the proof which they have afforded of the presence of similar constituent elements in all those orbs, and of the actual existence of vast masses of tenuous vapour, such as the hypothesis of Laplace conjectures the solar system to have sprung from, in the regions of space. The rapid revolution of the inner moon of Mars stands, on the other hand, as one of the more recent discoveries which demands a reconsideration of the details of the theory. Professor Newcombe also holds that the *inner* planets must have been *first* separated from any parental nebulous mass, and not the large outer ones, as Laplace assumes.

The most important new light in the direction of Laplace's hypothesis has, however, come from some very startling investigations that have recently engaged the attention of Mr. G. H. Darwin, at the present time Plumian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge, some results of which were communicated to the Royal Society on December 18, 1879. Lagrange's theory of the permanent stability of the solar system was based upon the conception that all the orbs comprised within that system were rigid bodies. Professor Darwin points out that this idea is obviously fallacious. The planets and satellites are only partially rigid, and therefore the system is not a stable one. The moon may possibly be approximately a rigid body, but even this cannot be said to have always been the case. At

one time the moon was assuredly a molten mass, and great lava tides were then set up in it by the attraction of the earth, and these tides were infinitely greater than any tides now produced in the liquid envelope of the earth, because the terrestrial mass is so much more vast than that of the moon, and also because the moon was once much nearer to the earth than it is now. The persistent turning of the same hemisphere towards the earth would be a wildly improbable circumstance if there were not some definite physical cause for such a result. But there is such a cause in the influence of a past tidal drag. If it be assumed that, when the moon was a molten mass, the sphere rotated either more quickly or less quickly than some assignable rate, the great lava-tides set up by the earth would either have retarded or quickened its rotatory speed until this particular result was secured. A state of balanced adjustment could only be set up when the rotation and revolution periods of the moon had been brought to coincide.

But the tidal wave, set up on the earth by the moon, reacts to a certain extent also upon the moon's orbital period. The moon is dragged forward in its path by the terrestrial tidal wave, as certainly as the tidal wave is drawn backward on the rotating earth by the moon, and this implies an enlargement of the orbit of the moon, and a recession of the moon from the earth. This process must go on until the day and the month both meet in a common period of about 1,400 hours. But if this be the case, the moon must have been once much nearer to the earth than it is now. Professor Darwin carries back his investigation in this direction to a time when the moon revolved about the earth in somewhere between two and four hours, and in a position where it was *nearly in contact* with the earth, and in which it was rotating in the same period—a state which may be looked upon as having been antecedent to the time when friction began its 'work of grinding down axial velocity and 'expanding orbital range.'

The moon then started on its long spiral journey out from the earth. Professor Darwin calculates that this start occurred not less than fifty-four millions of years ago! But the most rapid rate of rotation in a fluid mass, that would be consistent with spheroidal equilibrium, is two hours and twenty minutes. One second of augmentation more than this in the rate of rotation would inevitably cause the rotating mass to fly asunder. The presumption is that the earth *did fly asunder* from overfast spinning, and that such dis-

ruption was coincident with what Miss Clerke speaks of as the 'birth-throes of the moon.' Professor Darwin, however, conceives that, in all probability, the lunar-terrestrial system is an exception among the bodies swayed by the sun, due to the circumstance that the moon is *proportionally* by far the most massive satellite known, and that the influence of tidal drag has been concomitantly great. No other satellite ever possessed tide-raising capabilities at all comparable with the influence which is exerted by the moon. The separation of satellites from their primaries essentially depends upon the attainment of a disruptive rate of rotation—an effect which may be prevented by the secondary effect of the additional tidal drag set up by the sun keeping down the velocity of the rotation of the primary below the velocity that would correspond with the actual point of disruption. The earth just escaped this degree of retardation, and hence the existence of its solitary satellite.*

In speaking of comets and meteors, the 'Popular History of Astronomy' traverses the same ground which was covered by an article that appeared in this Journal in 1874.† A few brief passages will consequently serve to mark the direction in which progress has been since made in this branch of the science. The 'Popular History' dwells upon the practical point that no great comet is, of the planetary kind, revolving in an elliptical orbit round the sun. The small comets that travel in recurring elliptical paths traced about the sun are now looked upon as comets which are verging upon dissolution, and whose course is nearly run.

* It is an incidental assumption in Professor Darwin's theory that Mercury and Venus cooled down without dividing, and are without a satellite, because the solar tidal drag did thus keep down the rotatory velocity of those planets, and that the outer planets, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, possess their liberal allowance of satellites because the secondary tidal drag of the more distant sun did not control the early rotating velocities of those planets to the same extent. He also suggests that it is an ultimate consequence of the secondary solar tidal drag upon the earth and moon that at some future time the moon may revolve in a less period than that in which the earth rotates, exactly as it appears that one of the satellites of Mars now does in regard to its primary. The inner of the two recently discovered satellites of Mars, Phobos, revolves about its primary three times during a single rotation of the planet. Professor Darwin conceives that this arrangement may possibly be a forecast of the relations which will ultimately obtain between the earth and moon.

† See 'Comets and Meteors,' *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxl. (No. cclxxxvi.), October 1874.

The dissipation of the cometary substance is ultimately accomplished by the sun, and proceeds the more rapidly the more frequently the comet returns into the neighbourhood of the solar orb. 'Comets of short period,' on this account, 'wear out more quickly' than their more widely wandering compeers. Comets contract when they approach the sun. It is the tail only which at such times expands. Encke's comet, in 1828, during two months of approach towards its perihelion, shrank to the eleven-thousandth part of its previous volume. In 1838 the bulk of the same comet was reduced as it approached the sun, in the proportion of 800,000 to 1. In 1878 Professor Alexander Herschel drew up a list in which seventy-six instances of exceedingly probable identifications of meteor tracks with cometary paths were enumerated. Professor Kirkwood had already suggested, in 1851, that the sun exerts a 'divulsive influence' upon the nuclei of comets, and that periodic meteor streams are essentially disintegrated comets, whose matter has been distributed round their orbits by solar attraction. The loosely agglomerated cometic mass gradually separates through the unequal action of gravity on its various parts, or, in other words, through solar tidal influence; the pull being necessarily strongest where the intervening distance is least. At the very time that the article on Comets appeared in this Journal M. Bredichin, the director of the Observatory at Moscow, was studying closely the changing aspects of Coggia's comet, and pondering upon facts which led him shortly afterwards to distribute all comets into three distinctive classes, characterised by the form of their tail. They were comets in which the repellent energy of the sun acts twelve times as strongly as its attractive influence, and in which long straight tails are projected out from the nuclei with an initial velocity a little exceeding two miles and a half in the second; comets in which the repellent energy is approximately equal to the attractive influence, and the initial velocity of projection about 2,952 feet per second, with the developement of scimitar-like or plume-shaped tails; and comets in which the repellent energy rarely exceeds a fifth part of the attractive influence, with an initial velocity of projection of 984 feet per second, the resulting tails being short, brush-like, and strongly bent. M. Bredichin ultimately arrived at the conclusion that these different kinds of cometary tails were in reality composed of different kinds of constituent substance; that the tails with the high initial velocity were composed of hydrogen; that the tails

with the more moderate initial velocity were composed of hydrocarbon compounds; and that the tails with the smallest initial velocity were formed of pulverulent iron. Multiple tails of comets, when they occur, were referred to different kinds of matter diversely acted upon by the sun. This classification of comets by M. Bredichin has been substantially supported by spectroscopic observations. Tebbutt's comet, which made a brilliant appearance in 1881, has pretty nearly settled the question that identity of path in comets does not necessarily establish identity of individuality. A dissevered fragment of the comet which visited the close neighbourhood of the sun in 1801, followed in the wake of a distinct comet that had taken the same path seventy-four years before.

'Comet 111 of 1881 was thus of signal service to science. It afforded, when compared with the comet of 1807, the first undeniable example of two such bodies travelling so nearly in the same orbit as to leave absolutely no doubt of the existence of a genetic tie between them. Cometary photography came to its earliest fruition with it; and cometary spectroscopy made a notable advance by means of it. Before it was yet out of sight it was provided with a successor.'

The comets of 1843, 1880, and 1882 are now looked upon as distinct members of a connected system moving after each other in the same path. On January 29, 1883, Mr. Common observed five distinct nuclei in the head of a comet following each other in a line, and looking like pearls on a string. Schmidt, at Athens, saw a nebulous object following this comet at some distance, and apparently being an offspring by fusion of the body which it was pursuing. Thus it is now looked upon as certain that groups of comets may be met with following each other, after intervals of many years, in the same track.

A comet was observed in 1886 at Harvard University and at Melbourne, in which a very exact measure was obtained of the velocity with which the nucleus came up to its plunge into the sun's precincts, and with which it passed away from them; and it was found that there was no retardation of the movement in consequence of the passage. This observation seemed to have furnished a definite proof that there is no base for Encke's theory of a resisting medium growing rapidly denser towards the sun. The discovery of the hydrogen and hydrocarbon lines in the spectra of comets goes far to displace the old dogma that comets always consist of distinct solid particles, finely divided, and very widely scattered, although the notion of the extreme tenuity and levity of

the cometic substance is in no way interfered with. It is admitted Laplace fairly proved that, if Lexell's comet had contained as much ponderable substance as the five-thousandth part of the earth's mass, when it passed within 1,438,000 miles on July 1, 1870, there would have been a perceptible lengthening of the terrestrial year caused by its attraction. The parallel courses taken by the two fragments of Biela's comet in 1846, under the eyes of astronomers, without the slightest trace of relative disturbance between them, proved that this mass must have been considerably less than such five-thousandth part.

The shrewd idea, first boldly expressed by Olbers and Zöllner, in connexion with their investigations of the features of the great comet of 1811, that there is a distinct repulsive force, probably of an electric nature, acting upon the tails of comets when they approach the sun, has been substantially confirmed by subsequent observations.

The chapter on Stars and Nebulæ in the 'Popular History of Astronomy' is chiefly concerned with the examinations of star-groups and nebulæ, which have been made with the help of the spectroscope, and with the application of photography in securing permanent records of their present aspects. The photograph of the Orion nebula, recently made upon a dry gelatine plate, by Mr. Common's 3-feet silvered glass reflector, with an exposure of thirty-seven minutes, is referred to in evidence that photography has now assumed the office of historiographer to the nebulæ. In reference to the vast and still very obscure branch of the science touched upon in this chapter, Miss Clerke, in conclusion, says:—

'Particular association, indeed—as was surmised by Michell some sixscore years ago—appears to be the rule rather than an exception in the sidereal scheme. Stars are bound together by twos, by threes, by dozens, by hundreds. Our own sun is perhaps not exempt from this gregarious tendency. Dr. Gould conjectures that it belongs to a group of about four hundred of the brightest visible stars, forming a subordinate system within the confines of the Milky Way. Such another would be the Pleiades. The laws and revolutions of such majestic communities lie for the present far beyond the range of possible knowledge; centuries may elapse before even a rudimentary acquaintance with them begins to develope; while the economy of the higher order of association, which we must reasonably believe that they unite to compose, will possibly continue to stimulate and baffle human curiosity to the end of time.'

The account given of the 'Methods of Research' employed by astronomers is by no means the least interesting part of the 'Popular History.' The growth of the telescope, both in

its refracting and reflecting form, is traced through all its stages from the time of the tubeless refractors of Huyghens, and of the one-inch reflector of Sir Isaac Newton, to the optical triumphs of the present day. The comparative advantages of the two forms of the instrument are critically weighed and assessed. The magnifying power of 6652, employed by the elder Herschel, is with good reason stigmatised as an impediment rather than an aid to vision. The 6-foot reflector of Lord Rosse is spoken of as being beyond the dimension of the instrument that can be turned to any practical account under the circumstances of imperfect atmospheric transparency in which such instruments have to be employed. Spectroscopic and photographic apparatus rank merely as subordinate auxiliaries to the telescope. The advantages which the photographic plate enjoys over the eye are mainly that its surface is more sensitive to impressions than the living membranes of the eye, and that, in the case of the photographic plate, the sensitiveness may be increased enormously by prolonged exposure. The eye receives its fullest impression from luminous vibrating rays within a tenth part of a second, and any exposure carried on beyond that weakens, rather than strengthens, the effect; whereas, as has already been remarked in speaking of the Orion nebula, the clear picture has been made by the exposure of a dry gelatine plate, in the light collected by Mr. Common's 3-foot silvered-glass mirror, for thirty-seven minutes! Minute stars, which are far beyond the power of the human eye with any telescopic aid that can be provided for it, register their images distinctly upon the photographic plate. In the class of refracting telescopes the 18-inch object-glass of Chicago, the 25-inch glass of Mr. Newall, the 26-inch glass of Washington; the 27-inch of Vienna; the 30-inch glass of Pulkowa; and, finally, the 36-inch glass in process of construction for the Lick observatory in California, are noted as instances of the progress of successful work in this direction. These object-glasses are all probably too large for advantageous use in ordinary circumstances; and astronomy has consequently now to turn its attention to getting up above the grosser portion of the atmosphere when such instruments are employed. The Lick observatory, when the magnificent 36-inch object-glass is complete, is to be established upon one of the peaks of Mount Hamilton, a crowning summit of the Californian coast-range, 4,200 feet above the sea, and where unbroken atmospheric serenity prevails during six or seven months of the year. An observatory has been

established on the Pic du Midi, 9,600 feet above the sea, to serve as a 'succursale,' or branch establishment of the observatory of Paris, for special kinds of work. A similar observatory has also been planted in the Casa Inglese, on Etna, 9,655 feet above the sea.

In the concluding paragraphs of her interesting book, Miss Clerke briefly epitomises what has been done in both the planetary and stellar provinces of research during the eighty-five years that are principally concerned in her narrative, and then finally closes her retrospect in the following deprecatory words :—

'So rapidly has the developement of a keen and universal interest attended and stimulated the growth of power to investigate this sublime subject. What has been done is little, is scarcely a beginning; yet it is much in comparison of the total blank of a century past; and our knowledge will, we are easily persuaded, appear in turn the merest ignorance to those who come after us. Yet it is not to be despised, since by it we reach up groping fingers to touch the hem of the garment of the Most High.'

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of Miss Clerke's book is the constructive skill which has enabled so vast a theme to be efficiently dealt with within the limits of 450 pages. The broad range which it covers will have been fairly indicated by the subjects that have been glanced at in this article. But a deliberate and careful perusal of the book itself could alone give any fair notion of the ability with which the contents of its pages have been selected and arranged. Exactly the facts which are the most worthy of being told in such an historical sketch have been seized upon, and fitted into place. The work is essentially what it professes to be: a Popular History. But it is so because any well-educated person will be at once interested in the course of the narrative, and able to follow up its train of connected argument without effort or strain. It is only a Popular History, however, in that sense. Its science is as uncompromising, far-reaching, and sound, as its language is clear. One secret, no doubt, of its success as a literary effort is that the entire progress of the lengthened narrative has been thoroughly grasped in the writer's mind, and settled into coherent form as a well-organised whole, before its details have been touched by the pen. The industry and care which have been devoted to the task are manifest in the fact that more than one thousand authorities have been consulted during the preparation of the book. One thousand and three direct foot-note references are made to the sources from

which the information has been drawn; and it must by no means be lost sight of that this wealth of reference has a value beyond the mere facilities which it affords for the verification of statements. Each reference puts the finger upon the spot where the studious reader will most readily find what he wants, in order to follow up any particular investigation to a wider issue. In one notable passage in which the authoress is speaking of the meteor shower of 1868, she says that 'dense crowds of meteors rushed across the sky with a determinateness of aim as if let fly with a purpose, and at some definite object.' The reader of this book will find that in numerous instances the words of the narrative seem to have caught the spirit of these meteors, and that sparkles of 'meteoric' thought have been let fly with a purpose, and strike home to their aim; thus, in alluding to Bessel's determination of the parallax of the star 61 Cygni in 1840, as indicating that the distance of the star must be 600,000 times the distance of the sun, Miss Clerke says that 'this was the first instance of a fathom line thrown into the depths of celestial space having *touched bottom*.' The nebula in Canes Venaticæ, when it was first looked at by Lord Rosse's large telescope, 'shone out as a *whirlpool of light*.' In referring to the infinite number of circumstances that have to be taken into account and weighed in the practical work of astronomy, the remark flashes forth that 'there is no once for all in astronomy.' In regard to a laboriously built-up book that was devoted to a detailed account of the objects seen upon the moon's face, it is said that 'the light which was furnished by the book was "*a dry light*," not 'stimulating to the imagination.' The meteoric fusillade that is kept up for hours without a single projectile touching the surface of the earth suggests that 'the celestial army had been supplied with *blank cartridges*.' The failure of all the larger telescopes to add anything material to the discoveries of astronomy implies that 'the penalties of bigness are heavy.' The periodical presence of a single wandering comet '*chained down from escape into outer space* by planetary attraction can in no way impair the symmetry of the majestic spectacle of planets and satellites, harmoniously circling in obedience to universal law.' The anomalous irregularities still exhibited in the movements of the moon indicate that 'even our satellite threatens to *break from the trammels of calculation*, to commit errors' which shall compel a revision of the lunar theory. These instances, culled almost at random from the pages of the book, will sufficiently indicate

the point of the remark that there are meteoric sparkles in passages of this 'History' which are akin to the meteoric outbursts of the nocturnal skies.

In passing from the very pleasant task of speaking of the 'Popular History of Astronomy,' space only remains to say that the 'Story of the Heavens,' offered by Dr. Ball,* the Royal Astronomer of Ireland, appears in a form that is even more attractive to the eye and more pretentious than the companion book. The story is told in a volume that is excellently printed, and profusely adorned with pictorial illustrations, and this constitutes a leading characteristic in its claim to establish itself as a popular exposition of the branch of human knowledge of which it treats. Dr. Ball of necessity travels over very much the same ground that has been traversed by the 'History;' but in doing so he professedly adopts the more ordinary form of the descriptive manual rather than that of the historical method. His narrative moves with the free and easy swing that all who have heard his lectures on astronomical subjects are familiar with. But the facility of his words can scarcely be held to compensate for the absence of the finish and grace with which the less masculine 'Popular History' has been worked out.

The strong recommendation of the 'Story of the Heavens' is the fullness and exactness with which it treats the scientific side of the subject. The work is obviously the production of a craftsman who thoroughly knows what he is about. The weak side of the book is the too ready facility of expression with which the story is told, the too free and easy way in which the pages are thrown together. In other words, the scientific grasp of the author is stronger than the literary skill. In the allusion to the vast measures of dimensions and distances with which astronomical science so largely deals, Dr. Ball's happiest characteristics come prominently into view. The really marvellous subtleties of the processes by which an intelligible notion of the immense remoteness of the stellar orbs is reached are considerations in which the author is supereminently at home. The chapter on 'The Distances of the Fixed Stars' is virtually a reproduction of an admirable account of the most recent investigations in that particular, inclusive of his own immediate contributions to the work, which was given by Dr. Ball at a meeting of the Royal Institution of Great Britain on February 11, 1881. He starts by reminding his readers

* Now Sir Robert Stawell Ball.

that, if the bright star Vega, which is one of the most brilliant of the fixed luminaries of the heavens, were withdrawn to six times its present distance into space, it would still be quite visible to the naked eye as a star of the sixth magnitude; and that, if it were withdrawn to one thousand times its present distance, it would still be seen with the help of one of the largest telescopes. But this leads to the question of what the actual distance of the bright luminary, so circumstanced, is. That is still an unmeasured and immeasurable quantity. This was also the case until the year 1840 with all the fixed stars which sparkled in the sky; but in that year the astronomer Bessel succeeded in getting an estimate of the distance of the not very bright fixed star 61 Cygni, by measuring its apparent distance in the sky from other fixed stars that presented themselves in its neighbourhood at intervals of time six months apart. In midwinter, for instance, the earth is 185,400,000 miles away from the position of space which it occupies at midsummer. In the full twelve months any fixed star consequently appears to move round upon the background of the sky in an ellipse whose breadth is inversely proportional to the distance of the earth from the star; that is to say, the further the star is away the smaller is the elliptical sweep which it is caused to make on the background of the sky in consequence of the earth's elliptical movement through space as it revolves about the sun. Bessel, having devoted three years to the task of examining whether the star 61 Cygni describes any elliptical path of this character upon the sky, finally came to the conclusion that it does trace such an ellipse, and that that ellipse is of the apparent dimensions which a penny-piece would present placed at a distance of six or seven miles from the eye. He consequently inferred that the distance of 61 Cygni from the earth is enormously more vast than the 185,400,000 miles span of the orbit of the earth.

The earth moves along in its orbital sweep through space with a speed of eighteen miles every second. This is more than one thousand times the velocity of the express railway train travelling sixty miles an hour, and one hundred times the velocity of the rifle bullet when it leaves the mouth of the gun. It takes the earth eight minutes to pass over a space equal to its own breadth. But light travels with a speed nearly one million times as great as that of the bullet, and would pass round the equatorial girdle of the earth seven times in a single second. It is well understood that it is

the momentum inherent in this speed which sustains the ponderous mass of the earth in the void regions of space, and which prevents it from being drawn into contact with the sun. All the vast orbs of the firmament are sustained by the same influence. They are all rushing along in their own proper journeys through space. This is the true meaning of the drift, or proper movement, of the stars. It is not possible, in the existing state of man's knowledge of the arrangements of the universe, to think of the stars as doing anything else. This star-drift, indeed, is an inevitable necessity. The star 61 Cygni, which has a proper motion in space of five seconds in the course of the year, is in reality travelling along through 920 millions of miles in that time. It passes through between two and three millions of miles in a day, and through thirty miles every second. It would nevertheless take forty thousand years to traverse the forty billions of miles which intervene between it and the sun. It was twenty-five times as far away from the earth one million of years ago as it is now. The fixed star marked as 1830 in Groombridge's catalogue is now known to be something like five times as far away as 61 Cygni, and to be performing in space every year a journey which is seventy times more vast than the distance of the earth from the sun. With this rate of speed it cannot be moving along with a velocity of less than two hundred miles every second, and would accomplish the distance between the earth and sun in five days. The sun itself, with its vast family of dependent orbs, is performing a similar drift through space. It moves through an interval that is equal to its own breadth every two days. It is speeding along towards the sparkling host which now constitutes the star-group known as the constellation Hercules. But it will have to travel a full million of years before it has joined the Hercules group of the sidereal firmament. Such are some of the subtle conceptions which are effectively dealt with in the Royal Astronomer of Ireland's 'Story of the 'Heavens,' and which in that sense form a not unworthy appendix to the altogether charming 'Popular History of 'Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century,' which appeared so immediately before it.

In the very full and clear account of Darwin's tidal theory, which Dr. Ball has included in his book, he somewhat happily alludes to the earth as holding the position of a vast revolving fly-wheel, which has been disconnected from the driving machinery. A large amount of energy is stored up in such a whirling wheel, which is drawn off to be expended

in work, and which must all be expended before the movement comes to rest. Energy is thus stored in the earth's rotation, and is drawn off and used by the resistance of the tidal drag. The store is enormous in proportion to the demand which is set up. There is nevertheless a quite appreciable loss. The speed of the earth's movement is diminishing, and the length of the day, in the same ratio, is increasing, and will increase, until its limit has been reduced into something like six hours. Dr. Ball very intelligibly accounts for the oversight which appears to have been made by Lagrange, in treating the planets and satellites in his analytical calculations as if they were rigid bodies, by pointing out the almost infinitesimal minuteness of the measures which have to be dealt with in investigating the question. A foot rule held forty miles away has the apparent span of one second of arc. But this is a coarse and manageable quantity compared with those which have to be instrumentally discriminated in such considerations as Professor Darwin has been concerning himself with. In all but the most absolutely skilful hands such measures are inextricably involved in the mere casual errors of observation. In the circumstances of the case it is certainly no reproach to the mathematical reputation of Lagrange that the theory of tidal drag has been left for the investigation of Professor Darwin.

ART. V.—*Oceana ; or, England and her Colonies*. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 8vo. London: 1886.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequent repetition of the statement that England is a great maritime and colonial power—a mighty Oceanic Empire—we have been slow to recognise, and perhaps do not yet adequately appreciate all that is meant by it. The present and even the past generation could have pointed out on the map of the world the many spots, some vast some small, some near some distant, tinted with a single hue, that make up the extensive dominions of the British Crown. But to nearly all of us it was the geographical position and the size, the ubiquity of our acquisitiveness, and the considerable fraction of the earth's surface which we had acquired, that would have seemed most notable. Many, and not always those in the least favourable situation for obtaining knowledge, have yet to learn the full significance of the wondrous transformation that has been wrought in remote regions of which, within

recent memory, great part was an unexplored wilderness. It is desirable that all should become familiar with the condition, changing, as it may be, with every stage of a rapid progress, of the opulent and prosperous communities which glory in the rule of Queen Victoria, and support the credit of the English name in a different hemisphere and under other stars. Every capable observer who visits our colonies and gives us an intelligent account of them is entitled to our gratitude. We regard it as particularly fortunate that a man of Mr. Froude's eminence should have been able, and above all just now, to carry out his long formed intention of making a colonial tour, and that he has given the result of his observation to the world.

Having resolved to go by the long sea route—scarcely longer in fast steamers, as he remarks, than that by the Suez Canal—he was enabled to pay another visit to the Cape of Good Hope, an incident of his voyage which no reader of his narrative will regret. As in so many other matters, chance had its influence in determining the selection of the vessel in which he took his passage, and the goddess Fortune seems to have been particularly kind to him. The 'Australasian,' though belonging to a 'small and as yet 'little known line of Aberdeen packets,' had excellent accommodation for the few saloon passengers that she carried; the breakfasts and dinners were superior to any which Mr. Froude had 'ever met with in any steamer in any part of the world,' and the captain was evidently an exceptionally agreeable and competent officer. The following outline will give an idea of the extent and direction of Mr. Froude's route. He left Plymouth on December 9, 1884, and arrived at Cape-town, where he remained only a few hours, on the 30th of the same month. On January 18, 1885, he called at Adelaide in South Australia, leaving that colony on the following day for Melbourne, which was reached on the 20th. In Melbourne and other parts of Victoria he spent rather more than three weeks. He then went by land to Sydney, and, after a fortnight in New South Wales, sailed on February 26 for Auckland, in the north island of New Zealand. Landing at Auckland on March 4, he made an excursion to the Hot Lake country, saw the Maoris at home, inspected the beautiful wonders of the Pink and the White Terraces, paid a visit of several days' duration to Sir George Grey in his island home at Kawau, and left the colony after about a month's stay in it. While homeward bound, he touched at Honolulu in a steamer which bore him to San Francisco.

From the latter place he proceeded by way of Chicago to New York, and, taking passage in the swift and splendid Cunard liner 'Etruria,' which made her four hundred and forty miles a day, he arrived at Liverpool on May 16, after an absence from England of little more than five months.

Mr. Froude did not visit Queensland, Tasmania, or the southern island of New Zealand. We are inclined to think that neither he nor his readers have lost much from his not having gone to the first-named colony. He would have had to travel in it at what even enthusiastic Queenslanders would not deny is the most unpleasant, or at all events the least pleasant, season of the year. Considering the length of time that he had spent in Victoria and New South Wales, it is not likely that he could have seen in Queensland anything very different from what he must have already observed, or that he could have made an important addition to his stock of information. It is true that he would have found the agitation for the division of the colony in lively activity. But the movement is, apparently, so entangled in a network of local and class interests and jealousies that it is doubtful if even Mr. Froude's skilful and practised pen could make an account of it either useful or attractive to any but Queensland readers. Had he gone to Tasmania, he would have enjoyed, at the re-named capital, Hobart, the most delicious summer climate in the world, and he would have had a glimpse of a colonial community to which its go-ahead neighbours attribute an un-enterprising satisfaction with a condition not deficient in comfort, but unaffected by any desire for progress. However, it was the progressive and not the non-progressive societies which Mr. Froude wished to observe, and about which we most care to hear.* We think that it is much to be regretted that want of time and the necessarily disturbing effect of the rumours of war between this country and Russia prevented his seeing the south island of New Zealand. Though they have been settled more recently than any of our Australasian colonies, Otago, and still more Canterbury, would have shown him reason perhaps for modifying his opinion, that 'there has not been time for 'local varieties of character to form amongst the colonists;' and that 'no great variety was likely as yet to have esta-

* We may note that Mr. Froude should anticipate the vengeance of Tasmanians—(1st) because he passed by their country without visiting it; (2nd) because he gives it the old and discarded name of Van Diemen's Land. The latter they consider an unpardonable offence.

'blished itself among' them. In scenery, in climate, in mode of life, in the standard of culture, and in the structure of society, Canterbury is to Australia as much a foreign country as Massachusetts. The scheme of colonisation put into practice by the Canterbury settlement seemed foredoomed to failure, yet none in recent times has been more completely successful. Its fortunes are now united with those of the rest of the colony, and it bears its share of the debt that weighs upon New Zealand, but it still cherishes the recollection of the surpluses of its semi-autonomous period. In no other new country has English life been so faithfully reproduced, and nowhere are the evidences of well directed enterprise and energy more convincing. Even at Auckland there is not much to prepare a visitor for what he will find at Christchurch.

In the story of his tour Mr. Froude has given us a delightful book of travels. In the limpid style of which he is a master he discourses of many subjects, and makes each page attractive reading. To relieve the tedium of the voyage he took with him a few volumes of pocket classics; and his narrative is enlivened with criticisms of Pindar, and Virgil, and Horace, and Ovid. With a free hand and a delicate touch he paints for us the scenery of the strange lands through which he passed, the aspects of colonial society as they presented themselves to him, personal experiences of an agreeable or a disagreeable character, the services of spiders at the Melbourne Observatory, the immigration into New Zealand of 'Cotton of Christchurch' and his swarm of bees, descents into gold mines, the rapacity of lodginghouse keepers, and the wounds inflicted by mosquitos. The freedom of hand does not vanish when he relates the history of our proceedings in South Africa, exposes the ignorance of the Colonial Office, calls attention to the fatuity of English politicians, disparages the perspicacity of economists, and repeats his disbelief in democracy. He imparts to us, clearly and with evident fidelity, the opinions of eminent colonists on such important questions as colonial federation or a closer union with the mother country, opinions which he had gathered from conversations with them. It is true that his acquaintances usually belonged to a small select and, as we shall have occasion to point out, not accurately representative class. Still their views on the matters named are worth attention, and we are glad to receive them.

Mr. Froude's intention in undertaking his travels was to visit Australia and New Zealand, and it is our own to follow

him there rather than to disregard his example, and, as he did not do, tarry at the Cape of Good Hope. Yet we must not, any more than he did, pass it by without notice. The subject of South Africa is not a pleasant one to the English public, which has probably heard rather too much of it. We specially commend to those who take a serious view of the difficulties and responsibilities of the position which the mother country has assumed with respect to her dependencies the perusal of Mr. Froude's third and fourth chapters. They constitute a fragment of recent history which is worthy of study. No one to whom the honour of his country is dear can read without a sense of shame the writer's authoritative and fearless exposure of the ignorance, the folly—is it too much to say the perfidy?—that have marked our dealings with South Africa. We have neither space nor inclination to repeat the dismal story, but we may invite attention to Mr. Froude's conclusion. He says:—

‘It is of course certain that if we choose, and if we act consistently with conscientious resolution, we can govern South Africa as we govern India; we can have a native policy of our own, and distribute equal justice to white men and black under our own magistrates, responsible only to English opinion. Under such a rule the country might be peaceable and fairly prosperous. It is equally certain that if South Africa is to rule itself under a constitutional system, we must cease to impose English views of what is expedient on a people unwilling to act upon them. We cannot force them at once to govern themselves and to govern in the way which we ourselves desire. You can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink; and attempts to combine contradictory methods will lead in the future, as they have led in the past, to confusion and failure’ (p. 59).

From all that he heard at Capetown, Mr. Froude concluded ‘that we have now but one hold left upon the South African ‘Dutch, and that is their fear of the Germans.’ And if any should ask how it is that we have been brought to such a pass, here is the explanation:—

‘I suppose (and this is the essential difficulty in our colonial relations) that the Government knew what it would be right to do, but were afraid to do it in fear of an adverse vote in the Parliament to which they were responsible; and party interests at home were too important to be sacrificed to the welfare of remote communities’ (p. 54).

It is pleasant to be able to go on, as Mr. Froude did in the good ship ‘Australasian,’ ‘from political discord and the ‘conflict of races,’ ‘from intrigue and faction,’ to the more remote and more harmonious communities to make whose

acquaintance he had set out. He had a new fellow passenger, who had been thirteen years at the diamond fields, and who, having 'made some kind of fortune, was now flying 'from South Africa as from a country past saving.' The long passage of 6,000 miles across the Southern Indian Ocean seems to have been not unpleasant, though once the weather was so cold that the temperature of the water sank to within ten degrees of freezing. The ship was followed by a bodyguard of albatrosses and other sea birds; and we have a description of the albatross on the wing which is as accurate as it is pleasing. Mr. Froude seems to have expressed his own feelings when he said that 'after their 'own island, the sea is the natural home of Englishmen.' In his wanderings he must have seen many proofs of the truth of the quotation from its namesake of the seventeenth century, which he prints in the beginning of his own 'Oceana,' 'The sea gives the law to the growth of Venice, but the 'growth of Oceana gives the law to the sea.'

The first point touched at in Australia was Port Adelaide, the capital of South Australia bearing the same name being seven miles inland. Though not more than fifty years old, the latter has a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and the Port is fast growing into a second city. 'The first thing 'that struck me,' says Mr. Froude, 'and the impression remained during all my stay in Australia, was the pure 'English that was spoken there. They do not raise the 'voice at the end of a sentence as the Americans do, as if 'with a challenge to differ from them.' Other visitors, however, who have seen much of the country, have noticed a peculiar pronunciation of some of the vowels as general in all the Australasian colonies, except New Zealand. Like other new comers our traveller was struck with the ambitious magnificence of Adelaide. It is well laid out, its streets are wide, its public buildings are 'on the grand scale. 'Churches of all denominations are abundant and handsome—symptoms of a people well-to-do, and liking to have 'an exterior worthy of them.' Of course he was taken to the Botanical Gardens of which the citizens are so justly proud. Although his time was too short to see more than the outside of Adelaide, and he had no leisure to observe the ways and 'characters of the men who made it,' he was yet able to make acquaintance with two interesting natives. One was the Australian magpie, which 'has the sweetest 'voice of all Australian birds, a low crooning but exquisitely melodious gurgle.' The second was another bird,

the laughing jackass, whose 'laugh is exactly like a man's, not the genial sort, but malicious and mocking.'

It is unfortunate that Mr. Froude could not make a longer stay at Adelaide. If he had, he would not have recorded his conviction that of its hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants not one 'has ever known, or will know, a moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day.' As it happened, he visited the place at a time of general and great commercial and industrial depression. The effects of this were severely felt by many of the labouring classes. Almost contemporaneously with the publication of 'Oceana,' there appeared in the 'Economist'* a letter from Adelaide painting the condition of the colony in gloomy colours. In many localities the wheat crop promised so badly that no attempt would be made to reap. The great copper mines were no longer able to earn dividends. In three years the shares of one of them had fallen from 12*l.* to 1*l.*, and those of another from 5*l.* to 10 shillings. Within six miles of the Adelaide post-office there were over two thousand houses and cottages to let, and 'meetings of hundreds of the unemployed have become almost a daily affair.' No wonder that thousands of her best artisans had left the shores of South Australia during the previous eighteen months. Probably they had felt some 'anxiety as to the recurring regularity of their three meals a day,' and had felt it during the period extending back beyond the date of Mr. Froude's visit. We here contrast the two reports just quoted, because it is well to point at once to the risk of conveying erroneous impressions of the condition of a strange country that is run by the most experienced and acute of travellers, if the sources of information are restricted and the period of observation short.

After Adelaide, the first appearance of Melbourne was disappointing. 'The city has grown hastily and carries the signs of it on the surface.' The citizens have been too busy to study appearances. By the side of splendid buildings and superb shops are houses little better than sheds. The adornment of the city has not, however, been altogether neglected, as appears from the descriptions of the public gardens and of the view from the windows of Government House; and the process of beautifying it will, no doubt, be carried further. Mr. Froude was in some sort received as a public guest. He was lodged in Government House by the

* Economist, January 16, 1886.

genial hospitality of Sir Henry Loch, carried off to stay at the Governor's summer abode, conveyed through the most attractive part of the country by special trains in a railway carriage lined with blue satin, with a butler 'in a separate compartment with provision baskets, wine, fruit, iced water, and all other luxuries and conveniences.' He found carriages at the stations and rooms at the best hotels, all of which cost him nothing. He was entertained by municipalities, and 'personally conducted' by a member of the Victorian Cabinet. He modestly attributes the greater part of the honour of being so received to his companion Lord Elphinstone, who had joined him at Melbourne, and who—with one or two capital sketches—has assisted in illustrating Mr. Froude's book, which also contains several specimens of the author's own skill as an artist. We may believe that the Victorians desired to show civility to a peer of the realm, but it is not unlikely that they were even more desirous to show it to an eminent man of letters who might publish a narrative of his excursion.

The account we have of the best society in Victoria is singularly interesting:—

'Party followed party, and it was English life over again: nothing strange, nothing exotic, nothing new or original, save perhaps in a greater animation of spirits. The leaves that grow on one branch of an oak are not more like the leaves that grow upon another than the Australian swarm is like the hive it sprang from. All was the same—dress, manners, talk, appearance. The men were quite as sensible, the women as pretty, and both as intelligent and agreeable. . . . Several of the Victorian ministers dined with the Governor while I was there, and other gentlemen of present or past distinction. They seemed all to be persons who would have been distinguished anywhere—made of the same material as our public men at home' (p. 103).

Nor were men of science wanting to complete the attractiveness of a circle which is described for us as so delightful. At a certain dinner Mr. Froude had on one side the Premier, and on the other the Government Astronomer, who afterwards showed him the Observatory and its wonderful breed of spiders, carefully reared for their fine web, the threads of which are used for dividing into squares the surface of the glasses of instruments employed in delicate observations.

'Other English organisations are also reproducing themselves, of a kind which some philosophers regard as the rank growth of European civilisation, to be made war against and extirpated. They appear, however, to be natural productions, natural in new countries as well as

in old. A landed gentry is springing up in Victoria, with all its established characteristics. Sir —, a baronet with 160,000*l.* a year, and an estate as large as Dorsetshire, called afterwards at Government House, a distinguished highbred-looking man, who invited us to a cruise in his yacht, and kindly pressed me to pay him a visit at his country house, see his picture gallery, &c. There is room in Australia for all orders and degrees of men. I travelled afterwards through Sir —'s property. His "tenants" spoke favourably of him, and had no wish to change their occupancy into ownership' (p. 109).

Are, we may ask, the 160,000*l.* a year, the 'estate as large 'as Dorsetshire,' and the 'tenants,' results of that 'cheap 'and easy transfer of land,' of which we have heard so much lately as being a sure preventive of the 'concentration of 'landed property in a few hands'?

There are, it seems, such people as Australian absentee proprietors; for on visiting a squatter's station, which Mr. Froude had imagined 'a great pastoral range with a wooden 'hut run up in the middle of it,' he found that he had arrived 'at an English aristocrat's country-house reproduced in another hemisphere, and shone upon at night by 'other constellations. Inside, the illusion was even more 'complete. The estate belonged to a millionaire who resided 'in England.'

The Minister who accompanied him would not allow him to linger at this specimen of 'old-fashioned baronial Eng- 'land renewing itself spontaneously in a land of gold and 'diggers,' but ordered him off to Ballarat and Sandhurst. These great towns owe their origin to the rich 'diggings' near which they have sprung up. At the first named, though gold mining is still the principal industry, the city is already a great agricultural centre, 'and is growing more and more 'so.' There is a charming picture of the scenery through which the way to it ran:—

'... We shot out of Melbourne, and for the first fifty miles were carried along the shores of the great inlet of Port Phillip. The soil was bare and little cultivated—generally unoccupied and uninteresting. I was struck indeed with the extent and solidity of the enclosures—strong railings of eucalyptus wood—but there was little to enclose except a few cattle. All was changed as we entered the hills. Here the land had once been densely wooded. The trees in many places had been cleared off. Along with the railings we found thickset hedges of thorn and gorse; we passed pretty farmhouses with solid outbuildings, corn fields and potato fields, cottages with their plots of vegetable grounds, parklike pastures, cows and sheep abundantly scattered over them, signs everywhere of vigorous and successful

industry. At intervals the "bush" remained untouched, but the universal eucalyptus, which I had expected to find grey and monotonous, was a *Proteus* in shape and colour, now branching like an oak or a cork tree, now feathered like a birch, or glowing like an *arbutus*, with an endless variety of hue—green, orange, and brown. The ground where it had been turned up by the plough was dark and rich. It was harvest time. The corn shocks were standing English fashion, red and yellow, out of the stubble, or were being carted away and raised into stacks. On the low meadows there was hay. The dark-leaved potatoes, untouched by blight, were in full blossom. It seemed incredible that I was in a new country; that within half my own life all this had been a wilderness' (p. 118).

Mr. Froude was to see something more of another industry. After a visit to the Governor's country seat at Mount Macedon, 3,000 feet above the sea, a cool retreat from the Melbourne summer, which, we are told, 'becomes oppressive, especially to children,' he was taken to the St. Hubert vineyard. The blue satin railway carriage again conveyed him to the place at which it is stated—probably on Victorian authority, for in the neighbouring colonies, which are also viticultural, a different opinion may prevail—'the only entirely successful attempt to grow fine Australian wine had been carried out.' The visit to St. Hubert, with its three hundred acres of vines, its rows of hogsheads in the cellars, its presses, and its vats, might have been pleasanter but for the heat. At eight o'clock in the evening the temperature in the verandah was ninety degrees. On the following day it was ninety-eight in the shade; but the traveller's inexorable conductor insisted on carrying him off to a picnic near some giant trees, higher by a hundred feet than those of the Yosemite valley. Another night was spent at the vineyard, and the return journey to Melbourne was made in extreme heat, when 'the air glowed as over a furnace.' As happens now and again in that dry hot climate, a 'bush fire' broke out, and many miles of forest were in flames, threatening the Governor's cottage, but fortunately stopping short of it.

Having seen the good agricultural region and the finest vineyard, having been entertained at banquets by the mayors of the great towns of Ballarat and Sandhurst and observed the beauties of their public grounds, having descended into gold mines and been presented with 'quartz fragments 'bright with sprays of native gold,' the visit to the colony was drawing to a close. Mr. Froude thus sums up his impression of Victoria and the Victorians:—

'The colony, and Melbourne as its capital, have evidently a brilliant

future before them. They cannot miss it. The resources of the country, pastoral, agricultural, and mineral, are practically unbounded. The people, so clever and so energetic, will not fail to develop them; and if the Premier was over-sanguine (as I think he was) in believing that Australia would grow as rapidly as America has grown, and would grow to equal dimensions, there is no doubt at all that if they have no misadventure and are not interfered with from outside, in fifty years there will be an Australian nation, of which the Victorian will be a leading branch, able to hold its own and to take its place among the leading powers of the world' (p. 157).

The 'if' covers a saving clause of immense importance. 'If they have no misadventure,' we may safely assume that all will be well. What follows is less reassuring, and, though applied to Victoria only, would, we think, be found to be Mr. Froude's opinion of all the Australasian colonies.

'The political condition is not, I think, entirely satisfactory. In Victoria there are no privileged classes, no inherited institutions which require to be modified to suit the change of times. Where all are, or may be, comfortably off, there is no dissatisfaction with the distribution of property, and therefore there is no natural division of parties which constitutes the principle of parliamentary government. Parties in the colonies are artificial, and therefore unnatural and demoralising' (p. 157).

'Politics in democracies tend always to intrigue or faction, but the peril is intensified when there is unreality in the very form of the constitution. The good sense of the colonists has prevented so far any serious harm. But they have passed through one dangerous crisis; and parliamentary government, it is likely, will prove but a temporary expedient adopted in imitation of English institutions, but incapable of permanence' (p. 158).

The last sentence is a dark saying. It may perhaps be illumined by a preceding suggestion that an executive body, with a position resembling that of the United States Cabinet, would be more suitable to the colonies, a suggestion to which we shall return hereafter.

In one place Mr. Froude allows that he may have been shown only the bright side of things and may have been deluded by his guides; and he tells his readers to make such deductions as they please. The admission at least proves that we have not to do with a De Tocqueville; but we have, nevertheless, the impressions of one of the most eminent men who have ever visited the Antipodes. There is reason to think that these were noted down as they were received. His view of society becomes less enthusiastic the more he sees of it. We have already quoted his earlier accounts. Before leaving Victoria, he says: 'Society in Mel-

'bourne is like society in Birmingham or Liverpool. There 'is no aristocracy, and there are not the manners of an idle 'class.' Owners of 'estates as large as Dorsetshire,' and proprietors of 'baronial' country establishments, are apparently excepted or forgotten. What follows looks ominous: 'There is an idle set at the lower end of the scale: noisy, 'riotous scamps, who are impertinent to peaceful passengers, 'and make rows at theatres, a coarse-type version of the 'old Mohawks—they call them *larrikins*. The young men 'who are to inherit fortunes are said to leave something to 'be desired.' As he goes further on his travels and sees more, the more distinctly unfavourable becomes his opinion of the rising generation. The Sydney colonists, he remarks, 'have 'no severe intellectual interests. Of the "heroic type of 'man" there will not be many, when the generation is gone 'which was born and bred in the old world.' On his way homewards Mr. Froude regretfully remembers that in the colonies themselves he had associated chiefly with the elders. His travelling companions were of a different type, 'good 'people, but a little consequential.' His suspicion was confirmed 'that young Australians, growing in the full sun-'shine of modern ideas, were less absolutely benefited by 'those ideas than true believers in them could desire.'

His summing up of the characteristics of the youth of the country sounds like an indictment. A fellow-passenger on board the steamer bound to San Francisco took an unfavourable view of the rising generation of colonists. Mr. Froude was sorry to have to agree with him more than he wished.

'Those whom we had on board, and there were a good many, were of the moneyed kind, who had leisure and means and the self-sufficiency that goes along with it. Of these I liked none. They were, as a rule, vain, ignorant, underbred, without dignity, without courtesy, and with a conceit which was unbounded. Middle-class democracy is not favourable to the growth of manners, and, with all my wish to find it otherwise, I had to contrast them, not to their advantage, with two or three English youths among us, who, though belonging to the same social class, might have been another order of beings. . . . You may venture any liberties provided you flatter sufficiently. One thing you must not do: you must not express the shadow of a doubt of their present and future magnificence' (p. 346).

From Melbourne Mr. Froude went to Sydney by railway, travelling with a free pass sent to him by the New South Wales Government. The moment of his arrival was one of the most interesting in the history of the colony—that of

the offer by it of a contingent to reinforce our troops at Souakim. To this he found the general sentiment of the community 'loudly favourable,' though there was a minority opposed to it. New South Wales was believed to be in favour of Imperial and against Colonial Federation, because the latter seemed to tend towards eventual separation. The despatch of troops was 'a practical demonstration in favour of 'Imperial unity,' and there was great enthusiasm. Sydney has not the splendour of Melbourne, but it has equal comfort. New South Wales is as 'go ahead' as Victoria; but it has been longer settled, and its people, who 'have contracted from the climate something of the character of a 'southern race,' go about their work more quietly. Mr. Froude describes with animation the beauties of the Sydney Gardens, and of the harbour of Port Jackson. Though not 'personally conducted' about the colony by Ministers, whose hands were pretty full of the work of raising and sending off soldiers to Souakim, he was hospitably entertained and saw much of the society of the place. He speaks with evident satisfaction of his meeting with two remarkable and brilliant men, the Chief Justice and the acting Premier of the Colony; and his conversations with them on such important subjects as colonial government and naval defence are full of interest and instruction.

To Auckland in New Zealand he made his way in an American mail steamer. Scarcely had he landed when he was beset by interviewers demanding his opinion, 'as if at 'the pistol's mouth,' on a long list of subjects. He had made the acquaintance of similar enquirers in the other colonies which he had visited. In the first chapter of 'Oceana' we are reminded that 'the tendency of people in the later 'stages of civilisation to gather into towns is an old story.' At Sydney Mr. Froude had noticed that the working people have in recent years flocked into the place, and are accommodated in makeshift fashion, 'in slatternly sheds rather than 'human habitations.' Dwellings of this class are probably as new in the longer settled Australian cities as the 'palaces 'like Aladdin's,' which he saw overhanging the shallow bays of Port Jackson, or the 'baronial' residence at which he sojourned in Victoria. The existence of both classes in a new country shows that there has been a rapid formation of social strata of almost immeasurably different level. Taken with what follows, it is, probably, to be regarded as neither beneficial in the present nor promising for the future. There is not a city in New Zealand, with its 600,000 inhabitants,

that has half the population of Adelaide, or a fourth of that of either Sydney or Melbourne. Yet we are told of Auckland that 'here as elsewhere the labourers crowd into the town, 'for the high wages, the music halls, and the drink shops. 'The municipality finds them unlimited employment, by 'raising loans cheerfully in England in hopeful confidence 'of being able hereafter to pay them.' The 'high wages' require an explanatory commentary. 'Wages in Sydney are 'twice what they are at home;' but 'what in England costs 'sixpence, in Sydney costs a shilling.' For everything except 'the necessities of life,' to which wage-earners like to apply their own standard—'in Auckland, as well as in 'Sydney and Melbourne, a florin would go no farther than a 'shilling at home.' This looks like a dark shadow in a generally brilliant picture of a land of promise. It makes the shadow all the darker to discover that, 'for a poor man 'it [California] is better than even Victoria and New South 'Wales, for not the necessities of life only are cheap there, 'but the best of its luxuries.'

In the excursion from Auckland to the country of the Maoris and the marvellous terraces, Mr. Froude saw several sights of interest, some helping to explain the rapid growth of an excessive urban population.

'We passed through an open, rolling country, with hardly an enclosure, hardly a trace of cultivation anywhere. It was not the fault of the soil, which was richer than ever. . . . So long as we were on the colonial territory, and had not entered the reserve, the land was the property of capitalists, either in the colony or out of it, who had bought on speculation for the calculated rise in value. It was waiting for occupation till the owners chose to sell, and the centrifugal forces to be looked for hereafter dispersed the city crowds.'

That is what he saw for himself. This is what he was told afterwards by Sir George Grey's head-boatman at Kawau:— 'A poor man could not get land in New Zealand.' It may be mentioned that on his journey to the Maori reserve Mr. Froude was joined by the owner of an estate of over 50,000 acres.

Of the Maoris it is sad to hear that 'they have been 'ruined physically, they have been demoralised in character 'by drink.' The district of the hot springs near Roto-rua is owned by some of them as a village community. The Government pays them rent, and on this they live 'like ladies 'and gentlemen,' and do no work, but enjoy themselves chiefly in frequent baths in the warm pools. In another native settlement in the neighbourhood, which received no

rent from the Government, the villagers were more industrious. Their houses 'are exactly the same as the mud cabins in Ireland, but cleaner, neater, and better kept. As in Ireland, however, it was the wrong sex that was doing the work.' The men were looking on while the women were digging. Mr. Froude might have imagined himself 'in Mayo or Galway as they were forty years ago.' And to this, contact with us has brought the Maori warrior, who, 'before the English landed in New Zealand, was brave, honourable, and chivalrous.' Have we nothing to blame ourselves for in the other quarter? One gentleman who was encountered at Auckland had devised a short way with the remnant of the Maoris. The native lands were the richest in the island, and could be taken from them and sold to pay off the colonial debt, due principally to English creditors. The honour and the chivalry have not passed over to the intrusive white men.

The most notable person whom Mr. Froude saw during his travels was Sir George Grey. This remarkable man, one of the ablest who have ever served the country, was once Governor of the Cape Colony, and twice Governor of New Zealand. After his second government, he settled in the latter country, on an island in the Hauraki Gulf about thirty miles from Auckland. Here he has built a handsome house, and laid out a garden 'where among orange groves and figs and pears, the choicest hothouse flowers blossom carelessly, having once been introduced.' He has also brought to his island sheep and deer of various kinds, wild hogs and wallabys, wild turkeys and wild peacocks. Over the people in his service he has established a patriarchal monarchy, and they feel for him 'as the sons of Ivor felt for Fergus.' Inside the house are priceless treasures, rare Maori weapons of jade, long heirlooms in chiefly families; illuminated missals; an old French MS. of the fourteenth century, and other precious objects. On the tables lay 'the floating literature of London only a month or two behind.' Sir George, since he descended from the gubernatorial chair, has taken an active part in local politics, and has formed ministries and destroyed them. Such are his ability, experience, and services, that we say, without reserve, that there is no man in the empire whose views on colonial questions, especially on the great one of imperial union, more deserve attention.

Proud of and full of affection for the mother country, he was convinced that its future depended on its power of maintaining the attachment of the colonies. As to the advantages of the present system of local responsible govern-

ment he was doubtful. In his own New Zealand, at all events, he thought that it did not work well. It was his opinion that an overwhelming majority of the colonists do not look to deliberate separation, and that, with prudent management, the present relations of the mother country and her dependencies might be indefinitely prolonged and the union grow stronger by mere force of custom. He strongly deprecated 'all artificial attempts at a mechanical 'union.' He believed that the self-governed colonies might have representatives in London, but that the several representatives should not form a council amongst themselves. Other colonial politicians were also opposed to such a council. The proposal to give them seats, with or without votes, in the British Parliament did not meet with his approval. He held that hereditary titles were disliked and suspected in the colonies.

A fishing excursion made by Mr. Froude very nearly resulted in the loss of himself and his companions. But fortunately they were driven over to the mainland and found comfortable shelter in a farmhouse. He had accordingly an opportunity of seeing something of rural life in the colony. The picture that presented himself to him was, as he says, a pretty one. 'One day,' he thinks, 'there will be homesteads 'such as this all over New Zealand, when the municipalities 'can borrow no more, and the labourers must disperse or 'starve;' and when, we presume, those 'who had bought on 'speculation for the calculated rise in value' see fit to sell their land. Of the possible future of the colony he formed a high estimate, holding, as most impartial visitors do, that, 'so far as the natural features of a country tend to produce a 'fine race of men, New Zealand has the advantage of Australia.' The passage in which he makes known his opinion is one of the finest in his book. He winds up thus:—

'If it lies written in the book of destiny that the English nation has still within it great men who will take a place among the demigods, I can well believe that it will be in the unexhausted soil and spiritual capabilities of New Zealand that the great English poets, artists, philosophers, statesmen, soldiers of the future, will be born and nurtured' (p. 239).

When he sailed from Auckland for San Francisco, the object of his expedition to the Southern Hemisphere had been attained, and we need not follow him on his homeward route. From the account that we have already given, it will have been observed that in Victoria, at least, he saw little of its social divisions but a single one. His narrative and his

own admission, and still more his description of his subsequent acquaintances, make it clear that he derived his earlier recorded impressions from those whose careers, and, probably, whose class interests naturally prompted them to paint the condition of things in brighter colours than others would have been likely to employ. No one would divine from a perusal of 'Oceana' that the Australasian colonies had been passing through, and, in some instances, had not completely emerged from, a commercial crisis of no mean severity. Some of its symptoms in South Australia have been already mentioned. It fell heavily upon New Zealand. Victoria did not by any means escape it; and in New South Wales it was sharply felt. No country in the world, as is well known, was unvisited by it; but there were special phenomena connected with it in the Australasian colonies which make it matter for great regret that such a traveller as Mr. Froude did not observe and comment upon its effects.

Mere sluggishness of trade, however deep and long continued, might, likely enough, escape the notice of the keenest stranger; but in the places named it revealed itself in outward and visible signs which were gravely significant. Not long before Mr. Froude's visit, in Sydney alone, as reported by the leading newspapers, there were hundreds of men out of work, without a home to go to, sleeping in the open air, and depending for food upon the subscriptions of the charitable. This, be it remembered, was in a land of promise, in which, like the author of 'Oceana,' we are repeatedly informed, work is plentiful and wages are high, and to which everyone should hasten. We are far from desiring to discredit or discourage emigration to the colonies; but it is of interest to know what immigrants on arrival are to expect, and if they are likely to find a state of affairs officially described by the highest police authority in these words: 'The season is inclement, the homeless are very poorly clad, and they have no means of procuring food, being out of work.' The 'trying period' continued for months after Mr. Froude had left the Southern Hemisphere.* Much as we must deplore the distress, in England, at any rate, we are not disposed to like the remedy. In accordance with a recognised Australian precedent, of doubtful merit, work was found for many of the unemployed by the Government, but not until the public offices had been beset by sullen crowds.

In the adoption of that course will, perhaps, be found the

* See the 'Times' of January 22, 1886.

secret of some of the perplexing social phenomena of these distant colonies. The original settlement of South-Eastern Australia had no sort of analogy with that of Northern America. As it was without the romance of the latter, so it was without the self-reliant energy which prompted it. The foundation of Australian colonisation and its earlier management were the direct and unaided work of the Home Government. For some years it was entirely supported, and for several more greatly helped, by money from the Imperial Exchequer. For a considerable period its political system was that of a rigid autocracy, without the checks imposed upon all other modern autocracies by the public opinion of neighbouring states. It has not been in possession of veritable popular institutions for more than a third part of its history. Its most experienced public men, even of the present day, were born and received their first impressions under a system of which nearly ubiquitous official management and interference were the predominant features. The remoteness of the country and the comparative rarity of communication between it and the rest of the civilised world were, also, very unfavourable to the growth of either original or healthy political sentiment. Only an echo of the great events that from 1830 to 1848 distracted Europe from Manchester to Ofen could have reached the distant and much-governed community. Of the vast concerns which occupy the public mind in the mother country they can hardly have formed a notion. 'Their situation,' as Mr. Froude says, 'does not allow it.'

We need not, therefore, feel surprised that, notwithstanding the fidelity with which most of their political system has been copied from our own, there is a general disposition to rely upon the action of the Government to an extent which, in this country, is frequently qualified as un-English. It may be admitted that in new countries much that in older may safely be left to private enterprise is properly entrusted to the executive of the governing power. But the action of that power should be subjected to an unintermittent and jealous supervision. The smallest evidence of an intention to overstep the boundaries of its sphere of duty should be immediately and sternly withstood. In the Australasian colonies—even in those in which, like South Australia and New Zealand, first settlement was largely independent of Government initiative—the intrusion of the Executive into affairs usually regarded as beyond its concern is not only approved by public opinion, but is looked for.

In no country in possession of constitutional forms, except Germany, would a Minister have ventured on the startling step, taken by the brilliant man at the head of the New South Wales Cabinet, of sending a military force to the Soudan. Though the Legislature was not in session, and no attempt was made to gauge the sentiments of the community, the latter was, as we have seen, 'loudly favourable.'

But the performance of an act highly and indubitably beneficial to the unity of the Empire does not by itself justify the assumption by a government of duties which do not in strictness belong to it. Popular approval quite as general, though not so 'loudly' expressed, follows upon Government action of less established excellence. There is, probably, in the Australasian colonies only an insignificant minority of those engaged in public affairs which does not regard it as the entirely proper function of the Executive to undertake public works of all dimensions, from the building of a lock-up to the construction of a trunk line of railway; to superintend the raising and expenditure of the loans out of which their cost is defrayed; to introduce by artificially stimulated immigration the labour for their execution; and, somehow or other, to find or make work for labourers out of employment. Even in colonies, as in Victoria, where the Government is restricted from giving direct pecuniary aid to immigrants, the restriction does not rest upon a principle, but is due to the supposed inconvenience to the working class that would result from it, and the consequent hostility of that class to any grant of the kind. The wealthy frequently demand it; and most visitors have listened to their complaints that they are unable to secure its bestowal. Indirectly the pecuniary attraction is held out, as the all-performing Government can so arrange the expenditure of its borrowings that labour will be enticed into a colony from its neighbours.

The increase of the Australian population during the last quarter of a century has been contemporaneous with, and may have been fostered by, the practice of borrowing largely from non-resident creditors. It is true that the enormous sums* provided by strangers have usually, though not always, been spent on public works expected to prove remunerative. But it is equally true that to put into the hands of governing bodies—whose tenure of office is cha-

* Including the debts of corporations, &c., these amount to, in round numbers, 130,000,000*l.* ('Economist,' 5th December, 1885, and 2nd January, 1886.)

racterised by extreme instability—command over the expenditure of a large amount of money not derived from the taxpayers from whom those bodies receive their mandate, but from outsiders, to whom they are only remotely responsible, is not favourable to administrative morality or political prudence. In a country in which, as Mr. Froude observes, ‘party is purely artificial, and party politics therefore are not a contest of principles but a contest of intrigues,’ and in which, also, the Government is expected to be perpetually doing something, borrowing largely, to develop its resources, is sure to be popular. The present generation is becoming familiar with this plan of developement, and seldom remembers that it implicitly leaves to posterity the duty of repayment. In a community directly interested in a large portion of the expenditure, and only indirectly concerned in meeting the liability it creates, eagerness to profit by the golden stream flowing in the form of frequent loans may overcome the desire—felt, no doubt, at first—to leave no debts long unpaid.

It is a matter of ascertained certainty that the investment of English capital in the production of Australian wealth has been beneficial, not to the British Empire alone, but to the whole world. The questions for solution are, if it has been as beneficial as it might have been, and if it has been unaccompanied by mischief to the colonies themselves. Mr. Froude’s acquaintance, who proposed to rob the Maoris in order to pay the public creditor, and who ‘seemed to think’ that to cease to borrow and to repudiate would go together,’ and the member of a firm with whom he transacted business, and who thought ‘it was our own affair; as long as we were ready to lend they would not cease to borrow,’ notwithstanding ‘some uncertainty’ in the employment of the money lent, supply unpleasant evidence of the demoralising effect of the present practice. Unhappily there is other testimony to the same effect. Sets of men compete for the control of the local legislatures that they may substitute their own scheme of public works and the necessary loans for the scheme of the officials in power. The difference between the two lies in the selection of the interest or locality which shall be most favoured. The great thing is to get the money. The life of a Cabinet in the Australasian colonies is usually short and always precarious; and to obtain authority to raise a loan and not to manage the spending of it is a political disaster.

The whole art of government becomes more and more to successfully advertise the borrowing colony. The Official

Statist of Victoria has recently let the world into a secret or two—of course, about other colonies. ‘The customs’ value ‘put on goods in New South Wales has been, in many instances, higher than the retail value of those goods in that colony.’ ‘In some, if not all, of the colonies, the value of ‘the imports is habitually overstated.’ ‘The exports also ‘are believed to be habitually overvalued.’ A practice of ‘unduly swelling the shipping returns’ was in force, but is being abandoned. The aggregate population of the colonies is over-estimated by ‘fully $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.’ The representative of one colony, on the eve of the issue of a railway loan—inno-cently, no doubt—put the receipts at fully a quarter of a million more than the official report, afterwards received, shows them to have been.* The ‘Statistical Register’ of New South Wales not long ago added twelve and a half million pounds of wool, received in a given period from other colonies, to that which was in reality produced within its own limits; and gave as the export of gold for ten years what was ‘positively no less than 10,170,041*l.* in excess of ‘the value of gold raised in the colony.’† All the mistakes are, it will have been seen, on one side.

These are some of the evil effects of the present system. There are others even more serious. Party government, transplanted from England, where it had only slowly matured, has degenerated into a mere struggle for the opportunities of office. Like other persons who have visited that beauteous land, Mr. Froude ‘could not but think what a country New ‘Zealand might become if it were wisely ruled.’ It would be strange if he had not been even more strongly induced to think the same in Australia. He seems to have been spared witnessing a debate in any of the legislative assemblies. ‘Debate that cannot be called which does not admit of any ‘man being permitted to speak for two minutes together ‘without offensive interruption in defiance of Mr. Speaker ‘[of the Victorian House] and his calls to order.’‡ Where there are no real politics, office has few responsibilities, and its freedom from these and the chances it affords to the unscrupulous give intense keenness to the contest for it. Angry men hotly in earnest are not usually mealy-mouthed. So we have ‘assertion and contradiction, the lie direct given and

* ‘Economist,’ 12th December, 1885.

† ‘Sydney Morning Herald,’ 26th March, 1885.

‡ Melbourne, 1st December, 1885; in the ‘Times’ of 22nd January, 1886.

‘retorted, charges of corruption hurled backwards and forwards between the Treasury and the Opposition benches.’ In another Assembly the ‘lie direct’ is accompanied by an oath, and even the Speaker himself is roundly sworn at; or two ‘honourable and learned’ members engage in fisticuffs. In yet another Assembly there is a ‘scene of the wildest confusion, the Ministerialists shouting “blackguard,” “ruffian,” “coward,” &c., and the Premier himself being among the ‘shouters.’ These deplorable spectacles occur in assemblies in which the proportion of working-men members is no greater than in the House of Commons; and the aggregate incomes of those belonging to them would require expression in large figures.

The community has, fortunately, influence enough over its representatives to insist occasionally upon good legislation: but sometimes its interests have been infamously betrayed. Impressed with the sight of labourers crowding into Auckland, and the causes of it, Mr. Froude exclaims: ‘The English race should not come to New Zealand to renew the town life which they leave behind them, with a hand to mouth subsistence as earners of wages on improved conditions. They will never grow into a nation thus.’ In that colony, of nearly ten and a half millions of acres, held by thirty-one thousand freeholders, fifteen hundred of the latter held seven millions and a half.* Sir George Grey’s head boatman seems to have told Mr. Froude the truth. A large and increasing urban population is an ascertained fact of Australian progress. Victoria and New South Wales have each about nine hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; of these very nearly one half, perhaps even more, live either in the capitals or in their immediate neighbourhood. There are in Victoria two other large cities besides Melbourne. At Adelaide Mr. Froude found one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and the Port which joins it was growing into a second city. Probably two-thirds of the population of South Australia inhabit the capital and the district near.

No doubt a great part of the land in Australia is not suitable for arable farming, and it may be destined to remain a pastoral country with a relatively small population; but legislation has much to answer for. An official report, issued at Sydney in 1883,† one of the ablest and most fearlessly

* ‘Statesman’s Year Book’ for 1885, page 842.

† ‘Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands,’ instituted January 8, 1883. This admirable volume well deserves perusal.

expressed public documents ever written, and one that by its tone encourages hopes of the future, makes known that on the passing of the Land Act then in force considerably more than half the population was composed of 'rural residents.' In 1881 the country population was not three-fourths of the urban. There was 'a marked concentration in the towns' and a diminished proportion of country settlement.' To judge from the report, this has been the direct result of legislation.

'It is manifest all through the mass of testimony that the conservation and beneficial management of the Crown Lands as the heritage of the colony have been the last matters considered. . . . It is in evidence that self-interest has created a laxity of conscience in all matters connected with the Land Law, and the stain attaches to men of all classes and degrees. . . . The plain meaning of any existing Act is now of less weight than the caprice or bias of the Minister, and it is notorious that the most effective mode of getting business done at the Lands Department, whether in terms of the law or with the view of thwarting its operation, is to select a land-agent who is a member of the popular branch of the legislature.'

Politicians of this kind would, probably, have gladly resigned to the 'wise man' of the apophthegm the business of ballad-making, if he would have left to them the more profitable business of making laws. It is not to be wondered at that one division of the country 'has produced eighty huge estates' up to 300,000 acres, from which human habitation has been 'all but obliterated.' All this had happened in little more than twenty years.

Anyone who reads the report will be able to form some idea of the process by which the 'baronial' establishments already mentioned have been constructed. 'A landed aristocracy,' says Mr. Froude in one of his weightiest pages, 'growing of itself, might be a necessary and useful institution. A landed aristocracy created by legislative manœuvring could be nothing but an evil.' Yet in the earlier days of his tour he had said, with reference to the 'English aristocrat's country house' at which he was a visitor: 'These were the people whom our proud legislature thought scarcely to be worth the trouble of preserving as our fellow subjects. It seemed to me as if at no distant time the condescension might be on the other side.' To us it is astounding that so eminent a man could descend to such a puerility. Attempts are being made to introduce an improved system, with what consequences, now that so much mischief has been done, time alone can show.

Mr. Froude is of opinion that an approximation to the

constitutional institutions of America would be more beneficial to the colonies than that copy of those of the mother country which they have so generally adopted. We altogether concur with him in thinking that an executive with assured stability in office for a term of years would be infinitely preferable to the present fugitive Cabinets. Where the body on whose decision the duration of a ministry depends is numerically small, the vote of each individual member has a disproportionally considerable value on a division. One or two legislative free lances, by swinging from side to side, can usually turn the scale; and where true political distinctions are little known, ministries will be changed on ludicrously unimportant issues. Any plan that would prevent this could hardly fail to be an improvement. We do not, however, see the smallest justification of the view that the governor should be replaced by an elective president. In addition to other strong objections to it, such a substitution would lead to what Mr. Froude deprecates as earnestly as we can ourselves, viz. to inevitable and perhaps early separation. This is not the way to weld together the scattered members of Oceana. The governor is the symbolical and effective link between the colony and the mother country, and one of the only two visible links now remaining. His position at present in a responsibly governed colony is highly anomalous. It is that of a constitutional sovereign who neither reigns nor governs. Mr. Froude is properly indignant at the manner in which the Imperial Government has occasionally selected its colonial governors; but he met with at least one instance in which the duty of selection had been well and conscientiously performed in the person of Sir Henry Loch. At present a governor is precluded by the circumstances of his constitutional position from initiating any considerable political reforms, perhaps from even hinting the wisdom of introducing them. Placed at the head of such an executive as that just suggested, a capable and experienced man of affairs would be in a situation to confer enormous benefits not only on his colony, but also on the whole empire.

The question of a closer union between all the members of that Oceana which Mr. Froude says exists, though in imperfect confederacy, already, is one of the most important which British statesmen can be called upon to solve. Like him, we have no patience with those who spare themselves the trouble of confronting it by taking refuge in the declaration that it is 'impossible.' It was not by otiose utterance of the word 'impossible' that our great imperial structure has been

reared. Hasty theorists with ill-considered schemes of union may be expected to produce repulsion rather than attraction. Existing conditions in any particular member of the loosely combined commonwealth may need alteration before all can be properly knit together. It is the business of statesmen to discover where and what these are, and in what direction the course of change should run. We should remember that the wealthiest and mightiest confederation known was the work of men of our own race, and that we, in so far more fortunate than they were, have experience of the result of their labours to guide us, should we ever attempt the task of imitating them.

At home no one now openly advocates desertion of our colonies. Our view is becoming accustomed to the wider horizon of our imperial domain. We have to clear our sight still more before we can perceive distinctly all that lies within it. We have to appreciate the reality of all that our dependencies are to us, and all that we might be to them. We, at least, owe them something in compensation for the mischiefs we have done them in forcing on them governments unsuited to their condition. Mr. Froude brings forward ample testimony to the loyal attachment of the colonies to the mother country. The heat with which our policy in Egypt, our conduct of affairs in the Soudan, our relations with Russia were discussed by our fellow-subjects at Melbourne, at Sydney, and at Auckland, shows the depth of their interest in and their affection for the country which they all call 'Home.' On both sides there is a desire not only to maintain the union but to make it closer.

Mr. Froude suggests a few small expedients which he thinks may help on the process. Some of these have already been adopted, and others, we believe, would be unwise. He counsels the admission of young men from the colonies into the army, navy, and Indian service. Many of them already enter the army, and some have risen to considerable distinction. One of the most eminent cavalry officers of the day is an Australian. Another officer whose gallantry won for him a prominent place in De Neuville's picture of the Highlanders at Tel-el-Kebir, and who died fighting in the Soudan, was also an Australian. There are, no doubt, very many other officers from different colonies serving in the army in various parts of the world. As regards the navy, not only can colonial youths enter it on exactly the same terms as those born in England, but a fixed number of cadetships is

specially reserved for them. Admission to the Indian service is, of course, open to them as to others.

To transfer eminent colonial judges to the English bench would be most impolitic. In the first place why to the English—which, of course, Mr. Froude means—more than to the Irish or the Scottish? In the next place, would it be prudent to take a judge whose experience was limited to the judicial business of Tasmania or Newfoundland, with populations not exceeding that of a third-rate English provincial town, and put him on the bench at home? Or are the smaller colonies not to be considered? If so, what is to give the qualification? If population, at what figure must the line be drawn? And if the population of one colony increases faster than that of another, is the former to take over the right of judicial transfer from the latter? These questions must be answered before the proposal can be considered. Even if they be satisfactorily answered, another difficulty remains. The colonial judges are the nominees of the colonial ministries, and have themselves been, frequently if not usually, ministerial partisans. Occasionally they owe their appointment to flagrant jobbery.* Suitors in England are not likely to relish the transfer to their own bench of judges concerning whom they know nothing but that they are nominees of small local legislative cliques. There would be less difficulty as to Mr. Froude's suggestion about admission to the bar, for litigants may be expected to look after their own interests in the selection of their advocates. There is, however, one link between the judicial systems of the mother country and her colonies—and that not an unimportant one—which does not appear to have attracted Mr. Froude's attention. The whole judicial system of the colonial empire and the conduct of every judicial officer in it are controlled by the right of appeal to the Queen in Council. The colonial legislatures make their own laws, but these laws are interpreted in the last resort by the Judicial Department of the Privy Council; nay, more, the legislative powers of the colonial assemblies are liable to be challenged and limited by the authority of the Crown, giving effect to the Acts of the Imperial Parliament from which those powers are derived. Such cases are of frequent occurrence. Quite recently it has been decided that the

* See the 'Times' of January 22, 1886, for the history of 'a terrible job, and that of the very worst kind, because it is connected with the administration of justice in the Supreme Court' of Victoria.

Dominion Legislature of Canada had not the power to pass a Liquor Law binding on the North American provinces, and that the Legislature of New South Wales had not the power to relieve a member indefinitely from the service of the House. This appellate jurisdiction is by far the most important power still retained by the Crown over the colonies, since it affects all public and private rights in them and is exercised on strictly legal grounds. The colonies, we have reason to believe, are aware that this judicial control is valuable to themselves, because it places the decisions of disputed questions in a tribunal absolutely removed from all local influences, and administered by the highest authorities of the law.

Mr. Froude's proposal to give additional honours to colonists opens up a wider question than he apparently anticipated. There is no doubt that the decorations of St. Michael and St. George, of which he speaks, have in some instances been very unfortunately conferred. As an inevitable result, the order has fallen greatly in the estimation of the colonial public. This is proved by the anxiety, to which Mr. Froude gives expression, to share in the honours of the Bath. There is no guarantee that the estimation in which that Order is now held would not also be lowered. Titular distinctions, as he learnt before quitting the colonies, are 'disliked and suspected' in them. The Government of New Zealand once warmly protested against the mode in which titles and decorations are awarded. In the legislature of another colony their bestowal has been the cause of angry debate. They are too often conferred upon men whose chief recommendations are their rapidly acquired wealth and the luck of contributing to some institution which at the moment attracts public notice, or upon prominent politicians. It sometimes happens that the decorated person does not receive his star till after his short official life has been abruptly put an end to. The 'Fountain of Honour' is then in the awkward position of conferring dignity upon a defeated and discredited politician in violent opposition to the constitutional advisers of the Governor.

The uncertain duration of colonial ministries under the existing political system renders any form of direct representation of distant colonies in the councils of the mother country unadvisable, if not impracticable. No one would know whom the delegates were representing. If commissioned by the local Cabinet, a man might very probably discover that his principals had left office before he could land in England.

If chosen by the Legislature, or some other electorate, he might find himself in sympathy with, or in opposition to, his own Government several times over within a limited period. In the House of Commons he would be in a highly anomalous position; in the House of Lords he would be useless. The difficulties, moreover, of determining the attitude that he should assume towards the political parties of the Imperial Parliament would be insuperable. The proposal to make eminent colonists Privy Councillors is open to the fatal objections that it would be merely conferring on them an empty title, and that their selection must practically rest not with the Sovereign but with the local Cabinet. If the representative is appointed for a fixed term irrespective of changes of ministry, he would become a simple agent. A council of Agents-General might be of some use in giving information to the home authorities, but its functions could hardly be more than purely consultative. It is remarkable that all suggestions yet made for the representation of the colonies at home practically confine the field of selection to the wealthy, and by no means popular, minority of the colonial population. Wealth in the colonies has not the prestige of long possession, even where its rapid acquisition has been irreproachable. The great mass of colonists would suspect the objects of, and consider themselves misrepresented by any of the class possessing 'English 'aristocrats' country houses' or 'palaces like Aladdin's.'

The Federation of the Australasian colonies is not likely to be accomplished until many changes have been made within each of them. A considerable time must elapse before differences of tariffs have been so diminished that an identical Customs policy is likely to be adopted by all. Owing to the rapidity with which some of them have parted with the public domain, there is little hope of an early agreement upon a Land policy. The persistence with which the less heavily burdened colonies contrast the proportion of their debts per head of population with that of others discloses the improbability of a fiscal union—at all events, for some time to come. Even if the liabilities are to remain as the 'State' debts of a confederation, the less indebted colonies may feel some anxiety about joining with more heavily involved neighbours. The union of the former 'provinces' of New Zealand has certainly been accompanied by some anxiety of the kind. The question of State-aided immigration is one on which the sentiments of different colonies are, and are likely to remain, widely divergent. In addition to

all these obstacles to agreement, the serious local jealousies have to be taken into account.

‘To the question what political measure should be taken ‘to preserve the union,’ says Mr. Froude, the Australian colonists ‘would answer generally, no measures at all save in ‘a better organisation of the navy.’ They remember, if we in the mother-country have forgotten, that ‘Oceana, the ‘great empire of which Great Britain is the stem and the ‘colonies the branches, was the creation of the naval enterprise of England.’ In fact, besides the representative of the Sovereign, the Governor, the navy is the most visible link that binds us together. But not only does union depend upon a proper organisation of our naval forces; the prosperity of the colonies is absolutely dependent upon the security of the oceanic highways. Unobstructed transport of their exports to the markets of the world in general, and especially to those of the mother country, is essential to them. As Mr. Froude reports the views of the colonists with whom he conversed on the subject, it appears that they incline to a payment to the Imperial Government of the expenses of an adequate squadron, but that the home authorities prefer the establishment of a united Australasian fleet. In our opinion both plans are open to serious objections. Taking the latter proposal first, we may quote what Mr. Froude says against it: ‘Let them do what they will, they have enormous ‘difficulties to contend with.’ Such, he finds, are the circumstances of the colonies, that ‘it is almost impossible to ‘keep efficient crews together and maintain the necessary ‘discipline.’ This would, of course, apply to either a confederate fleet or separate colonial squadrons. Organisations of both kinds would be much more expensive and much less efficient than the Imperial squadron which they would replace. A federal fleet is utterly impracticable because of local jealousies. In time of peace each colony would insist upon the money it contributed to it being spent within its own limits. During war no colony would bear to see its proportion of the force withdrawn from its own waters, even for urgent strategic reasons that could not be made public.

Supposing that either the federal fleet or the local squadrons were formed, what would be their international status? Unlike an army, a navy visits foreign territories in times of peace. Would the rest of the maritime world give the position now accorded to the imperial navy to a force independent of the authority that represents the empire to foreign powers? Might not the force be used in defiance of the

wishes of that authority? Mr. Froude was not alone in thinking, during the excitement occasioned by the action of Germany in New Guinea, that possibly Australians, with a fleet of their own, 'would have sent their ships round to warn the Germans off. Of course it was not likely, but it ought not to be possible.' Australians seem to think that even the question of a flag for a colonial navy can be settled just as the home government pleases. Both they and Mr. Froude are apparently ignorant that the adoption of a flag depends upon international agreement. So long as public ships are permitted to visit foreign ports, so long must the right of recognition of the symbol of nationality remain with the powers whose waters are visited. In practice, hitherto, the recognition may never have been refused; but a naval force not belonging to an independent sovereign State would be a new thing, and new decisions concerning it would be probable.

The desire of colonists to contribute to the expenses of the navy proves that they know what would be best for them. 'The cords that hold Oceana together may be slight in appearance if they are woven of seamen's hemp, but no hemp is better spun than the Admiralty ropes, with the red thread at the heart. The union with Australia would be at once a visible fact, and that in a form which would leave no opening for interference with colonial autonomy.' A money contribution from each colony, as suggested, has very little to recommend it. It is not very easy at present to pass estimates within a reasonable time through a single House of Commons. The work would not be facilitated by repeating it in half a dozen, or more, tumultuous colonial assemblies. Even if appropriated as a first charge on the local revenues, an unscrupulous politician in search of temporary popularity would have a strong temptation to revoke it. The colonial taxpayers might have an honest conviction that the squadron was not efficient, that its ships were kept too long without thorough overhaul and repair, that its guns were obsolete and inferior to those carried by foreign visitors, or that the class of ships composing it was unsuited to the work allotted to them. They might also believe that the employment of the squadron was not arranged in a manner conducive to their interests. If they should come to hold these opinions, it would be unjust to expect them to pay, and absolutely impossible to compel them.

Admitting that the naval power of England, which has reared the structure, is the best, indeed the only, guardian of our great Oceanic Empire, there is still a plan by adopting

which Englishmen, both in the colonies and at home, can bear their share of maintaining it, and which would be just to both and free from difficulties. If our squadron is to be of any real use in guarding the lines of communication during war, certain colonial ports, as places of supply and refit, must be kept open to it. At present we have induced the colonists to spend considerable sums, probably exceeding half a million sterling, on building heavy forts in the neighbourhood of their larger cities. These may secure the cities from capture, supposing, what is hardly conceivable, that any enemy would attempt it. But they do not and cannot secure unmolested access to the harbours or free egress from them. Something more than preventing a place of supply from falling into an enemy's hands is necessary. Communication with it must be kept open, not for an entire fleet alone, but for individual ships damaged or requiring supplies, and also for unwarlike trading vessels. This can only be effected by the maintenance at each place of mobile floating defences. If the colonists will not provide these, sooner or later we shall be compelled to do so. But they are willing to do much in helping us to defray the cost of our squadron. If we point out to them that if they spend their money on this most essential element of maritime strategy, they will at the same time relieve us of expense and be able to manage their own disbursements, there is no reason to doubt that they will do it. We shall both be spared much loss of money and many complications.*

We have not concealed the difficulties in the way of a closer union between the scattered members of the empire. We have shown that before any real approach to it can be hoped for, many and considerable changes in the colonial institutions must be made. Sincerely believing that a closer union is necessary to the good of the mother country, and much more to that of the colonies, we hold that our public men at home have a plain duty before them. They should do their utmost to persuade our brethren in the colonies to make a careful, patient, and dispassionate enquiry into their financial and social condition. They should advise and assist them to reform their exotic and unsuitable political institutions. They should send to them, to represent the sovereign, the ablest men, whether political partisans or not. The

* A reservation of a certain area of the public domain, before it all disappears, might afford from its rent enough to meet the cost of these local naval defences.

Colonial question, as it is called, is fast coming up as the great problem which statesmen will have to solve. One thing is quite certain; we can travel along no path more surely leading to dismemberment than that which is described as 'a vigorous' foreign policy. In the fervour of their affection the colonists may spring to our assistance on the day of difficulty; but self-preservation is a law of nature to them as to others, and they do not dissemble the mistrust and alarm with which they regard imperial difficulties and complications. There are no worse enemies of imperial unity than the members of the restless clique whose influence—utterly disproportionate as it is to their numerical strength and sagacity—is perpetually exerted to convert Great Britain into a military empire of the German type. They may succeed in gaining, if not honour, yet honours and more substantial rewards, by waging ignoble conflicts with barbarian foes, and may so accustom the nation to the spectacle of paltry wars that it may be induced to surrender its position as the first of naval for that of the last of military powers. If they do succeed, dismemberment will be at hand. The study of our colonial history, early and recent, will disclose the *arcanum imperii*, the true secret of such an empire as ours—that it is necessary to possess and retain great, unequalled, predominant naval power.

ART. VI.—*Ireland under the Tudors; with a succinct Account of the Earlier History.* By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. In two volumes. London: 1885.

IT is a matter of great importance to politics as well as literature that the subject of Irish history should of late years have so largely engaged the attention of our most distinguished writers. Perhaps the very greatness of the interests at stake in contemporary politics has, especially in the case of Irish writers, enhanced the difficulty of our ascertaining the actual facts concerning the relations of England with Ireland during past centuries. It would be too much to expect in a country that has never had the faintest reflection of national unity that its writers should agree in the judgements they express respecting the policy of the rulers or the acts of the people. Accordingly, the advocates of English ascendancy are usually found to use all sorts of glosses and hypocrisies in disguising the real story of Irish

wrongs, while Nationalist writers, blinded by passion or prejudice, have no scruple in misrepresenting facts so as to find in their annals new sources of exasperation against England. The exigencies of politics have likewise left their mark on this branch of literature. They have somehow fostered certain imaginative sympathies which repudiate the severe truths of history and cause a widespread connivance at fiction. It is a distinct advantage under these circumstances that there should have been an immense addition made to the stores of our knowledge from the national archives before historians of a better class should have undertaken to unravel the complexities of Irish policy. As something more is needed to give dignity and worth to history than the power of drawing character or describing society by picturesque and ideal contrasts, these writers have generally shown a rare skill in weighing the value of records which preserve the lineaments of an age in colours which cannot deceive us. They have thus shown us how historical criticism works like one of those filtering cisterns which render our streams purer in their progress than at their source, and are thereby enabled to give meaning and vividness to the past without exactly turning it into an exaggerated image of the present.

It is about thirty years since Lord Macaulay and Mr. Froude gave a fresh and simultaneous impulse to the study of Irish history by the publication of their histories of England. The last struggle of a proscribed creed and a conquered race was never written with such picturesque brilliancy as by Macaulay, in pages which challenged at the same time a genuine sympathy for the Irish people. Mr. Froude's work was a candid and unsparing portraiture of Irish society from the earliest period, tracing circumstances back to their origin and forward to their consequences with an admirable clearness and literary skill, finding alike in the strength and weakness of the people a clue to the comprehension of their politics and history, but abounding in a savage scorn, which has always been bitterly resented by a sensitive and sentimental nation. The next important contribution made to our knowledge of Ireland was contained in the lectures of Mr. Alexander G. Richey, an Irish barrister, who saw his way through the complexities of ancient and modern Celtic life with a discernment almost intuitive in its appreciation of facts; while his scrupulous love of truth was only equalled by his pity for the long darkness of human misrule which made him say—'The study of Irish history teaches us sympathy with all Irish parties.' Then Mr. Lecky appeared

as the first Irish historian of weight, possessing less rhetorical power but more impartiality than Mr. Froude, yet with a literary skill that enabled him to throw an air of freshness around the most familiar facts of a singularly dry history, never for a moment sacrificing truth to effect, and generally challenging confidence by the fairness and tolerance of his judgements. Fidelity to history, according to his view, demands a severe judgement upon the mistakes of English policy in Ireland, and he is always animated with a warm attachment to his own countrymen, with some little indulgence to their follies and their crimes. A recent declaration of Mr. Lecky has, however, shown that he is no friend to the separatist policy of the Nationalist party. These historians were then followed by Mr. Gardiner, whose chapters on Irish affairs, connecting themselves so characteristically with English political movements, leave nothing to be desired on the score of impartiality, knowledge, and research; while Mr. Brewer, in his Introduction to the calendar of the Carew Papers, gives us a picture of the Tudor period which is equally remarkable for accuracy and soundness of judgement. We need make no special mention of writers like Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Prendergast, and Mr. Hill, who are more annalists than historians, and would have served the purposes of history better if they had confined themselves to the humble but necessary task of faithfully presenting to the public the historical treasures they have been appointed or led to collect and examine. They have done much to spoil their work by a national partisanship which is hardly consistent with a liberal mind.

The author of the work at the head of this article has given us a very faithful and instructive picture of Ireland under the Tudors. 'I have not,' he says, 'attempted to please any one party,' for he believes that 'the historian's true office is that of the judge, whose duty it is to marshal all the material facts with just so much of comment as may enable his hearers to give them due weight,' for the reading public is to discharge the functions of the jury. Perhaps this limitation of the historian's office is rather too strict, for we can see no just objection to his passing an honest verdict on the characters or events of the past; but it is only fair to say that the distinguishing merit of Mr. Bagwell's book is that he has collected a great body of valuable facts with the most impartial and conscientious fidelity, and allows them to make their own impression on the mind of the reader. Having a high sense

of the obligation of an historian to explore every source of information relating to his subject, he has utilised extensively the manuscript and printed stores of the Record Offices of the United Kingdom, as well as all the leading authorities representing the different parties identified with the political struggles of the Tudor period. He has picked his way as carefully as possible among narratives which are more or less inconsistent and contradictory, and undertaken with considerable success to balance or harmonise the statements of characters who wrote either under a manifest prejudice or in the avowed interest of one side or other. It must, however, be admitted that though Mr. Bagwell has enlarged the store of our knowledge as well as furnished a more secure foundation for it by his obscure and toilsome researches, he has made no fresh discoveries in Irish history, neither has he disturbed by new evidence the verdicts which history had already pronounced upon the events of a striking epoch. We are disposed to think that his canvas is sometimes too crowded, that his narrative does not move at times on account of the tedious details of administrative transactions with which it is unnecessarily encumbered, and that he has not marked with sufficient clearness the various turning-points in the long and severe struggle between the Tudor sovereigns and their Irish subjects. We hear very much about the transactions of English statesmen, Irish Lord Deputies, Anglo-Norman and Celtic chiefs, but hardly enough respecting the common people, who, after all, constitute the most important because the most enduring element in any community. Our author does not possess the rare art of dashing off pictures with a few vivid touches of his pencil so as to throw life into the dark chronicles of Celtic society. He might have imitated with advantage the method, if he could not rival the skill, by which Mr. Froude has interested the whole world in Irish character and Irish life, by giving us a graphic picture of the country and its scenery, as well as special chapters on the industry, the occupations, the amusements, the social habits of the people, with a more or less sympathetic analysis of their national character, in its strength and its weakness, so as to explain in some way the many difficulties of English government. We are, nevertheless, thankful to him for the very substantial help he has given us in understanding a difficult period in our annals. It is very important, at a time when a people without political education or responsibility, though with the keenest interest in politics, are demanding

the breaking up of the United Kingdom, that they may establish an independent nation by our side in our own seas, that an impartial historian like Mr. Bagwell, who studiously avoids all paradoxical assertions and all eccentric or peremptory judgements, should show by the clearest evidence of facts that Irish nationality has never had the least basis of historical solidity.

We purpose in the present article to utilise the facts supplied by this carefully prepared work, so as to bring out the true lessons which it is calculated to teach respecting a period which marks the real beginning of modern Irish history. As there is a vital tie which binds the generations together, it is not possible for us to pronounce any judgement upon the past that will not more or less affect passing interests and influence contemporary feeling.

It appears to us that the first great misfortune of Ireland was that, unlike the rest of Europe, it escaped subjection to the Roman Empire. Agricola took possession of the south-west of Scotland partly in the hope of invading Ireland, for he thought, as Mr. Bagwell remarks, that his hold upon Britain, Gaul, and Spain would be strengthened by the annexation of the most remote island of the west. But 'Fate had not ordained that Ireland should know the Roman 'peace.' Yet Rome was the great organiser of the world, possessing a marvellous power of assimilating subject races, and of repressing the vagaries of individual and national freedom. It would have been well for Ireland if it had felt the strong hand which broke up the ancient forms of Aryan society elsewhere, establishing the settled tribunals, the regular government, the supreme authority in the place of the loose patriarchal or tribal sway. As history shows that the morality of a nation usually takes the external form of law before it sinks into the feelings and habits of the people, so as to create a certain type of moral character, the Roman power suggested, in a sense, the idea of a universal morality by its firm and steady application of the principles of law to the men of all nations. But Ireland had to go its own way, apart from that order of things to which modern Europe owes at once its political continuity and its progressive civilisation. It had to exist alone for almost a thousand years, as if to demonstrate, by its persistent anarchy, its utter inability to build up for itself a strong national life.

Its first contact with the world was unhappily with the Scandinavian power, which Mr. Green has described as 'heathendom flinging itself in a last desperate rally upon the

'Christian world.' It prepared the way, however, for the Anglo-Norman invasion three centuries later, for it built the towns on the seacoast which enabled Henry II. to hold a firm grip of the island. But if Ostman customs did not root themselves deeply in Irish society, it was owing in great part to the fact that the Ostmen received their religious faith from Anglo-Roman sources, their bishops being affiliated to Canterbury, while the Irish, following the succession from Patrick and Columba, cut themselves off from the brotherhood of Catholic Europe, till the revolt of Henry VIII. cemented their alliance with Rome. It was something for Ireland, however, to have the Danes build its first cities, and coin its first money; yet, as if to illustrate the historic perversity that runs through all its chequered annals, the Danes only aggravated the civil disorders of the country, and prevented its consolidation into a national monarchy.

It was the Anglo-Normans who really ended the long isolation of Ireland from the civilisation of Europe. But the invasion which took place in the twelfth century, sanctioned as it was by a Pope,* was not in any real sense a conquest, and therefore Mr. Goldwin Smith may rightly say that 'the history of Ireland from the Conquest to the Union was the miserable history of a half-subdued dependency.' There was no battle of Hastings to settle its fate in a single day. It would have been well for Ireland if the conquest had been as complete as that of England, for it would have involved such an annihilation of old Celtic traditions as would have left the stage free for the construction of a new society. The causes of failure lie on the very surface of the history. There

* Mr. Bagwell says: 'Irish scholars, torn asunder by their love of Rome and their love of Ireland, formerly attempted to prove that Adrian's bull was not genuine; but its authenticity is no longer disputed.' This statement is not strictly correct. Dr. Moran, now Archbishop of Sydney, in an able article written thirteen years ago in the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette,' openly called in question the existence of the bull. M. Victor Palmé, editor of the '*Analecta Juris Pontificii*' (Mai-Juin, 1882), took the same ground, and in the 'Dublin Review' of July, 1883, Father Gasquet, O.S.B., carefully summarised the arguments and conclusions of these two writers to show that Pope Adrian had not only no hand in sanctioning the invasion, but that 'he positively refused to be a party to the injustice.' The Rev. Sylvester Malone afterwards established the authenticity of the bull by the most irrefutable arguments in the same review (April, 1884), and there the matter ends. Its authenticity was never questioned for five hundred years.

was no nation in Ireland as there was in England; there was no single sovereign to bind the septs together in a tie that would have represented the political life of the whole people; there was no standing army, the destruction of which would have involved the collapse of all national resistance. A mob can only be dispersed; an army can be overthrown; so that Mr. Richey was justified in the rather original remark that 'the strength for resistance of a nation so organised arises 'from its political disorganisation.' Besides, in the centuries that followed the invasion, the Anglo-Normans were too widely dispersed over the country to be capable of combined action, and as their military equipment was only adapted for a flat country, they failed to penetrate the fastnesses of the natives. There was no finality in such warfare; it was like hitting water; for the Irish gave way at one point only to confront their invaders in equal force at a hundred other points. Then there were the civil wars among the adventurers themselves, caused by the absence of a strong central government; there was the fatal absenteeism which diminished the assimilative force of a superior race; and, by and by, there was the degeneracy which sprang from the adoption of Irish habits and ways. If Edward I., who spent ten years in the conquest of Wales, had only been able, as Mr. Bagwell suggests, 'to attend to Ireland personally, it is at least 'probable that he would have conquered the country as 'completely as Wales.' But the failure did not end here. The first effect of the invasion in the twelfth century was the introduction of the feudal system, which, however, never really displaced the old Celtic tribalism, or included the mass of the people in its hierarchy; for the nobles still dwelt apart, while the natives remained in their fastnesses in a condition of almost absolute political independence. Then the feudal organisation itself was shattered by the invasion of the Bruces in the fourteenth century, and thenceforth 'for nearly 'two hundred years the history of Ireland is in the main a 'history of Celtic gains at the expense of Anglo-Normans 'and Englishmen, if, indeed, anarchy can be accounted gain 'to any race or community of men.'

This was the condition of Celtic Ireland when the attention of the Tudor sovereigns, themselves belonging to a Celtic dynasty, was first seriously turned to its affairs. The power of England had declined to the lowest point it had ever reached, and was almost threatened with extinction even within the Pale. Yet it was a time when the discovery of America had spread through England, and indeed through

Europe, a spirit of enterprise and hope such as had never been known since the fall of the Western Empire. The time was also at hand when the religious controversies of Christendom were to revolutionise everything in the relation between England and Ireland. Mr. Bagwell points also to the significant fact that the Tudors had just come into the possession of a new power for the warlike enterprises of their day, for 'cannon came to be the peculiar weapons of the king, 'their great expense putting them out of the reach of private combatants, and no doubt it was gunpowder that caused the 'downfall of the feudal and tribal systems.' We shall now consider the changes wrought by the Tudors in the organisation of Irish society, during the century and more, in which 'the 'surgery of a second conquest' was to prepare the way for the gradual assimilation of all its institutions to those of England under a strong and centralised administration. It is impossible to understand these changes without a careful consideration of the political, ecclesiastical, and social conditions which made them necessary; and, happily, Mr. Bagwell is at hand to provide us with the fullest information upon all these points.

We shall first consider the political framework of the country so as to show the utter impossibility of improvement without a complete displacement or effacement of its old Celtic constitution. It is not necessary for us to deny what Sir Henry Maine has so successfully established, that the tribal organisation of Ireland—the next grade in the scale of political progress to the patriarchal—connects the oldest remnants of Aryan life with the foundations of the modern world of Europe, and that the Irish cannot be denied a place among that famous group of nations which includes the Roman, the Gaul, and the Teuton among its members. But then, as the same authority assures us, the Irish were arrested at a certain stage of their political developement by a long series of calamities which prevented the growth of a national monarchy; for it is all but certain that if Ireland had been left to itself, one of its principal tribes could have conquered the rest, and the existence of a strong central government, lending its vigour to the arm of justice, would have established itself even on the Brehon law. But, as fate would have it, no national life, much less civilisation, was possible under the system of Celtic tribalism, as it existed at least till the time of the Tudors. A society consisting of a host of septs, divided by interests and by jealousies, could have no national cohesion. The Celtic tenure of land, which

disallowed all individual possessions, making it the common property of the sept, almost necessitated a pastoral rather than an agricultural society—the flocks and herds of a sept grazing together upon common land—and thus interposed a powerful check to social progress. The transition from common to separate ownership marks, in fact, the transition from the pastoral to the agricultural stage, for the ground that a man tills with his own hand becomes his property. The principles of common possession, however, did not prevent the formation of servile and degraded classes in the community, representing usually the remnants of broken and conquered septs, who were the peculiar victims of that system of exactions known as ‘cuttings’ and ‘cosherings’ which were so indignantly denounced by the Tudor lawyers. Celtic society was therefore neither progressive nor stable, and was wholly destitute of all the amenities of civilisation. Its only redeeming features, in a moral sense, were the fidelity of the septs to their chiefs, and the tie of fosterage—the parentage of the nurse—which acted with extraordinary force in an archaic community. It may seem strange to find these two persistent principles so prevalent in a society where every other form of influence acted so uncertainly and with such an impression of hesitation. The explanation is to be sought, perhaps, not in the strength but in the weakness of the Irish character, in the existence of certain servile qualities which centuries of oppression have strengthened till they have become instinctive, destroying the capacity for individual action and making fidelity to the community or the family the paramount principle of life.

Now, the first idea of the Tudors was to destroy the whole Celtic constitution of society. This was primarily a defensive measure, for, as Mr. Froude remarks in relation to the hostile action of the Irish in the wars of the Roses, ‘for the first time for three hundred years Ireland was in full and ample possession of all the privileges of home rule.’ Accordingly, the first act of Henry VII. on coming to the throne was to admit the native Irish, who had been hitherto regarded as ‘the enemy,’ to all the advantages or disadvantages of the English law. It was not, however, till the reign of Henry VIII. that any serious effort was made to give practical effect to the new policy. The first step was to uproot the Celtic tenure of land and thus promote at once its individual possession and encourage the growth of tillage. This explains the determination of the Tudor lawyers to extirpate the primitive usages which they justly regarded as connecting

links in the stubborn frame of Irish nationality. The king, who really thought of the welfare of the Irish, for, as Mr. Bagwell remarks, 'the king saw he had duties in Ireland,' and 'the idea of a patriot king was not altogether strange 'to him,' felt that everything depended upon the cultivation of the land, for all national income must ultimately come out of it, the landlord's rent, the farmer's profit, the labourer's wages, the shopkeeper's custom, and the professional man's fees. But then, as if to illustrate the perversity already described as running through Irish affairs, Henry VIII. in changing the tenure simply turned the tribal lands into private estates owned by the chiefs, in disregard of the rights of the cultivators. He ought to have defined estates or interests in the same soil such as had always co-existed under the old Celtic tenure, just as Sir John Perrot half a century later did in Connaught with the happiest results in the way of territorial pacification. But the evil was rather theoretical than practical, for the old tenure was not really abolished, but rather driven under the surface, and the relation between the owners and the occupiers was not, for a time at least, substantially changed. It was, no doubt, an impolitic device for the English Government to encourage or connive at two codes of law, for it involved inextricable confusion. Irish writers have always lamented the wrong done to the peasantry through the confiscation of their tribal lands, but there is no evidence that it placed them in a worse position than they had previously held under their chiefs. Miss Hickson, in her book on 'The Irish Massacres of 1641,' draws a vivid picture of the miseries of 'the humble clansman' under his chiefs, and says: 'Let poetry and romance, or the theories of enthusiastic Irish antiquaries, disguise the facts as they may, it is certain that the old Irish clan system was the paradise of the chief and the priest, the archer and the bard, and the purgatory of the "humble clansman."' It is not strange, therefore, to learn from her that many natives preferred to live under the English planters. Mr. Herbert H. P. Hore, who writes with authority on the Brehon law, admits that 'if some of the Anglo-Irish squires of the last century rackrented their tenants, an O'Bourke or an O'Flaherty of the sixteenth century literally 'flayed them alive,' the Irish saying of that day being that such a chief 'was a cormorant over his clansmen.' These facts explain the anxiety of Henry VIII. to change the old tenure of land. So early as 1515 the king had been informed by a correspondent in Ireland that there would be no difficulty

about tilling the soil, 'for there be no better labourers than the poor commons of Ireland, nor sooner will be brought to good frame, if they be kept under a law.' It must have been in despair of such a remedy that many thousands of Irishmen forsook the country in a single year to settle down in an English county.* But in due time agriculture prevailed over wide sweeps of the country. In the reign of Edward VI. there were not ten ploughs in Ireland. In Mary's reign matters improved but slowly. Diego Ortiz, a Spanish emissary of Philip II., had to report that the Irish lived on meat, not bread, because 'what four men sow a hundred come to reap, and he who has most success in robbing his neighbours is counted most a man.' But notwithstanding all the severities of Elizabeth's reign, agriculture prospered remarkably. 'Lands long waste were again inhabited, rents had trebled, markets were thronged with dealers and produce.' The imposition of her very unpopular cess at a later period points to the same conclusion. Mr. Brewer says truly of the country generally: 'The steady rise in the value of its produce is an index of its increasing prosperity.' The Mayor of Waterford bore testimony to the extraordinary change for the better that had taken place among the poor even in the early years of her reign. The Tudor policy had at last begun to act upon the springs of national welfare.

But whatever mistakes Henry VIII. may have made in revolutionising the Irish tenure of land, the abolition of the system of chieftainship was equally necessary to his designs. The idea of the Tudors was to separate the chiefs from the people, and to attach the people directly to the Crown, while they sought at the same time to throw down the barriers between the English colony and the Celtic race, and to reduce both to a loyal obedience. Imperial policy was, in fact, to dominate over the policy of ascendancy, and a strong central government was to give law alike to colonist, chief, and native Irishman. The object was to put an end to the distracting chaos of a society which was fast going to pieces

* Mr. Bagwell says: 'In twelve months the almost incredible number of 20,000 Irishmen are said to have landed in Pembrokeshire—that little England beyond Wales whence the ancestors of the Geraldines had first sailed to Ireland. They spread themselves over the country about Milford Haven and between St. David's and Tenby, and the very corporation of the latter town came under Irish influence.' (P. 183.)

through the ways of the chiefs. According to the 'Four Masters' there were a hundred and sixteen battles, exclusive of those in which the English were engaged, in the first thirty-four years of the sixteenth century, involving a loss of a hundred and two Irish gentlemen of family killed in battle and a hundred and sixteen murdered. It was these incessant wars, even more than Tudor influence, that broke up the ancient tribal system. Consider, then, the condition of a country, with about half a million of people in all, dominated by about ninety chiefs—sixty Irish chiefs and thirty 'great captains of the English noble folk;' under the titular leadership of the Geraldines, the O'Briens, the Butlers, the O'Neills, and the O'Donnells, with seven or eight hundred swords at the command of each chief, and five hundred castles through the country to overawe a restless peasantry. This was not the only evil wrought by the dominance of the chiefs. The king wanted to destroy the system of exactions, by which the poor cultivators were permanently impoverished. The chiefs lived on the plunder of their neighbours. Mr. Brewer, who draws a very vivid picture of the class, tells us that few of them could sign their names, and all of them were careless of art and literature and indifferent to the luxuries of civilisation. They were easy and irregular in their habits; they did not encourage the masses to industry or improve their condition, and though they imposed no fixed rent they ground them to powder by all sorts of irregular exactions. 'The rights exercised by the Irish lords were as oppressive as those exercised by the Russian nobleman over his serfs.' The king's idea was to raise the general level of Irish society, to establish a higher civilisation, which would protect the nobler race from degeneration and check the lawlessness of the masses by bringing about a closer assimilation between the institutions of England and Ireland.

The idea was enlightened and noble, but it had to struggle with immense difficulties, which Mr. Bagwell has described with great fulness of detail, caused partly by a practical dissociation of ideas between the Tudor sovereigns and their Irish governors, the excessive preoccupation of England with foreign wars, the extreme parsimony and vacillation of Elizabeth, the religious distractions of the times, and last, though not least, the innate perversity of the Irish themselves. Henry VIII. tried at first to govern Ireland by the great house of Kildare, but the experiment failed, and henceforth, as Mr. Bagwell observes, 'no Irish nobleman

‘received the sword during the remainder of the Tudor ‘period.’ The Geraldines were afterwards crushed with great cruelty. Indeed, all the Irish chiefs were, as a rule, treated with excessive and apparently needless severity. Elizabeth had the greatest difficulty in bringing the chiefs to obedience, for she had to watch Spain and France at the time that the plottings of the Geraldines with the O’Briens and the O’Neills were perplexing her governors in Ireland. As Mr. Bagwell says: ‘The queen had to keep Scotland ‘quiet, to hold Spain at bay, and to maintain tolerable relations with France. She saw what ought to be done in ‘Ireland, but very often could not afford to do it. The ‘tendency to temporise was, perhaps, constitutional, but it ‘was certainly much increased by want of money.’ But the policy of the Tudor sovereigns was only a partial success. Mr. Brewer says of Henry VIII.’s reign: ‘On a general ‘survey of the whole reign it must be admitted that English ‘authority had not declined in Ireland. The Irish knew well ‘what they had to expect from such a king; and even ‘severity, if it be uniform, is less disastrous in its consequences than a milder rule, erratic and undecided, vibrating ‘uncertainly and capriciously, sometimes to the excess of ‘mercy, sometimes to the opposite extreme.’ Or, as Mr. Bagwell puts it, with an evident eye to the policy of our own day: ‘Ireland has always suffered, and still suffers sorely, ‘from want of firmness. In modern times party exigencies ‘work mischief analogous to that formerly caused by the ‘Sovereign’s necessities.’ Again, Mr. Brewer says:—‘But ‘yet slowly and steadily, with many relapses, and in spite ‘of many discouragements, the cause of order and good ‘government was slowly making way. If anyone will take ‘the trouble to compare the condition of Ireland in Mary’s ‘reign with its condition under Henry VII., he will, I think, ‘have little doubt on this subject.’ But in Mary’s reign, if the English authority, notwithstanding all the advantages she derived from her religious opinions, was not sensibly impaired, it was not materially advanced. At last Elizabeth succeeded in her object; and if Ireland was henceforth slowly to improve, not alone in government and in the organisation of industry but in habits, inclinations, and usages, ‘it must be remembered,’ says Mr. Brewer, ‘that Ireland owes them to what is often called the severities of ‘the Tudors.’ We are now at the starting-point of modern history, for Irish nationality on its political as well as its religious side only dates from the reign of Elizabeth. Yet

it is impossible to deny, in the light of all subsequent history, that the success of the Tudors in crushing the authority of the chiefs was purchased at a great cost, for it threw the masses of the Irish people into the arms of the priests, and this union of the clergy and people led in due time to those large projects of confiscation and colonisation which changed everything in the relations of the people to their English sovereigns. For when—harassed by foreign complications, and worried by increasing difficulties at home—the Government saw that anarchy in Ireland seemed irrepressible, they thought of bringing a new race into the country that would hold it securely for England. Henry VIII. had no idea of planting colonies in the country, for he sought to civilise the people as they were. It was Mary, Catholic as she was, who first tried the experiment on a limited scale, but it was reserved for Elizabeth and her Stuart successor to carry out those great plantations in Munster and in Ulster which have had such an enduring influence upon the civilisation of the country as well as upon its subsequent relations with England.

We have next to consider the ecclesiastical framework of Irish society as enabling us to account for many of the strange peculiarities of the national history. Religion is usually a uniting force, and is specially needed for a community not compactly organised; but, unfortunately for Ireland, there was nothing in its churchmanship from the earliest times conducive to the unity, the stability, or the progress of the country. In the first place the early ecclesiastical system differed essentially from that which existed on the Continent of Europe. The schism turned mainly on the Easter question and thus had a rather trivial aspect, but at a time when religion included nearly all civilisation it meant the isolation of Ireland, morally and socially, from all Christendom. The strong Latin organisation was needed to give law to Irish society. The constitution of the Irish Church was monastic, not episcopal. It was, therefore, without that permanent element of constitutional and moral polity—the parochial system—which did so much socially for other countries. Mr. Richey says: 'The form of the Church rather repelled than favoured the growth of a national Church.' The monasteries were, in fact, independent of each other, with no common tie or centre of action; the organisation of religion being, as Dr. Sullivan describes it, perfectly acephalous, and whatever influence it exercised was not official, but individual, and therefore not continuous. The fact is certain that the

Church did not incorporate itself with the people as a whole, so as to grasp them in their various relations; it did not make itself the cement of their various social conditions; the self-preserving power of a complicated national existence. Yet if a country so broken up by septs was to have a vigorously organised existence at all, its Church ought to have assumed the compact organisation of an army. No doubt the old monastic Christianity of Ireland has a peculiar celebrity on account of its missionary successes in Great Britain and the Continent, which have been described with much eloquence by the Count de Montalembert. But the peculiarity of the case is that these Irish monasteries which did so much for Europe did nothing for Ireland itself. Mr. Richey says: 'The civilisation of Ireland at this period, so far as it rose from monastic institutions, was strictly confined within the limits of the monasteries, and did not affect the general condition of the people.' Mr. Bagwell observes likewise that 'neither the Church nor the law had always original power sufficient to enforce steady obedience,' and he quotes Dr. Sullivan as saying, 'The Irish Church organisation was ill calculated to influence the social habits and political life of the people, unlike the diocesan and centralised system of Latin Christianity. Hence a high spiritual life and intellectual cultivation within the numerous cœnobia was quite compatible with practical paganism and disorder outside.' There were almost constant wars in Ireland in this brightest period of Irish history.* Even the ecclesiastical clans made war upon one another. They certainly did not seek solitude as a means of acting more forcibly on the world around them, for they allowed it to rot into utter corruption. Mr. Bagwell shows how they tolerated concubinage, divorce, and arrangements by which 'men even exchanged wives.' What wonder that the monastic houses were often sacked and plundered by an irreligious laity! But the monastic system, as Mr. Lecky says reflectively,

* Mr. Bagwell says: 'Whatever the advantages of a pure Celtic system it did not secure general peace. There is no period of which Celtic Ireland may be more justly proud than that between the death of St. Columba, in 597, and the death of St. Gall, about 640. It was the age in which the Irish saint Columbanus bearded Thierry and Branchaul, in which Ireland herself was a noted seat of learning, and in which the monasteries of Luxeuil, of St. Gall, and of Bobbio were founded by Irishmen. Yet under thirty years out of forty-four either battle or murder is recorded in the "*Chronicon Scotorum*." In some years there were several battles and several murders.'

could do nothing for political liberty, not merely because the monasteries divert the energies of the nation from civil to ecclesiastical channels, but also because the monastic ideal is the very apotheosis of servitude. 'Catholicism has been 'admirably fitted both to mitigate and to perpetuate despotism.'

The introduction of the Latin organisation in the twelfth century, however conducive it might have been to a more concentrated order of society, was unhappily the starting-point of a new division between English and Irish ecclesiastics. The unclean dominion of the sept, at least in religious matters, was in practical abeyance, but many of the old moral evils still survived till the age of the Tudors. Anarchy still rent the kingdom. Irish ecclesiastics and English ecclesiastics were at constant war, and the laity for nearly three centuries sacked the monasteries and churches as if they had never heard of the sin of sacrilege. Matters were therefore in a very bad way when the Tudors took the country seriously in hand. Both bishops and clergy were guilty of many acts of violence and extortion. Mr. Bagwell says: 'Murderers, thieves, and "light men of war," obtained provisions, ousted the rightful incumbents, ignored the rightful patrons, held the livings by force, and wasted them in riotous living.' There was much looseness in the monasteries. Priors kept mistresses and had sons appointed to livings. Out of 224 parishes, 105 were impropriated by manors or the holders of monasteries, who made no provision for the maintenance of religion, and only thirteen parishes out of the whole number were such as Hugh Brady, the Bishop of Meath, 'could approve.' The only preaching done was 'by the poor friars-beggars.'

This was the condition of Irish society, ecclesiastically, when the Tudors undertook to reform its evils. But, as if to illustrate the perversity which we have again and again noticed as running through Celtic history, Henry VIII. only added a new division to those already existing by preparing for the establishment of Protestantism, and thus intensified all the hatreds of the Irish race against the English rule. The first step taken by the king was to suppress the monasteries. The work had, indeed, already begun under Henry VII. at the instigation of Cardinal Morton, and was, therefore, not a blow aimed by Henry VIII. at the faith, but rather at the corruption of the monks. The first Irish religious house was dissolved in 1535, but the work went gradually on till seventy-eight houses in all were dissolved, pensions

being generally provided for the heads of houses, and sometimes for other monks. Many of the houses had already disappeared, for Mr. Bagwell can trace about 350 of them, exclusive of the mendicant orders, many having become parish churches, or having been absorbed in episcopal establishments before the reign of Henry VIII., while others, being dependent on English foundations, were destroyed by the act of absentees which applied to all sorts of landed property. The yearly income of the monasteries was about 32,000*l.*, with personalty amounting to 100,000*l.* The dissolution encountered a formidable opposition on the part of the common people, but the chiefs were easily reconciled to the stern measures of the Tudors, for, as Mr. Bagwell significantly remarks, ‘Celts, Normans, Saxons, Papists, and Protestants alike showed a fine appetite for the confiscated lands.’

Now, the immediate effect of the suppression of the monastic houses was to destroy nearly the whole provision for the support of religion in Ireland, and to throw the people literally into the hands of the friars, the most devoted servants of the Pope, and the most anti-English of all Irishmen.* The king, no doubt, proceeded likewise to suppress the friaries—which were about two hundred altogether—but the members of the order were quite independent of such institutions, and showed that they could flourish without them. ‘We have the most overwhelming proof,’ says Mr. Bagwell, ‘that but for the friars a large part of the population would have been altogether debarred from the exercise of religion.’ But if the Tudors demolished the temporalities of one Church, they made provision for the establishment of another in its place. It was in the middle of the Tudor period that the first steps were taken to lay the foundations of Irish Protestantism, for Mr. Bagwell reminds us that its official establishment was decreed, not by the authority of Parliament, but by a royal order dated February 5, 1551, under the hand of Edward VI. The circumstances were not favourable for making Protestantism the religion of the Irish people. It was not a movement from within, but from without the nation. It did not spring up in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, like the Protestantism of Germany, England, and Scotland; there was no Celtic Luther, or Cranmer, or

* Mr. Richey says: ‘The dissolution deprived one-third to one-fourth of the parishes of the means of supporting a resident clergy, and left the country districts without religious instruction.’

Knox to direct a profound spiritual revolt against superstition ; Ireland was in no sense receptive, for though the chiefs were ready enough to acknowledge the royal supremacy, neither the chiefs nor the people showed any disposition to repudiate Catholic doctrine ; neither did the new faith, as Mr. Bagwell shows at great length, approach the Irish people under circumstances to recommend it to popular acceptance. No wise or liberal measures were taken to advance the Reformation. The British Government ought to have selected the wisest, the most zealous, and the most conciliatory prelates for the sees ; but Sir James Croft, who was no bigot, complains in Edward VI.'s time that the bishops 'were blind, obstinate, 'negligent, and very seldom learned.' The most faithful and pious clergymen ought to have been selected for the parishes, with a capacity for preaching to the people in their own tongue, while the Bible and the liturgy ought to have been likewise at once placed within their reach. But no efforts were made to instruct the people in the Bible, which was never, indeed, offered to the people at all till sixty-six years after the Reformation, when Bedell gave it to them in the Irish tongue. If this language had been made the vehicle of all secular as well as religious instruction at that formative period in the history of an ignorant and barbarous people, the history of the country would have been very different at the present hour. The Government simply proscribed the old faith and enforced the new by heavy penalties. Governors like St. Leger saw the impolicy of the methods used, for, as Mr. Bagwell remarks, 'he was really in advance 'of his time and had formed some notion of religious liberty,' for he would have left 'doctrinal changes to the action of 'time, persuasion, and increased enlightenment.' But, indeed, little was done, even during the reign of Elizabeth, to displace the old hierarchy, which continued to hold most of the sees. The Roman Catholic Church was still the great visible force of the country, touching life everywhere, binding it together in all its relations, and maintaining thenceforth a still more vigorous hold upon the hearts of the people. Thus, the Tudors failed to convert the Irish to the Protestant religion, but they succeeded nevertheless in planting Protestantism, which, as the religion of the English garrison, was henceforth to break the political continuity of Irish life.

We shall now briefly notice the intellectual condition of Ireland under the Tudors. In the days of Elizabeth, Spenser

observed the want of 'the intellectual part in Irish civilisation.' At the beginning of the Tudor period Ireland had only a few monastic schools. It was without universities, printing presses, or literature, just as it was without social order or the usages of civilised life. There was no renaissance, no dawning life of literary culture, such as visited other countries in the fifteenth century; while, as if to make its intellectual isolation still more complete, the Irish language, then nearly universal, had the effect of shutting out the people from the liberal culture of the world. There was a time when Ireland was the brightest speck in Christendom, enjoying the last rays of an illumination which extended in the same degree to no other part of Europe. But the destruction of its old universities, begun by the Danes and completed by the Anglo-Normans through their civil conflicts, threw the education of the people into the hands of the monastic establishments.* This was a great misfortune both politically and intellectually, for the existence of the universities checked the growth of sectional interests by increasing the tendency to national cohesion; while the monastic schools, identified geographically with individual septs, represented too closely mere local ideas to give unity to an already divided community. But there is no evidence that these schools did their work well at all. Mr. Bagwell gives us no information whatever about their intellectual discipline or attainments. Mr. Richey says of the clergy of the Irish Church that 'they certainly, with the exception of the mendicant friars, totally neglected their duty in instructing or preaching to the people;' but the clergy were themselves without proper training, and it was impossible that they could have raised the intelligence of the people. Even the mendicant friars did nothing for education. The Irish chiefs could not actually write their own names. But the means of popular education were altogether insufficient as well as defective. Speaking of the friars, Mr. Bagwell says:—

'The education of children was almost entirely in their hands. Six houses in Dublin, Kildare, and Kilkenny are mentioned as the only places where the rising generation might be brought up in virtue, learning, and good behaviour. The boys were cared for by the Cistercians of St. Mary's, Dublin, and of Jerpoint, and by the Augustinian

* Whatever these universities may have done for Ireland in early times, Mr. Richey is right in saying: 'Alone of all the nations of Europe the Celts do not possess an epic poem which takes an acknowledged place in universal literature.'

canons of Christ Church, Dublin, and of Kells and Conal. The girls were brought up by the canonesses of Grace Dieu, near Swords.'

But what was the value of six schools for a whole nation?

The Tudors saw that national education was indispensably necessary to the reformation of Ireland, but they were singularly dilatory in providing schools to take the place of the old monastic establishments suppressed by Henry VIII. Mr. Bagwell may, indeed, justly say that 'no care was taken to supply the place of the monasteries 'which were devoted to education.' It was not for nearly thirty years after their suppression that the first real effort was made under Queen Elizabeth to establish national schools out of the revenues accruing from the monastic lands. Mr. Bagwell says:—

'The first attempt at national education was made by an Act passed in 1570 for the erection of a free school in every diocese at the cost of the diocese, with an English master supported by the Lord Deputy, except in Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, where the bishops were made patrons. The foundation was scriptural and Protestant, for the Elizabethans could not understand the permanence of any but the State religion. Henry VIII.'s parochial schools having never come into being, this must be considered as the first attempt at national education.'

In other words a system of popular education was established which made it impossible that the Irish people, who were Catholics in religion, could accept it, for it was not only under Protestant direction, but was designed expressly to promote the spread of the Protestant religion. Then the same English Government which allowed the Welsh to retain their own language refused to tolerate the Irish tongue as an instrument of education at all. But the system, such as it was, was badly administered, for it was soon reported by Tremayne: 'Good schools there are none, for 'no teacher could be sure of being paid.' Perhaps because, as Lord Chancellor Weston bitterly observed, 'churches and 'schools find no favour among us.' Perhaps there were too many in that day, like Bramhall in the next age, who were opposed to the education of the Irish because they were 'a 'barbarous, degraded people, unworthy and incapable of 'civilisation.'

Practically, then, no provision was made for the education of the Catholic laity, who were therefore left for nearly three hundred years dependent on the casual resources supplied by the Jesuits or the friars or the lay teachers, while the Catholic clergy had to go abroad for their training

in those colleges founded by the Jesuits, of which no less than six were established during the reign of Elizabeth. The effects of the Tudor policy were deplorable. It perpetuated the long-continued barbarism of the people, and made social progress impossible, for the efforts of the religious orders were too sporadic, irregular, and ill-sustained to make education general. It also operated badly in a political sense; for, though intended to make the Catholic Church powerless, the policy of the Government by leaving the Catholic laity uneducated threw them more completely into the hands of the clergy, and made the ecclesiastical element henceforth dominant in the political and social life of the country. It immensely enhanced all the difficulties of the Government, for the worst faults of the Irish are due very much to the want of education, such as their intractableness, their want of moral initiative, their inability to realise existing facts, and their readiness to follow designing leaders. If the English Government had allowed the Catholic Church to provide an education on its own terms at a time when the Jesuits were actually helping on by their policy in education that movement of the European mind which it was their design to suppress, the Irish people might have become more reconciled to order and industry, and therefore less difficult to govern, for there is no security in ignorance either for the virtue or the repose of a nation. It is too late in the day for us to raise the question whether Catholic laymen with full knowledge might not be more powerful than if they were without it. They would be more powerful for safer objects and less powerful for stimulating a dangerous bigotry, enforcing a cruel exclusiveness, or inflaming the prejudices or jealousies of race or class. The single intellectual boon conferred upon Ireland by the Tudors was the establishment of Trinity College in Dublin in the last years of the sixteenth century. It is the only institution founded by them which has had an undisputed success.

The question now comes up for consideration, what was the effect of the Tudor policy, as a whole, upon the destinies of Ireland? Mr. Richey maintains that every social and political system tried in the country for ages—alike Celtic tribalism, Anglo-Norman feudalism, and Tudor theory of divine right—ended in failure. Mr. Bagwell has, perhaps, reserved his judgement upon this question for the third volume, which is to complete his history, for he is silent upon it in the present volumes. It cannot be denied, how-

ever, on any large and fair consideration of the facts, that the Tudors brought good as well as evil to Ireland. So far as England itself was concerned, they protected it at a critical time against the invasion of Spain by destroying the power of its Irish allies; while by establishing a new and enterprising race possessed of great colonising abilities in the country, and separated from the ancient race in religion, politics, and habits, they provided a permanent guarantee for the English dominion in Ireland. And so far as Ireland was concerned, by destroying the power of its native chiefs and by revolutionising the tenure of land they prepared the way for a new structure of society, in which agriculture should become the basis of the commonwealth, and the people led to betake themselves to the ways of honest industry. Then, by imposing a firmer administration upon a country destitute of national cohesion, they helped to lift it out of anarchy and give it the benefits of order and law. But the fact that confiscation, preparing the way for large schemes of colonisation, was deemed to be necessary to the reformation of Ireland, points indisputably to failure. The Tudors could do nothing more for the people, and Mr. Goldwin Smith says truly, 'Submission may avail with the tyrant, but never with the confiscator.' The causes of failure are not far to seek. The preoccupation of the English sovereigns in foreign wars, the want of money and troops to make the conquest a reality, and the absence of a continuous and consistent policy, have been already glanced at. Mr. Bagwell, like most writers, touches upon the true cause of failure when he assigns it to the religious distractions caused by the Reformation. He says:—

'Had England remained in communion with Rome, Henry's tentative and patient policy might have succeeded in Ireland. The Reformation caused its failure, for there never was the slightest chance of native Ireland embracing the new doctrines. The monasteries had not weighed heavily on Ireland, and their destruction made many bitter enemies and few friends. By upsetting the whole ecclesiastical structure Henry left the field clear for Jesuits and wandering friars; and his children reaped the fruits of a mistake which neutralised every effort to win Ireland.'

This divergence of religious belief between England and Ireland, which was the real cause of the worst severities inflicted on the weaker country by the Tudor sovereigns, became henceforth a serious risk to England itself. It was only amidst the complications of the sixteenth century that the Irish question entered as a serious factor into English politics at all, for our foreign enemies only saw in Ireland a

favourite point of attack against England, while England saw in it a coming struggle for existence. Thus, as Mr. Goldwin Smith says, 'Ireland was drawn into the spreading 'vortex of that great religious war which raged for a century 'between the Protestant and the Catholic powers.' Even before Henry VIII. began to apply his policy to Ireland the Irish had struck the first blow at English power. Mr. Bagwell speaks of the Desmonds beginning to intrigue with Charles V. in 1529:—

'There is reason to believe that a Spanish expedition to Ireland was really contemplated, but that the Biscayans intended for the service refused, alleging, with a fine perception of the realities of Celtic diplomacy, that the Irish would be sure to deceive the Emperor. At all events nothing was done, and Spanish intervention in Ireland was put off for half a century.'

It was not, therefore, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the Irish felt the full stress of the terrible conflict in which they became involved through their intrigues with the Spaniards. Ireland was the victim through whom both of the contending parties aimed their blows at each other. It was not till 1569—eleven years after the queen's accession—that the Pope's bull began the war of religion, and Elizabeth promptly saw that the danger was to be anticipated by the complete subjugation of the country, which was not planned by the queen as an end in itself, much less with the view of improving the condition of the Irish people, but to cover the unprotected rear of England against her continental enemies.* This explains the long and terrible story of which Mr. Bagwell gives us the opening chapters in his volumes, when a fierce madness swept Munster and Ulster with fire and sword towards the end of the century to make way in due time for the establishment of a new race in the island. It is sickening to read the details of this bloody struggle, which had the effect, however, of subduing the native anarchy and of clearing the ground for a new civilisation. But Irish nationalism, as we have already said, dates from this period like Irish history itself.

In estimating the various circumstances which account for the comparative failure of the Tudors to civilise and conciliate Ireland, it is impossible to put out of view certain

* Mr. Bagwell says: 'Outward conformity was what Elizabeth chiefly aimed at in the early years of her reign, and before a papal excommunication forced her to be the enemy of all who adhered to 'Rome.'

peculiarities or defects in the character of the Irish themselves, which greatly enhanced all the difficulties of the situation. Mr. Bagwell's narrative throws some light upon this part of the subject, but he has not thought fit to emphasise it as a factor in the administrative perplexities of the sixteenth century. Let us briefly touch upon it, not merely as entering legitimately into the problem of the Tudor embarrassments, but as accounting in some measure for many of the political difficulties of the present hour; because, of all people in the world, the Irish are shown to be through the whole of their history most distinguished by the continuity and the tenacity of their national habits. Their history shows, then, in the first place, that they have but a faint conception or appreciation of individual liberty. This, indeed, may be regarded as at once a characteristic and a survival of the old Celtic tribalism. In the sixteenth century the individual was nothing, the sept or tribe was everything. The right to individual life ceased to exist where it was felt to injure the community. This social solidarity, to use a phrase of our day, is still a characteristic of the race, and indicates the weakness rather than the strength of individual character. It accounts for the readiness of the Irish to follow any plausible leader just as they followed their old Celtic chiefs, for, as Mr. Mill remarks, 'they are always ready to trust implicitly those whom they think hearty in their cause.' They feel their individual helplessness, and therefore seek the strong guidance of men like Mr. Parnell. Yet their fidelity to the community is not inconsistent with what appears like inconstancy. Lord Chancellor Audeley said in Henry VIII.'s time, 'They be a people of strange nature and much inconstancy,' and we see the proof of it in the quickness with which they transfer their allegiance from one leader to another. Nothing is more interesting in modern politics than the rough process of natural selection which has been doing its pitiless work among the Irish leaders for more than a generation; but whether it be O'Connell, or Butt, or Shaw, or Parnell who is the cherished idol of the hour, the people are constant, through all changes of leadership, in allegiance to the community. It is the consciousness of individual weakness which likewise leads them to organise into secret societies for purposes either of aggression or self-protection. Thus we have the merciless annihilation of all individual opposition to schemes affecting the community at large, whether in the form of boycotting—the most penetrative and comprehensive of tyrannies—or in the form of Ribbon

societies, or Invincible clubs, or Fenian brotherhoods. We see it further in the fear of popular opposition which paralyses the vigour and weakens the sympathies of nearly all Irishmen, preventing the utterance of anything that may give popular offence, and in the almost total absence of that individual confidence which can create a popular feeling on its own side by the mere earnestness and depth of its conviction. Thus, the opinion of the community acts with a pressure which no individual or class can resist, not even the leaders themselves, who have no moral courage to denounce assassins. In a society thus constituted, it is easy to see how the very weakness of individual character may become a formidable element of strength when utilised by unscrupulous leaders against the power of the State.

But another trait more or less characteristic of Irishmen, and increasing all the difficulties of government, is their recklessness, associated as it is with an impatience of control, and a disposition to take their own way, though it should be a bad one both for themselves and for the community. Thierry, who is an admirer of the Celts, concedes to them a marked dislike to discipline and order. Sir John Perrot, one of the best of Elizabeth's governors, said: 'The Irish are subtle, 'fond of license, and ready for anything so long as it is not 'for their good.' It was this reckless spirit which almost drove the Lords Deputies of Ireland to despair. It had of course its amusing as well as its tragic side. Sidney says of the peasantry of his day: 'They fight for their dinner, and 'many of them lose their heads before they be served with 'their suppers.' Mr. Brewer expatiates upon the love of mischief and the love of strife as spreading at times with the celerity of wildfire through the various tribes, and leading to the most frightful social disorganisation. It would seem as if there were a *gamin* element in the character of Irishmen. It is this recklessness which is still the disturbing element in Celtic life, especially when the supineness or the weakness of government allows an ignorant and misguided people to inflict ruin upon themselves. We have seen how they have again and again, by their senseless spite and their capricious violence, checked the progress of agriculture and commerce, producing a condition of things which always deadens the pulse of industry, impoverishing the landlords, the best customers of the shopkeepers, chasing away capital from the country, because they have shown that no contract is safe, and preventing new industrial companies from taking root because the old were made the victims of hostile agita-

tion. Their favourite newspapers make a dead set at Irish banks, and reduce the stock held by Irishmen;* while the farmers, with an amazing perversity, put a stop to hunting and fishing, and other forms of sport which bring strangers to the country, and lead to the expenditure of large sums of money.

But akin to this recklessness is the ferocity of spirit which they carry, not merely into their war against Government, but into all their disputes with their own countrymen. Mr. Brewer says of the old tribal quarrels: 'The Irish are a generous people, but in these wars of rival clans nothing else was developed except thoughtless and indiscriminate ferocity;' and Mr. Goldwin Smith sees, perhaps rightly, in this homicidal frenzy, which often takes possession of Irishmen, the evidence less of a deep depravity than of a most wretched kind of weakness. It is strange, however, that civilisation, reinforced by religion, should have done so little in three hundred years to extirpate the passionate ferocity of a people not unkindly or ungenerous in its happier moods. It usually changes the forms that our passions take, because it enables men to realise better the scope of their actions and produces a complexity of feeling which checks the sway of a single passion. But the Irish people are still unchanged in their national temper. The dynamiters have shown that they are malignant enough to use the terrible resources which science has put into their hands, and are callous enough to kill the innocent, without scruple and without remorse, for the furtherance of an idea for which they do not sufficiently care to risk or expose their own lives. The emissaries of the National League similarly carry out a sort of *Jacquerie*, in midnight murders, in attacks on women and children, in houghing of cattle, in cropping of horses, and in brutalities which would disgrace the worst brigands. They believe in no remedy but force, and their methods are always mean and vindictive.

It seems to us, indeed, unmistakeably clear that the *morale* of Irish life has visibly degenerated in modern times, even amidst all the manifold evidences of an improved social condition. People have remarked that the traditional gaiety and sprightly humour of the peasantry have largely given way to a temper of sullenness and gloom, both alike unex-

* The stock of the Bank of Ireland was reduced in this way from 340*l.* per 100*l.* at the end of 1884, to 262*l.*, the highest price quoted on the last day of 1885. On the 28th December it stood at 249*l.*

pected and unreasonable. But in the times of which Mr. Bagwell writes the love of justice was even more conspicuous amongst the Irish than the vivacity of their wit. We all remember Sir John Davies's testimony upon this point. But the most conspicuous feature of the Irish character to-day is an entire absence, not only of generosity, but of the most ordinary sense of justice. It cannot be denied that the British Parliament and the British people have made the greatest sacrifices for Ireland, yet they are confronted to-day with a hatred of English law, English control, English ways; growing, indeed, more intense with each concession we grant, and each humiliation inflicted upon us. In the bad old days, when Ireland was the most wronged country under the sun, there was far less of the expression of this antipathy; but it has increased rather than diminished with every genuine attempt to do her justice, and only led to new and intolerable demands, which are urged with growing virulence, and backed by increasing violence. It is this fact that causes such bewilderment to Englishmen. Justice evokes no sympathy; liberty brings no reconciliation; government becomes more difficult, just in proportion as Englishmen are inspired with a new spirit of forbearance. But the decay in the love of justice which once characterised Irishmen is still more signally manifest in the repudiation of just contracts with their own countrymen. They have suffered, no doubt, like the farmers of England and Scotland, from an agricultural crisis of extreme severity, but they have no right to confound suffering with injustice, or to betake themselves to robbery as a remedy. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the agrarian movement rests upon the most sordid basis. There was a time when the late Mr. P. J. Smyth, the Nationalist, said to his countrymen, 'Let us be romantic 'and poor;' and it seems hard even now to believe that the debasing passion of greed should have attained such force among a people devoted to a creed which, whatever its other defects, checks the passion for comfort, and diminishes the fear of poverty. But the evidence is all too plain that the love of justice, not to speak of morality itself, has given way before the passionate greed which would attempt not only to defeat the landlord's demand of his statutory right, but repudiate likewise every other class of debt.

The question is very naturally suggested by facts of this kind, How is it that the moral sense of a people, who have always had a reputation for extreme devotion to religion, has become so seriously impaired and the hatred of authority

risen to a height at which even the social virtues have almost disappeared? The answer to the question suggests grave misgivings with regard to the worth of the moral training which the Irish people have received for generations from the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. It would seem, indeed, that notwithstanding all the advantages of their position, and especially those they derive from the love and confidence of their countrymen, the clergy have failed to instil into Irish minds the most elementary principles of morality. We may talk of the failure of the Tudors, or, indeed, of the failure of all governments for three centuries back, to solve the Irish difficulty; but what is the significance of these failures to be compared with the failure of the Roman Catholic Church to impart to their flocks that mental and moral discipline which makes peaceful and prosperous citizens? M. de Tocqueville has said that it is the moral character of citizens which mainly determines the order or disorder which prevails in a community. The saying is perfectly true. Yet it would seem that the clergy are actually powerless to keep their people from drifting into acts of lawlessness and immorality. They have been building churches and cathedrals without number in all parts of the country. For two generations they have been powerfully supported by the religious orders, who make it their special work to impart moral culture; they have had all the advantages that could be derived from a national system of education, over which they have had practically unlimited control; and it cannot be pleaded that the Government has in any way interfered with the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties.* Neither can it be said that infidelity has eaten the heart out of Irish religion so as to admit of the people drifting easily into anarchy and crime. Yet the peasantry seem to be to-day as ready as they were in the sixteenth century to engage in deeds of plunder and murder and outrage. Why has the Roman Catholic Church failed to suppress the Ribbon societies, which she has so often con-

* It is not under the British rule alone that Irish lawlessness disorganises communities. The Molly Maguire conspiracy in Pennsylvania prevailed for twenty years, and committed scores of murders; yet it was at last arrested in its guilty course, not by the Roman Catholic clergy, but by an Irish detective named McParland, who sent many murderers to the gallows. The massacres of the negroes in New York, and of the Chinese in California, were the work of Irishmen, whose hatred of Chinese, Italians, negroes, or any race of competing labourers, is demonstrated on every occasion.

demned, mainly, we believe, because they were inconsistent with her own authority? Why has she of late abstained on critical occasions from denouncing them at all? Why does Archbishop Walsh speak so tenderly of the crimes of dynamiters, when he warns the English Government to be wise in time, lest the assassins should hold their feast of freedom amidst the conflagration of English towns and the ruins of English civilisation? Why do prelates and priests listen to Socialistic doctrines proclaimed as a governing rule of life without uttering a protest? Why are the priests now generally the chairmen of the National League tribunals, which exercise terrorism over local districts? Does it not appear, indeed, as if they had joined hands with the people not only in their agrarian but in their national policy to save their purely religious authority, and that the Pope has sanctioned the bargain through the fear that the steady friction of political ideas might weaken the feeling of attachment which has hitherto bound the peasantry to the Church? It is not difficult, then, to understand the failure of the Church to train Irishmen aright. But a Church which displays such an immoral laxity, springing from policy rather than conscience, capable of attenuating the claims of the moral law because its promulgation is inconvenient, conniving at great crimes which threaten the moral disintegration of society, does not know the true conditions on which authority in these days can be maintained, and deserves to lose its influence. The sacrifice of its moral prestige will by and by bring about that intellectual revolt which has done so much to weaken Catholicism everywhere on the Continent.

But we cannot in any case ignore the lessons which this retrospect of Tudor times teaches ourselves as to the overwhelming urgency of imperial obligations at a crisis like the present, which so deeply affects the relations of Ireland to the other parts of the kingdom. The Tudors strove hard to prevent the creation of a hostile and military country so seated by nature that it should, if not immovably friendly, be a perpetual menace in our waters. Yet we are now asked to break up the constitution of the United Kingdom and to throw the fragments into the 'kettle of the magicians,' to use Burke's picturesque phrase, in the hope that an independent Ireland may not only become contented and happy, but the sure guarantee of the safety and honour of the Empire. The Tudors strove hard to crush the chronic anarchy of a country without the least semblance of national unity, and

we are called upon to-day to consent to a constitutional change which, so far as Ireland herself is concerned, would create a civil war, a war of provinces, a war of classes, a war of creeds. The Tudors strove, though with imperfect success, to assimilate the institutions of the two countries. We have for more than half a century pursued the policy of steadily doing justice to all the interests of Ireland in the hope that our reforming legislation might put her on an equal footing with England and Scotland, and at the same time appease her traditional hatreds and wear out the rancour of disappointed greed. We have extinguished the possibility of insurrection, if we have not made the country more manageable; and our immediate as well as our permanent concern must be henceforth to vindicate the imperial authority in its affairs by protecting the lives and property of honest men, by enforcing the observance of contracts sanctioned by the solemn act of the Legislature, and by arresting the destruction of credit, confidence, and capital, which is so seriously imperilling the very existence of Irish society. For there can be no commerce without contract, no order without law, and no prosperity without the discharge of just debts. Notwithstanding all the agricultural embarrassments of later years, and a laxity of industrial life which still scorns the exactness and the continuousness of English or American work, Ireland is to-day a more comfortable home, a more productive farm, a better workshop than she ever was in any past period of her history. The time has surely come for her to dismiss her wild illusions, which spring from the curse or the blessing of a too retrospective imagination, to retreat from the sterile attitude of hostility which vexes the peace of both countries, and to assume the position which will enable us to dwell side by side in the fellowship of common interests and aims.

ART. VII.—1. *Tiresias and other Poems.* By ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. London: 1885.

2. *Liberal Movement in English Literature.* By WILLIAM JOHN COURTHOPE, M.A. London: 1885.

‘SET a poet to catch a poet,’ is a maxim which only holds true of the ‘irritable race’ in their calmer moments. From them have come the most brilliant *aperçus littéraires*; but their effervescent temperament naturally bubbles over into undue depreciation or excessive adulation. Of this tendency both Mr. Arnold and Mr. Swinburne have lately afforded notable examples. Their literary contest recalls the battle between Bowles, Campbell, and Byron, which raged round the body of Pope. Mr. Arnold, who defends Byron against Shelley, decrees an immortality for the prose of the latter which he hesitates to accord to ‘Adonais’ or ‘Alastor;’ Mr. Swinburne retorts that Byron’s muse is a ‘drawling, ‘draggie-tailed drab.’ Both critics, by depreciating Pope, touch the shield of Mr. Courthope, who with excellent temper breaks a lance on behalf of Alexander. Thus the spectacle is afforded of a triangular tournament, or, as Mr. Courthope would perhaps prefer to phrase it, of a struggle between a Liberal and a Radical critic with a Conservative firing into both combatants.

The issue turns on the time-honoured question, ‘What is ‘Poetry?’ No answer can ever give universal satisfaction. Poetry, like Nature, abhors monotony, and displays the elusive charm of endless variety. ‘Depuis le feu Protée,’ to adapt the saying of Madame du Deffand, nothing is so infinite in the number of its disguises. Of such a subject iron definitions are futile. Mr. Swinburne argues that the two essential qualities of poetry are ‘imagination and harmony;’ Mr. Arnold holds that poetry is at bottom ‘a criticism of ‘life;’ Mr. Courthope contends that poetry is ‘the art of ‘producing pleasure by the just expression of imaginative ‘thought and feeling in metrical language.’ It was as a drawing-room amusement that Lord Jeffrey condemned the Muse of Wordsworth, and the spirit of the ‘Edinburgh ‘Reviewer’ seems to have influenced Mr. Courthope’s definition. Pleasure is rather a condition, than the aim, of poetry. At its best it is a high and serious teacher; its purpose, to use Bacon’s phrase, is to raise and erect the mind. Where doctors differ, we shall not attempt to decide. Categorical æsthetics are useless, because the final judgement

of the world on questions of taste is intuitive. Catholic minds recognise genius, as did Crabbe, 'wherever there is 'power to stimulate the thoughts of men and command their 'feelings.' Mr. Courthope both denies and affirms this principle. He blames his antagonists because they condemn Pope intuitively without assigning reasons; he replies to the theories of Wordsworth that poetry is a matter 'not of argument, but of perception.' Both the manner and the matter, the substance and the style of a subject, at once so varied and so relative, will never cease to be a fruitful source of literary controversy. The true question which the critic must in each case ask is, whether the thing is good in itself. 'Poetry,' said Shelley, 'is the expression of the imagination;' but while some poets exhibit the internal sensations which accompany the working of the faculty, the genius of others consists in the expression of the external objects by which its exercise is awakened. As a characteristic specimen of the latter class Pope's name will always afford a rallying point. Of his peculiar genius we recently had occasion to speak in this Journal; it cannot be seriously denied that in one of the many branches of poetry he has given conspicuous proof of artistic excellence.

As an index and a school of national character the importance of poetry can hardly be exaggerated. No more potent influence exists to invigorate or corrupt the mind of society, no surer sign of the health or disease of a people, than this monument and epitome of national development. If poetry becomes enfeebled, not only is there manifested a fatal symptom of national decay, but a powerful restorative is itself infected. When, therefore, an eminent critic, like Mr. Courthope, detects the progress of disease, a question is raised of more than literary interest,—whether the principles on which his diagnosis proceeds are true or false. To Mr. Courthope's eye poetry betrays a marked tendency towards Radicalism—in other words, towards revolt from established order, existing models, and timehonoured precedents. Since 1780 it has, in his opinion, ceased to be national and social. Poets cannot write of real life without that easy familiarity with things terrestrial which is only gained by contact with the world, and of which Byron, himself a proscribed Liberal, boasted the possession. But the modern poet is a recluse, not a man of the world, dealing with private rather than common experiences. He withdraws from companionship into solitude, from action to reflection. In the practice of his art he becomes a law to himself instead of conforming to

those standards which have been sanctioned by antiquity. His subjects are chosen because they lend themselves to philosophical meditation, new studies in colour, or curious harmonies in sound. Mr. Courthope would, we imagine, contend that, if poets attempt pastoral pictures of real life, they misrepresent nature by artificial refinement; if they weave mediæval romances, they introduce modern sentiment; if they describe character, they exhibit it, not as dramatists, but as analysts or metaphysicians, compounding their actors by science rather than observation, reasoning back from results to their mental causes; if they place Nature before them as their goal, they either depict her meanest trivialities, because more likely to be real than sublime events, or, like Victor Hugo, oppose her to every received principle and existing institution. In all cases language is degraded from its high office as the interpreter of thought to be the material of a puzzle, the colour of a painter, or the notes of a musician. A technical jargon is created which is rarely pure and often unintelligible. Journalism, not poetry, becomes the standard of idiomatic English; poets, valued in proportion to their oracular obscurity, retort, as of old, on those who complain of their mystical utterances, '*Intelligibilia non intellectum fero.*'

The charge thus stated against modern poetry is not without truth. It therefore becomes important to discover whether all these characteristics are symptoms of disease, and, if so, what is its source, and what is its remedy. Mr. Courthope has no doubt that poetry bears on its face infallible signs of decay, that its condition is due to its neglect of contemporary life, and that the progress of disease may be arrested by a return to the Conservative principles, diction, and metre of Pope. The romance of mediævalism which inspired Scott, the romance of common life which stimulated Wordsworth, the romance of Jacobinism which thrilled in Shelley, the romance of Wertherism which glowed with sullen fire in Byron, are extinct as poetic impulses. The literary torrent which swept away the classic barriers at the beginning of the century has run dry; the corresponding movement in politics to which the French Revolution gave so gigantic an impulse is exhausted; a Conservative reaction both in literature and politics appears to Mr. Courthope to be no less imminent than desirable. He attributes the stagnation in poetry to the individualism of the Liberal creed. Weary of modern meditation Keats demanded 'the old poets and Robin Hood;' so now, Mr. Courthope cries

out 'for Pope and Sporus.' Yet even this remedy of literary Conservatism promises to poetry only a maimed existence; one side at least must remain paralysed. Mr. Courthope holds that poetry inevitably declines when civilisation has advanced beyond a certain stage. If man is not progressive, formidable precedents may be quoted to support this pessimistic contention. But Mr. Courthope despairs of the future of poetry, because, as we think, he takes too low a view of its functions. If pleasure is indeed its highest aim, if its only healthy food is gathered from the surface of contemporary life and manners, and if the sphere of the imagination is limited by the existing ideals of society, his despondency is amply justified. But though many groves of the Muses have been occupied by previous comers, devastated by science, or felled by the woodman, we believe that poetry is 'immortal as the heart of man.' Centuries of practice have added compass and perfection to the instrument. Doubtless it requires the hand of a master to sweep the strings of the elaborated lyre, and to give combined and adequate expression to the complex movements of modern civilisation. Yet, in our opinion, there is at least one poet among us at the present day who expresses the essential aspects of contemporary life with keener and more varied insight, a greater depth and subtlety of analysis, and a larger infusion of the prevailing sentiment than any of the critical school of Pope in which Mr. Courthope would have us sit as learners.

Before proceeding to comment in detail on Mr. Courthope's theory, we must protest against the new chapter which he has added to the 'Use and Abuse of Political Terms.' It prepares us for Mr. Courthope's preference of the party literature of the age of Pope. Few persons read poetry who do not hope to escape in its pure air from the dusty atmosphere of party squabbles. If Liberal and Conservative are used in 'no party sense,' their value to Mr. Courthope has surely disappeared, since he defends his political terminology on the ground that political and literary movements are different manifestations of analogous causes. No sacrifice of taste was necessary to assert a principle which is generally conceded. But the application to the romantic and classical movements of the terms Liberal and Conservative stands condemned not only as a fault of taste but as inappropriate. How is a terminology to be defended which compels a critic to class Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, and Southey among Liberals, to call Carlyle a Radical Diogenes, to condemn the

lyric measures of modern poetry as the product of the intolerable itch for poetical legislation? Still more strongly is the impropriety of the terms established when Mr. Courthope is driven to contend that mediævalism and Catholicism appeal to Liberal instincts, that the eighteenth century was essentially Conservative, that no statesman or writer of distinction in that period would have hesitated, so far as principle was concerned, to call himself a Whig, or that Burke with his Gothic Elizabethan intellect was a typical Englishman of his generation. Nor does Mr. Courthope escape the usual penalty of definite theories. He is led away to express extreme admiration for the critical school, and, in our opinion, to bestow a false colouring on many points of literary history.

In poetry, Mr. Courthope finds two streams. The source of the romantic stream, he, like Madame de Stäel, traces to mediæval theology and chivalry; the other is fed by the 'life, action, and manners' of the nation. The two streams which in Chaucer are combined, subsequently diverge, and, after a brief reunion in Elizabethan literature, separate for ever. To Chaucer Romance was a genuine inspiration, because its impulse was living. But the allegorical form of the 'Faery Queen' proves that the associations to which it appealed were already dying. It disappeared in the conceits of Crashaw and Cowley only to burst forth again in the poetry of the Revolutionary era. Similarly the poetry of life, action, and manners vanished in the fifteenth century, revived in the satires of Hall and the plays of Shakespeare, and was carried on by Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Crabbe. It is to this lost source of poetry that we must, in Mr. Courthope's view, return for refreshment.

The starting point of Mr. Courthope's theory is arbitrarily chosen. He strikes the stream of poetry not at its fount, but after it has become a river and reached the plain. The perennial source lies higher up the slopes of Helicon, and its true spring is the human heart. Men like Scott are impelled to Romance by an instinct which continues the same whether the ideal belongs to the past, the present, or the future. Romantic writers cannot remain Conservative in instinct so long as the romantic impulse belongs to the present, and become Liberal in instinct the moment the impulse passes into history or aspires to the future. Yet, if this is not Mr. Courthope's theory, what is his ground for calling the romantic outburst of the Revolution Liberal, and the Romance of Chaucer Conservative? If Mr. Courthope's

theory were well founded, it is doubtful whether Chaucer himself could be called Conservative. His Anglo-French dialect is not the language of the day. Feudal society was breaking up; Chaucer has been with probability suspected of a leaning towards Wickliffe, and the nation was even then turning from the Crozier to the Crown for protection; the internecine war between labour and capital had commenced; chivalry was flushed not with the natural glow of health but the hectic beauty of decay. From the aspect which poetry presents at the point where he strikes the stream, Mr. Courthope is led to ignore lyric poetry unless it deals with action. As civilisation advances, men strive to express not only what others have done, but the thoughts of which they themselves are conscious. Except that abstract lyric poetry is a later developement, it is difficult to see on what principle Conservatism is to be confined to the poetry of action. Whether lyric poetry deals with man piecemeal or man as a whole, whether it treats of one special phase of character, or with the prevailing mood of the poet, or with a sentiment which is partly isolated, partly predominant—whether, in other words, it is a war song, an elegy, or a self-descriptive poem like Coleridge's 'Dejection'—it is equally natural and indigenous. Its test is reality; it must be true and unaffected; simple genuine expressions of feeling rarely fail to please. The autobiography of versifiers who affect the scowl or limp of Byron finds no readers; no one was interested even in the 'Werther Carabin' of Sainte-Beuve's 'Joseph Delorme.' Men who unbosom themselves in public confessionals must be, before all things, real. Had Mr. Courthope regretted the increase of this class of poetry, because of its affectation, he would, in our opinion, have hit a serious blot.

Mr. Courthope's theory is open to other objections. It is too definite to be true. Past and future are so intertwined in the present that every century is at once historical and prophetic; no chasm separates the poetry of Elizabeth from that of the present century; no clear dividing lines interrupt its continuous developement; even the reforms associated with Dryden and Pope were commenced by their predecessors; both in the manner and the degree in which they reflect contemporary activities, Elizabethan writers resemble the school of Wordsworth rather than that of Pope; except his metre Popebequeathed little to the poets of the eighteenth century, and was rather the last of his school than the literary ancestor of Thomson, Gray, Johnson, Goldsmith, Cowper, and Crabbe.

If dramatic compositions are excluded, and the range of poetry in the sixteenth and nineteenth century is compared, it will be found that in depth and width of sympathy with man and his surroundings modern poets have gained 'fresh woods and pastures new.' Except in writings intended for the stage, Elizabethan poets do not reflect the external features of society. They are not less subjective than the poets of the present day. Their minds colour every object which they contemplate; but they deal more directly, and without refined subtlety of analysis, with more elementary sentiments. The delicate shades of feeling, the lighter desires and finer moods of the present century are the product of elaborate civilisation. Like Donne or Crashaw, Keats may trace his lineage from the sixteenth century. The conceits of the Jacobean poets are linked to the fantasies of the early amourists; their extravagances are not only embalmed in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' but conspicuous in the poetry of Wyatt; so again 'Venus and Adonis' is the prototype of 'Endymion' and the ancestor of literary poetry. Nor did the poets of the Jacobean or Civil War period stand aloof from the interests of the age. Their images are fantastic; but they afford the best commentary on the rapid accumulation of varied knowledge. The shadow of the coming struggle darkened their poetry with gloom, and grave questions of religion and philosophy were discussed in verse. Each of the actors in the struggle have left their mark in literature; the rich, enjoying nature of the Cavalier is represented in Lovelace; the deep loyalty of personal religion in Herbert; the stern, passionate zeal of the Puritan in Milton, Marvell, or Bunyan. But the era was at once too stormy and too tentative to permit literature to wear a settled aspect. The tide of national life was, as it were, chopped into wavelets by the conflict of opposing winds and currents. It was also an era of experiment; models had to be created in subject, matter, treatment, language. In the use of simile and figure it was a transition period between ancient and modern poetry. Thought and image were no longer set side by side in simple juxtaposition, nor were they as yet blended and identified. This transitional character increased the number of false metaphors of which the Jacobean poets are repeatedly guilty and of which Shakespeare is not always innocent. Confusion became worse confounded as new worlds were discovered by science, or new fields of thought tempted eager enquirers. The fire of passion burnt fiercely, and words poured forth in a molten stream. Language rolled along like a Roman

triumph, bearing captive in its train strangers of every region and clime. Not content with illustrating thought by single images, poets decorated subordinate parts with lavish profusion of fancy, displaying in language, which was at once intentionally figurative and unconsciously metaphorical, all the ill ordered treasures of their abundant learning. This richness of pictorial matter weakened their power of painting, impaired their faculty of producing by words a distinct image visible to the mind's eye. The prose extravagances of Browne, Milton, and Jeremy Taylor, even the cumbrous involutions of Clarendon, illustrate the same phenomenon as the poetry of Cleveland or Crashaw. But it was not till the glow of imagination and passion had cooled, not till the eager simplicity of the student was exchanged for the conscious pedantry of the scholar, that men recognised the need of art. As soon as poets relied on ingenuity rather than on feeling, it was seen that poetry had become a wordy masquerade. Yet side by side with these extravagances ran the parallel movement which is usually associated with the names of Dryden and Pope. The Jacobean and Civil War poetry is prolific in love ditties, war songs, pastorals, allegories, religious poetry; scientific and philosophical interests appear in the 'Purple Island' or 'Gondibert;' satires and poetical epistles on contemporary life and manners flourished before the Restoration. Surrey rejected the 'aureate and mellifluate' terms which were already disfiguring the language; English style was cultivated by Elizabethan reformers; 'well lan-guag'd' Daniel proves that the art of writing was appreciated; George Wither, himself an offender, protests against the fantastic ingenuity of poetic conceits. Classic models were assiduously studied; between 1558 and 1660 more than twelve translations were made of Virgil, and portions of Horace and Ovid were rendered into English. Little improvement on the iambic measure of Surrey was effected by later versifiers; but the 'coursers of imperial race' were broken to their paces by Sandys, Davenant, Denham, and Waller. Thus in choice of subject, in style, models, metre, the work of the critical school was anticipated by their predecessors.

But though the continuous developement of poetry admits of no such clearly defined stages as Mr. Courthope indicates, circumstances gave to the work of Dryden and Pope an apparent unity of purpose which was wanting in the labours of previous writers. It is difficult to overestimate their services. They made language the vehicle of clear thought,

established the laws of the imagination, taught that poetry depends on discretion as well as sensibility, that figures must harmonise, every word ring truly, and every picture be distinct. What Dryden and Pope were to Crashaw or Cowley, Dryden and Addison were to Browne and Jeremy Taylor. Prose became, like poetry, clear, precise, business-like. This critical movement was not a revolution or retrogression, least of all was it a Conservative reaction. It was a necessary course of discipline which suspended the natural growth of poetry. Classic models formed the bulk of the education; but, unless French republicans, like Marie Joseph Chenier, were Conservatives and Chateaubriand was a Liberal, the preference of classical forms is no infallible sign of Conservatism. The critical movement, though European in extent, was not of foreign origin. Circumstances brought the post-Restoration writers under the influence of their French contemporaries, but Malherbe was not the founder of the English critical school. Neither in politics nor in literature was the period one of experiment. Passion had cooled; excess produced exhaustion. Politically the Revolution was an unimaginative settlement, effected by practical men who saw the need of concession and compromise. In literature the enthusiasm for classic freedom passed away into imitation of classic forms; instead of the native model which Milton had created, foreign standards of taste were erected. The ambition of the human intellect had annexed vast territories of knowledge; it was the work of the critical school to organise and consolidate these conquests. Thus employed, poets naturally contemplated man as an intellectual, social, political being; no less naturally, literature tended to become a party literature. No feature in the movement is necessarily Conservative.

Pope is, in Mr. Courthope's opinion, the literary type of eighteenth century Conservatism, and the literary ancestor of 'Thomson, Collins, Gray, Goldsmith, Johnson, and Crabbe.' To us, on the contrary, it appears that the spirit of the age was not Conservative, and that, if substance rather than form is made the test, Pope left behind him no followers.

In a limited sense the age was Conservative. Both political parties adhered to a body of rules. But the Tories did not, like the Whigs, transfer their affections from the monarch to the system. Both parties acquiesced in the present, but the Tories clung to it from despondency of the future. Except in this sense the century was not Conservative. Throughout it the forces were accumulating for the volcanic eruption of

its close. Especially is this true of literature. The audience was widening; journalists, statesmen like Chatham and Burke, demagogues like Wilkes, poets like Burns and Cowper appealed to no microcosm of fastidious critics. The study of political economy turned attention to the condition of the working classes; that familiarity with the classics, which was heralded by the robust scholarship of Bentley, fostered a love of beauty for its own sake: painting, especially in water-colours, revived a taste for inanimate nature; improved facilities of communication, the increase of travelling, the growth of wealth and trade, the progress of science enlarged the horizon beyond that of England. The love of the romantic past began to show itself in literary publications. Mr. Courthope admits that the poetry of life and manners loses its creative impulse after the accession of George III. His theory assumes the analogous results both in literature and politics of general causes. It is a damaging fact that the Conservative reaction in politics synchronises with the decay of Conservative poetry.

Between the Rubens-like Dryden, with his flush and force of colouring, and the subtle, delicate Pope, there is little similarity. As a poet of God, Man, and Nature, Pope differs still more widely from his best-known successors whom Mr. Courthope includes in the critical school. His range is narrow and superficial. 'Quieta non movere' was the motto of the age of the early Hanoverians—'a large, roundabout 'commonsense' its characteristic, a coarsegrained vigour its virtue. Yet in some respects English society approximated to that of France. To the Horace of the English Augustan age, a unique opportunity was thus afforded. Pope wrote for a narrow literary circle which formed the subject of his verse. The light artificialities with which he dealt trained him in dexterous felicities of expression. He reflects the passing hues of life; he never distinguishes its immoveable essence. He catches the light shadows of a fugitive world, but makes no effort to probe the recesses of the immortal soul. The deeper currents of society did not move him. There is no trace in his writings of any interest in the life of our forefathers; he sneers at antiquarian pursuits, the growth of science, or the improvement of scholarship; he carries his party spirit into his criticism of music; he laughs to scorn the widening circle of literary men and their readers. If he brought down poetry from heaven to earth, it was to an earth limited to the Court and the town. On the two occasions when he attempted higher flights of creative poetry

he had recourse to Romance for his inspiration. Eloisa was not one of the ladies who congregated at great Anna's tea; the sylphs who guarded Belinda were not beings in whom the Hanoverian Court believed. By concentrating himself on the changing surface of society he gains a variety to which poets who deal in the truisms of the heart can scarcely attain. But they may become universal while he inevitably remains partial. He does not sing of life and death or joy and sorrow; except when Pope is inspired by the liberal impulse of Romance, can men of the present generation hear in his poetry an echo of their own thoughts, or see the reflection of their own passions?

In the substance of his poetry Pope has little in common with his most famous successors. Towards God he expresses the intellectual feeling of the critical school. The personal religion of Fletcher, Herbert, or Donne, which died out under the cold rule of the post-Restoration writers, but burns up brightly in Watts, Wesley, Whitfield, and Cowper, is entirely absent. Man, to Pope, is a social being, to be studied intellectually without regard to the passions which constitute living men. For mankind in general he cared little; he scarcely observed more than one class—the wits and the ladies of fashionable society. With poverty or rural life he had no sympathy. He knew nothing of Goldsmith's cosmopolitanism or of the sternly realistic pictures of Crabbe, who painted the poor, as another poet of the labouring classes has said, with a 'wire brush.' The 'Traveller,' the 'Deserted Village,' or the 'Parish Register,' do not more transcend Pope's limited range than Gray's 'Elegy,' or Johnson's 'London.' Pope could not have mused in a country churchyard; nor could the man who gibbeted the poverty of Grub Street as a crime, have felt for the trials of the poor like one who had himself drunk to the dregs the bitter cup of poverty. He could not have written 'Sally in 'our Alley,' or the 'Beggar's Opera,' or

'All in the downs the fleet was moored,
The streamers waving in the wind,
When Black-eyed Susan came aboard.'

The 'Bard' breathes a spirit wholly foreign to his own; he never, like Collins, looks back regretfully upon the past. Nature was to Pope an inanimate order controlled by the Great Governor of the Universe; no passage in his poetry breathes a true appreciation of her beauty. He preferred his quincunx and his rockwork to her sublimest landscape;

her scenery at the most aided him to conjure up a coronation scene. In his successors are revived the lost traditions of that passion for Nature which inspired Browne or Marvell. Somerville writes like an outdoor man who delights in the horse and hound and all the circumstance of the chase; Thomson paints Nature realistically, because that was the fashion of the day; but his true, minute, exact pictures are the result of loving observation. Pope could not have delineated the sluggish river and green fields of Olney; he would not have ridden thirty miles to see the sea; still less would he have died if he had not seen 'the heather once a year.' The personal element of Revolutionary poetry, its wider feeling for humanity, its cosmopolitanism, its sympathy with poverty, its passionate devotion to Nature, its love of the romantic past are entirely absent from the poetry of Pope, but they inspired his predecessors and successors. Wordsworth and Coleridge were not the parents of a revolution, but the children of a revived impulse. They represented the feeling, which throughout the century had gathered strength, that passion and sensuousness were unduly sacrificed to the simplicity of correctness, and that creation was starved and imagination stunted by the conscious study of the critical school. In prose the same change is marked. In the hands of Fielding it became passionate and imaginative; it was cultivated as an art by Gibbon. On the stage, the conventional stateliness of Booth and Quin was replaced by the natural fire and spirit of Garrick. When Sir Joshua Reynolds went to study under Hudson, the popular portrait-painter of the day, the art had sunk to a mere mechanic trade; the use of colour had died out with Lely; he would have been laughed to scorn had he preferred a masterpiece of Vandyke to the frigid mannerism of Kneller.

A strong point in Mr. Courthope's argument is the poetical theory of Wordsworth. In literature, says Mr. Courthope, 'the strife between the spirit of aristocracy and the spirit of democracy began with the controversy excited by the publication of the "*Lyrical Ballads*."' Henceforth poets resigned their 'function to give definite form and coherence to the ideal conceptions which floated vaguely in the mind of society at large.' They asserted their right, by virtue of superior endowments, to exercise their imagination without reference to that of their audience. It is from the publication of the '*Lyrical Ballads*' that Mr. Courthope dates the centrifugal tendencies of modern poetry. In his account of that volume he makes an unimportant error. 'The Ancient

'Mariner' not only was included in the first edition, but sold the few copies that found purchasers. Though the change is undoubtedly great from the stir and hubbub of external life to the stillness of the poet's mind, Wordsworth was no revolutionist. His claim to rule the imagination of others, by virtue of his superior endowments, was intensely aristocratic; his power of association was one of the strongest characteristics of his genius, yet the faculty of linking together every object by which he was surrounded with some remote feeling is not necessarily disruptive of society. He endeavours to widen and deepen the basis of poetry, that it might cease to be partial and become universal; he penetrates from that outside which Pope painted with genius, and Hudson with fidelity, to the centre of the soul; he appeals, to use his own words, to 'the primary laws of our nature;' he builds not on the shifting surface of the social imagination, but on the enduring foundation of the common feelings of humanity. Consequently in the secret places of the heart Wordsworth rules supreme. His was not the intellectual brilliancy of the Greek, but the penetrative insight into the spiritualities that connect man with the unseen world which characterises the Hebrew. More than any other he possesses

'the blessed mood

In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened.'

Mr. Courthope detects Liberalism in Wordsworth's 'endeavour to awaken the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom.' But Wordsworth's meaning is explained by the sentence, which in the *'Biographia Literaria'* immediately follows the quotation, 'by directing it to the loveliness and wonder of the world before us.' Wordsworth, or rather Coleridge on his behalf, is asserting the latent capabilities of insignificant objects. He claims to remove the film of familiarity, which dulled perception, by the sympathy of the reverent worshipper rather than by the interpretation of an inspired dictator. Nor is it an avowal of Liberalism when Wordsworth proposes to 'present common objects to the mind in an unusual aspect.' He enforces a well-established principle that descriptions need not be literal transcripts. He lays stress on the distinction between poetry and prose, which in other respects he often ignores. Poetry, aiming at suggestiveness, blends two ideas together; prose presents

ideas singly, because its object is precision. Poetical descriptions add something to the picture; they must be true as compound images, but they need not be true literally. Wordsworth does not distort the external world by imputing to it his transient emotions, but interprets those hidden relations to man which, when disclosed, command conviction by their evident truthfulness. Wordsworth undoubtedly contended with exaggerated force 'on behalf of the language of real life.' His theory and practice are in this respect indefensible. But two extenuating circumstances may be pleaded. In spite of the many magical lines which are scattered over his poems, his own command of language was limited; flatness characterises much of his prose, and poverty of resource was probably the unconscious father of his theory. If he stated his case too broadly, the exaggeration was not unprovoked. Pedantry had become the soul of poetry. It rejoiced in the tinsel frippery of 'Pierian springs;' stock ornaments, supplied readymade to versifiers, were lauded by critics as the essence of poetry. Gray made this species of poetry almost original, partly by the abundance of his hoarded felicities, partly by the skill with which he adapted the creations of others. But with smaller men, whose fancy was not quickened by the imaginative conceptions which they borrowed, recollection superseded originality. It was against this artificial language that Wordsworth protested, in the name of reality. The truth of his theory is better expressed by Ascham than himself, 'He that would write well must learn to speak as common people speak, and to think as the wise think.' To the same purpose is the Italian proverb, '*Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana.*' Wordsworth was right to protest against the classic toga and the Dantesque wreath as the necessary garb of those who woo the Muses, but he forgot that the worsted stockings of a Roland were equally out of place at court. His offence against taste is clearly established, but nothing is gained by calling it Liberalism. Both Euripides and Wordsworth were reformers of the public taste in language. The Tory Aristophanes assailed the former for rejecting the professional diction of poets; the author of the '*Paradise of Birds*' attacks the latter on a similar charge.

In Wordsworth's treatment of the imagination there is no revolutionary element. Mr. Courthope blames Wordsworth on two grounds: first, because he claimed to be a 'sacer vates,' 'rejoicing more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him;' secondly, because he claimed that he

‘could always write poetically by the mere exercise of the ‘will.’ In the first claim he was, in our opinion, justified both by precedent and result; the second formed no part of his theory. Wordsworth nowhere asserts that poetry of the creative kind could be hammered out by mere determination; he did not believe that it could be produced except in those rare moments when the poet is lifted from his feet by the gush of his emotions. He thought that everything was capable of poetic treatment. Even ‘the loose stones that ‘cover the highway’ had their moral life, could feel, or be linked to some feeling. By lonely meditation on the most homely subjects some spark of association might be struck which could kindle the imagination. A tattered cloak might become the stimulus from without, the overmastering impulse which would raise the divine ‘*afflatus*.’ Nothing in his practice disproves his theory. His failures are ridiculous, but his task is not, for that reason, necessarily impossible. He failed because his imagination at the time refused the stimulus which he offered; without its impulse he could not interpret Nature, give the essence of things around him, or so possess himself of the life that is in them as to impart that ‘unusual aspect’ which might overpower the mean associations. Numerous pieces of his verse contain only the meditation without the kindling spark; the dross remains, but no ore is produced. Yet it does not seem impossible that the singing bird of the sailor’s mother might as powerfully affect the imagination as the cuckoo, the celandine, or even the ‘four fraternal yew-trees’ of Borrowdale. For what is imagination? It is a synthetic rather than an analytic power, a power of combination rather than distinction. It fuses together the objects on which it is concentrated, till it extracts from them the essence and vital soul. It cannot create from nothing; nor, however abundant the material, can forms be produced without the plastic faculty. It moulds abstract ideas into shape, and so reads the inner truth of circumstances, adjuncts, and accidents, that it gives a collected image in which the object is seen as a whole, at a single glance, and at its best. It is thus that imagination is the genius of personification. It gives to ‘airy nothings’ a habitation and a name; it bodies forth things unknown in palpable forms. It reaches its end by a single effort; it is the parent of ideas. What may be the true relations of its revelations to the results of scientific exploration no one has yet determined. In its highest moods it seems to be almost a spiritual energy, a ‘faculty divine.’ The creative poet is

more than the most contemporary of his contemporaries ; he is a seer, and the chosen interpreter of his age ; his poetry is the 'breath and finer spirit of all knowledge,' 'the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science.' To ordinary men some subjects appear more obviously capable of poetic treatment than others. But till it is known whence comes and whither goes the capricious gust of the 'estro,' till it is explained why sights familiar from childhood, which yesterday aroused no emotion, should today awaken that overmastering impulse from without which is the inspiration of poets, we may still believe that poetry is immortal as the heart of man, and that the most trivial subject may yet become the quickening spirit of poetic imagination.

Wordsworth represented the side of the new poetic movement which was most strongly contrasted to the art of the eighteenth century. But in other points besides the change from external appearances to internal realities his contemporaries were opposed to the school of Pope. In dealing with Scott, Byron, and Shelley, Mr. Courthope is hampered by the difficulties of a theory which compels him to treat romance as a Liberal impulse. The chapter devoted to Coleridge and Keats is more successful. If poetry is to deal exclusively with the subjects chosen by the critical school, he has triumphantly established his point.

Struck by Coleridge's sterility in the midst of abundant resources, Mr. Courthope casts about for an explanation of the phenomenon. He finds it in the theory that Coleridge deliberately set himself to compose as a musician. In a recent article in this Journal we attributed the decay of Coleridge's poetic impulse after 1800 to irresolution, diffuseness of purpose, political disillusion, the peculiar direction of his metaphysical studies, ill-health, and the use of opium. Coleridge was no doubt a metrical innovator ; but he was far more than a mere musician. It is a curious fact that he had no ear for music, though his love of the *Æolian* harp proves the fascination which sound exercised over his imagination. It is true that in his poetry action is subordinated, but it is rather to thought than to metre. The bulk of his poetry consists in attempts to versify philosophical meditations. Whether from innate abstractedness or a London education, his mind was naturally unimpressed by the outside world. To his eyes York Minster was as uninteresting as a barn. His dreaminess of disposition and impotence of will increased both his incapacity for external realities and his

faculty of insight into his own mind. Mr. Courthope's theory is based on a small portion of his best poetry, and does not take into consideration Coleridge's mental and physical peculiarities. It is founded on 'Kubla Khan,' the 'Knight's Grave,' 'Christabel,' the 'Ancient Mariner,' and the 'Darke Ladie.' 'Kubla Khan' can hardly be quoted for or against the theory, since it is the waking expression of a dream produced by an opiate. Coleridge was sensitive to the associations of sound, but the real point is whether metrical affinities are the chief connecting link in his poetry. As Poe was struck by 'nevermore,' or Keats by the word 'forlorn,' so Coleridge wrote 'The Knight's Grave,' under the impulse of 'Helvellyn.' It was a saying of Dryden that the rhyme often helped him to a thought, and Swift's verses are sometimes only connected by repetition of sound. So far as Mr. Courthope proves his point, it may be paralleled by examples from the critical school. The other poems on which the theory is based are ballads. Coleridge's temperament, which unfitted him for action or reality, determined the direction of his mind when he attempted to compose poetry of this class. The 'Ancient Mariner' and 'Christabel' are written to reproduce the supernatural in such a form as to suspend disbelief. Bearing the purpose in mind, there is assuredly far more in Coleridge's wild Odyssey of the human soul, or the weird witchery of 'Christabel' than mere sound music. Logical sequence of ideas or settled plan is not to be expected from the nature of the subjects treated; but every word tells, every touch contributes to the purpose, every line tends to increase the haunted atmosphere of mysterious suggestiveness. Coleridge was too consummate an artist not to perceive how powerful an instrument might be made of metrical accompaniment. But the affinity of sound is not the only connecting link in either poem; it is rather one among the many resources which Coleridge employs with exquisite skill. Mr. Courthope wishes poets to return to the metre which Pope dedicated to 'satire and 'unquiet thought.' If he will pardon the personal nature of the argument, he has himself supplied a sufficient reason for gratitude to the lyrical innovations and revivals of Coleridge. Does it lie in the mouth of the author of the lyrics of the 'Paradise of Birds' to require our return to more formal measures?

Towards Keats Mr. Courthope appears somewhat unjust. Keats's effeminacy offends men of more masculine mould. But it is not given to everyone to carry the activities of

political life into the enjoyment of poetry. Men of sensitive temperament are often glad to interpose between themselves and realities exquisite pictures of ideal life. It is for these that Keats has written. Mr. Courthope charges Keats with the deliberate intention to paint in words, to use language as a colour box rather than as an interpreter of thought. The charge is not without foundation. Yet Keats's poetry is real; it is the genuine expression of feeling. Keats held it to be

‘the great end
Of poesy that it should be the friend
To soothe the cares and lift the thoughts of man.’

To those who, like himself, find the active world barren of vital interest, he speaks and will ever speak. The sentiment which he breathes and to which he appeals may be sickly. But so long as humanity is subject to human weakness, there will be temperaments to which Keats ministers the best relief. Literary poetry, of which he was the modern founder, has increased beyond just limits. In its later developement it is not only sickly but often prurient. Yet it would be unfair not to recognise that Keats supplied a want. Nor does Mr. Courthope give sufficient weight to the youth of the poet. ‘Endymion’ was written at the worst age, at that period of life when the youthful fancy strays from the actual to the ideal world, and hovers between the healthy imagination of the boy and the matured imagination of the man. Yet if twenty-one be the worst age for the imagination, it is the springtime of fancy. In their first conception classic or Gothic mythologies are the work of the imagination; their revival is the sphere of fancy. Keats's command of unreality and unrivalled facility of fancy enabled him to picture to himself

‘The sights which youthful poets dream
On summer eve by haunted stream,’

and to recall the associations which they suggested to the men who first conceived those half divine, half human creations. He effected for classic mythology what Shakespeare had done for the fairies that ‘fright the maidens of ‘the villagery.’ Beauty is the essence of such poetry, and beauty is undeniably there. As a poem of fancy ‘Venus ‘and Adonis’ is not superior to ‘Endymion’ or ‘Hyperion.’ It is no slight honour for a stripling to have rivalled Shakespeare even in the earliest creations of his Muse. Keats's handling of his subject is youthful. He does not

treat his classic figures with reserved simplicity, but adorns them with a rich profusion of decorative detail. His effects are different from those of sculpture; they have all the glow and colour of painting. But he breathes a living spirit into the marble forms, lends their cold outline the warmth and fulness of flesh and blood, modernises, without vulgarising, the pagan mythology. Like Wordsworth and Coleridge he enlarged the boundaries of the poetic art.

The survey of English poetry, which Mr. Courthope's suggestive volume invites, arouses hope and not despair, encourages reliance on the future instead of recurrence to the past. Its history hitherto has been one of continued progress. It has gained greater command over its instruments; language is more correct and more flexible; more than its old melody of metrical movement has been recovered; its word pictures have acquired a greater depth and richness of colouring. The limitations by which the older poets were restrained in their treatment of passion are overcome; new refinements of mental analysis give deeper views of character. Nature no longer serves as the background of human action, but itself blends with the life of the spectator; the fuller perception of her beauties shows itself not in set descriptions, but in those careless touches which imply an intimate familiarity. In lyric, narrative, and philosophical verse poetry has conquered 'fresh woods and pastures new.' With increased power have come increased difficulties. Poetry has to reflect a complex, sceptical, and material age, to transfigure daily taskwork by elevating its meaning, to dignify common life with a soul, to lend significance to ordinary feelings and general wants. Lord Tennyson has shown that poetry is equal to its task. His successor has not yet appeared; but when he comes he will be, and in our opinion ought to be, of the school of Wordsworth rather than of Pope. The idealism which inspired Shelley failed Keats; that which fired Lord Tennyson has died out for his successors. In the Laureate's youth all was change and progress. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill agitation, the Abolition of Slavery, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Tractarian Movement inspired men of that day with hope and enthusiasm,—

'See! on the cumbered plain,
Clearing a stage,
Scattering the past about,
Comes the new Age.'

This eventful period turned Lord Tennyson from literary to

national poetry. The inspiration has failed. Men are not united in the bond of undogmatic Christianity; the parliament of nations is not sitting, nor is the federation of the world established. But the impulse has not lost its force; the unrest of action has yielded place to the unrest of thought, but it has made him what he still remains, the most contemporary of contemporaries. If the tide of national life is once more quickened by restored energy of confidence and hope, we have little fear that those who are now the empty singers of an idle day will not become the interpreters of their age and country.

It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. Courthope urges, that the more obvious materials of imagination tend to diminish with advancing civilisation. Life, in a prosaic age like the present, has lost its moral grandeur. Men are cast in moulds; uniformity starves individuality; character is overlaid with conventionality. The motley picturesqueness of provincial life is exchanged for a universal dress; local opinion is crushed by the domination of the metropolis. Originals and oddities retire before the commonplace and the normal. Contemporary epics can scarcely be written without vulgarity or exaggeration. As history emerges into broad daylight, picturesque forms of twilight disappear. Poetic faith demands passive obedience; the charm is gone when doubts are whispered. The nineteenth century is not a period which abounds in subjects that obviously and evidently lend themselves to poetic elevation. Many aspirants to poetic fame resign in despair their allotted place on the highway of the world. They rarely feed their imagination on fruit which ripens to their hand as they tread the beaten tracks. Weary of the present life they escape from crowded cities to raise hermitages in solitary deserts. Their imagination strays to that classic region which is the fabled Hesperides of the North, to chase by purling brooks the pale but immortal forms of Nymphs and Graces; or, if it lingers regretfully on English soil, sheds a visionary radiance over the memorials of the past, or contemplates with passionate eagerness and credulous humanitarianism a paradise of the future. But those who pursue these devious paths desert their highest functions to clasp a shadow: they cannot thus hope to gain the ear or touch the heart of multitudes; they deliberately incur the risk of placing their works beyond the range of ordinary sympathies. They rely on a return to the past which is an impossibility in the present, a revival which only a 'fata morgana' can cause to hover as a reality before the

lively imagination. With Mr. Courthope we deplore this withdrawal from the interests of the day. The more unpoetical a century appears, the more pressing is its need for poetry drawn from fresh, contemporary, and immediate sources. But a prominent point of our difference with Mr. Courthope is his conclusion that the perennial fount of poetic inspiration lies in the surface pictures of man and society which are drawn by the critical school. He has not retraced the stream of poetry to its real spring. An age like our own, thronged with such varied activities, throbbing with such manifold energies, struggling so fiercely towards the light, can never be regarded as hopelessly prosaic. Poetry is not dead because it sleeps; it is 'immortal as the heart of man,' if poets depend on themselves and not on external circumstances. It is not a superficial view of the action, life, and manners of society that is required. Interests may be less salient because they are more diversified, influences less obviously rich because more complicated; but so long as the human heart throbs with anguish or swells with pride, so long as it flutters with love or pants with passion, so long as it heaves with despair or bounds with hope, so long will the material be ready whenever the true workman comes. In variety and depth of meaning the nineteenth century will not, surely, disappoint those who have the discernment to extricate, and the ability to exhibit, the treasures it supplies. The eagle eye will yet detect the ideal beneath and within the actual world; the seer will always read the permanent truths enshrined in common incidents; at the touch of the magician the apparent confusion ceases; like sunbeams that turn the dewdrops into diamonds, master minds will never cease to reveal beauties that lie at our very feet, but lie there unobserved. He whose mind is burnished by contact with the world most fully collects into a single focus all the interacting rays of the light around him; he who bends his ear most patiently to the 'loud roaring loom of time' will best extract a harmony from its seeming discords.

Lord Tennyson's poetry affords a text and an illustration of our remarks. From time to time he has proved that the smoothness of the social prospect is but the illusion of distance, and that daily life with its evershifting panorama of men and things is still illumined with a light to soften and to beautify our present existence. Herein lies, as we believe, the secret of the great position he has achieved among contemporary poets—the power of the spell which he lays on the present generation. He is not satisfied to guide his reader

into cool vales of Tempe, sequestered from the toil and tumult of the world, or to decorate the temple of the Muses with appropriate accessories of costume and furniture, or to pursue through mossy wildernesses the will o' the wisp of metaphysics, still less to pour forth melodious, but incoherent, rhapsodies of French sentimentalism. He faithfully upholds his mirror to the living world, and rests his poetry on the broad eternal basis of human nature. There is little political enthusiasm in his poetry, and in this respect he notably contrasts with Shelley; but he has written enough to show the ardour of his patriotism. Philosophical and religious meditation occupies a large place in his poetry, and rightly, for it is the leading topic of thought in the present century. He creates lofty examples of manhood, or paints exquisite pictures of women; yet neither are etherealised beyond the range of common sympathies; his men and women walk the earth, not with the airy footfall of phantoms, but with the substantial tread of flesh and blood. As in matter, so in form, he disdains to humour conventional taste. His verse is singularly bare of tinsel ornament; he prefers to rely on the total impression rather than to piece together by inferior setting a succession of sparkling passages. What he has thus sacrificed in temporary effect, he has more than gained in assured ascendancy.

Human interest of a universal, rather than a special, kind is seldom absent from his poetry; his structure is generally built on the firm foundation of mind and character. His moral views are manly; his 'criticism of life,' if not profound, is buoyant and healthful; his works are never tinged with that harsh tone of satire which is bred from morbid misanthropy. He does not face contemporary subjects with the blunt directness of the post-Restoration school; but this is due partly to his literary instincts, partly to the change of interests; varieties of character are not now so important as points of resemblance. He paints life as seen by experience, as well as conceived by the imagination; yet, with all his aspirations after ideal beauty, he rarely parts company with the actual conditions of the nineteenth century. Keenly alive to the sufferings of humanity, he never allows his conviction of its perfectibility to be impaired by his deep sense of its present weakness. Acutely observant of the flaws of society, he never despairs of its ultimate future, even while he denounces with unsparing severity the vices to which a civilisation, born of rapid scientific and material progress, is peculiarly threatened. No living poet

has so strongly urged the larger views, the high-souled energies, the refinements and disinterestedness in which commercial communities are especially deficient; personal nobility is the keynote of the 'Idylls of the King.' More than any other of his contemporaries he has striven to harmonise our overwrought industrial activities with the ancient traditions of faith and reverence. He moves in worlds both of sight and fancy, depicts not only actual but legendary scenes, weaves his poetic web from material as well living as romantic. If, in the moonlight of illusion, among the crumbling ruins of supernatural beliefs, he has dreamed evanescent dreams on the lap of the pagan Muse, he has, as the poet of battle, stirred the spirit and quickened the blood of England by wedding to noble verse heroic deeds of national prowess. If he has chiselled his clear-cut classic figures on the cold but lasting marble, he has also caught and transmuted into fixed beauty many of the shifting, shapeless features of modern society. If he has embodied abstract grace and goodness in an ideal world, he has yet painted realistic pictures of contemporary England, in which, amid a glow of local colour, he has caught the true spirit of rural life, and set them in frames jewelled with gems of natural description. Even the 'Idylls of the King' are less remote from common interests, less local, and less partial than they at first sight appear. They are national and Christian poems. To the oppressed and dreamy Celt, Arthur was a secondary Saviour, and his mission, at once a retrospect and a future, appeals directly to religious sentiment. One of the great defects alleged against the Idylls is, that the characters are modern personages masquerading in ancient dress; but, from another point of view, this fault renders them contemporary teachers. The poet's object seems to have been to make Arthur sufficiently true to his age not to disturb our sense of the probable, and yet to raise him so much above it as to be, without reference to degrees of civilisation, a type for all time of chivalrous manhood.

Lord Tennyson does not, like the late Lord Lytton in 'King Arthur,' recall his characters to poetic life by a copious use of the supernatural, nor does he veil his figures in the dim transparency of the Spenserian allegory, but teaches living lessons by the universality of the humanity he portrays. Above all, in 'In Memoriam,' he has reared to the memory of the dead a glorious shrine, imperishable as time, enriched by every detail of consolation, engraved with every symbol of comfort that varied reading and

fertile fancy could suggest—a shrine where sorrow laden mourners of every age will find solace and expression for their most secret and inarticulate griefs. Lord Tennyson is at once the most universal, the most national, and the most homebred of our living English poets. His versatility of imagination and the depth and tenderness of his personal feelings enable him to transfer himself into the being of others, to realise various sides of existence, to combine the actual with the ideal elements of poetry. In each instance he adapts the character of his strain to appropriate models; yet there runs through all his verse an identity of thought and treatment which proves this reproduction of different forms to be the exercise not of an imitative faculty but of a catholic sympathy, not merely the birth of a keen sensibility to beauty, but the outpouring of a heart which has pondered deeply on the prime duties and interests of mankind.

The volume before us is the most important which Lord Tennyson has published for several years. It is superfluous to attempt to point out its many beauties, since few persons to whom these pages are likely to come will be wholly unacquainted with its contents. But this latest collection of the Laureate's verse excellently illustrates the previous remarks which it has helped to suggest. It includes several finished specimens of different styles of composition, which deal directly or indirectly with subjects of contemporary interest, and remarkably display his power of embodying dissimilar kinds of poetic sentiment. 'The Spinster's Sweet 'Arts,' in spite of its unworthy title and barbaric dissonance of dialect, is a delicate study, at once local and universal; 'Tiresias' utters his eloquent monologue under the metallic brilliancy of an Hellenic sky, but his words contain a warning of vital interest to modern England; in 'The Ancient Sage' the spirit of the times clothes its restless enquiries and indefinite hopes in the severe garb of Oriental antiquity; 'Balin and Balan' tread once more the romantic faeryland of Arthurian legend. These are the four most important poems in the collection. The other longer pieces strike us as inferior. The passion of 'Despair,' though sometimes powerful, is generally forced; the 'Flight' and the 'Wreck' are too melodramatic for our taste; the dedicatory lines to the late Mr. Fitzgerald scarcely pretend to be more than rhymed prose. Of the form in which the Irish poem 'To-morrow' is cast we do not pretend to judge; the story is so well fitted for poetic treatment, presenting as

it does one welldefined situation of strong pathos, that it could afford to dispense with the aid of the native dialect. The subject has been often treated; but we do not know that 'Tomorrow' is more affecting than Miss Clephane's simple ballad of 'The Miner.' Some of the shorter poems are admirable. 'Frater ave atque vale' and the musical address to Virgil are in every way worthy of the poet's fame.

'The Spinster's Sweet 'Arts,' like its idiomatic predecessors, is racy of the soil. The theme is more trivial than those of the two 'Northern Farmers,' with which it invites comparison. In aim it is more humble than those startling revelations of the dark recesses of the bucolic mind. But though the subject of the poem, the whims of an old maid, is slight, it is remarkable for the skill and truth with which it is presented. It is a charming picture full of humour, subdued by a strain of half regretful sadness, painted without exaggeration and with perfect fidelity. Yet there is more in the figure of the spinster than the realistic power of a Dutch painter. Into her confused soliloquy the Laureate has thrown his own poetic nature. In spite of its East Anglian garb it is a classic delineation, a specimen, like the 'Northern Farmer,' of pure art. It presents us with a true type in almost bare outline without the admixture of any decorative accessories. So familiar a topic, if differently handled, might become commonplace. Crabbe, for instance, would probably have observed the spinster with more microscopic power of observation, and painted her with greater sternness of realism. He would have spoken the truth about her and nothing but the truth; yet the whole truth which Lord Tennyson, seeing with other eyes than ours, has given, Crabbe never attempted.

In 'Tiresias' Lord Tennyson has taken a classical subject, and skilfully worked it up into an eloquent monologue. He has none of the mythical faculty which Shelley shared, by dint of his imaginative power, with primæval poets; but he is a born Greek in his sense of beauty in repose. The influence which ancient literature seems to exercise over him is one of restraint; it concentrates his diffuseness and prunes his profusion. 'Tiresias' has the clear definiteness of outline of a statue. It is a fine example of the instinct for form, polished grace, and harmony of sober colouring which the study of the classics has fostered in Lord Tennyson. It also affords a conspicuous proof of his power of condensed succinct expression. Nor is it easy to praise too highly the

dramatic skill with which the answer of Menœceus to the appeal of Tiresias is rendered—

‘This useless hand !
I felt one warm tear fall upon it. Gone !
He will achieve his greatness.’

Like ‘Tithonus,’ ‘Tiresias’ is pregnant with deep meanings for modern times. The intellectual vision of the eyeless seer is piercing in its keenness because of his enforced detachment from active interests, while mental blindness is the fate of those whose gaze is obscured by the dust and glare of party strife. Because of his removal from practical life, Tiresias sees, and his countrymen disbelieve. On Tiresias the effect is prophetic insight, on his fellows contempt for the blind man’s warnings. The poem is not a new composition, but was found

‘In some forgotten books of mine
With sallow scraps of manuscript,
And dating many a year ago.’

The first portion is exquisitely polished ; yet, if ‘Tiresias’ had not lain so long completed, we should have supposed that the latter part had been finished in haste. The lines, for instance, descriptive of the Dragon’s cave and the Sphinx are not wrought up to the same pitch of perfection which is attained in the first half of the poem. Classic motives, as we have said, nerve Lord Tennyson to more chastened reserve and more vigilant self-restraint. A powerful illustration of this effect on the Laureate’s mind is afforded in his treatment of Tiresias. He is at first sight almost too statuesque in his marble coldness. No flush rises to his cheek, no quiver shakes his voice, even when he recalls the divine vision of the goddess which seared his memory when it for ever sealed his eyes. He continues the same equable flow of language, which he maintains throughout without even a momentary thrill of emotion. Yet, in truth, this reserve is here the perfection of art. One touch of passion would distract attention from the vision he describes. In the description of Pallas Athene it is impossible to find a flaw. The complete effect is produced by details so rare as to escape the eye ; the exact amount of accessory which is necessary to bring home the idea to the mind is given, and nothing more ; no needless circumstance is inserted, no touch is superfluous. The figure does not grow, stroke by stroke, with the gradual elaboration of a picture, but rises before us with the clear rounded outline of a statue in the

inseparable wholeness of divine beauty. The following lines are, we think, the finest in the volume:—

‘One naked peak—the sister of the sun
Would climb from out the dark, and linger there
To silver all the valley with her shafts.
There once, but long ago, fivefold thy term
Of years, I lay; the winds were dead for heat;
The noon-day crag made the hand burn; and sick
For shadow,—not one bush was near,—I rose
Following a torrent till its myriad falls
Found silence in the hollow underneath.

There, in a secret olive-glade, I saw
Pallas Athene climbing from the bath
In anger; yet one glittering foot disturb’d
The lucid well; one snowy knee was prest
Against the margin flowers; a dreadful light
Came from her golden hair, her golden helm,
And all her golden armour on the grass,
And from her virgin breast, and virgin eyes
Remaining fixt on mine, till mine grew dark
For ever, and I heard a voice that said,
“Henceforth be blind, for thou hast seen too much,
“And speak the truth that no man may believe.”’

The ‘Ancient Sage’ is a powerful poem of a reflective character. It is not finished to the same perfection as the most elaborate of the Laureate’s works; but this is more than counterbalanced by its sustained strength. For his subject Lord Tennyson has travelled to the remote East and taken an aphorism from one of the predecessors of Confucius. The title of the poem is, in fact, a translation of the name of Laoutsze, the reputed founder of Taouism. It is difficult to determine how far the poem is dramatic and how far self-delineative, whether Lord Tennyson intends to depict the character of Laoutsze or to express his own experiences. On the whole we prefer to think that he gives utterance to

‘The voice of his own soul
Heard in the calm of thought.’

The poem is cast in the form of a commentary on the lyric verse of a poet who, loving Nature for herself, is blind to her higher teaching, one on whose ears her harmonies strike but as an empty clang, wakening no sentiment that whispers more than words can interpret. The lyric portions are often very beautiful. The keynote of the whole is struck in the following lines:—

'How far thro' all the bloom and brake
 That nightingale is heard !
 What power but the bird's could make
 This music in the bird ?
 How summer bright are yonder skies,
 And earth as fair in hue !
 And yet what sign of aught that lies
 Behind the green and blue ?
 But man to-day is fancy's fool,
 As man hath ever been.
 The nameless Power, or Powers, that rule
 Were never heard or seen.'

The question whether the world is a kosmos or a chaos is anxiously asked. The ancient sage addresses his commentary to those who, like the lyric poet, are tortured by their inability to name the Nameless, and tormented by the 'riddle of the painful earth.' The whole poem repays the careful attention it demands ; it is the most original in the volume ; here at least the Laureate has not reproduced himself. Few writers equal Lord Tennyson in weight and condensation of writing. He uses none of the copper money of language. Thoughts are adequately expressed in a line which many men would be puzzled to suggest in a page. The 'Ancient Sage' raises a question which exercises the greatest intellects of the day. Lord Tennyson's discussion of the problem illustrates the healthy activity of his poetry. The manner in which he approaches it shows the fusion in his mind of poetic feeling with modern habits of thought. The present age is fervent neither in belief nor in unbelief ; religion is rather weakened than denied ; faith fades so imperceptibly into doubt that the dividing line is lost in the broad belt of twilight. With men of Shelley's generation it was widely different ; the frontier was strongly marked ; men proselytised fiercely on behalf of their convictions. In that semi-tropical age there was no prolonged transformation scene between day and night, but the change from faith to doubt was as sudden and as absolute as from life to death. Lord Tennyson's moral view of life and its issues appears to belong, in theological terms, to the Broad School. He clings to those two paramours of religious truth : belief in a personal God, and 'immortal life in never fading worlds.' For the rest, so far as his poetic utterances are concerned, his creed has all the vague picturesqueness in which poetry delights. The mystery of life drives him into no rocky solitudes. While he condemns morbid sourness and Horatian equanimity, he contemplates the problems of human

existence and destiny with philosophical serenity. Finite minds have often striven to solve the infinite. Not so Lord Tennyson. In his efforts to 'overleap the bounds' of the conditioned, Coleridge lapsed into mysticism. No speculative dreaminess mars the Laureate's poetry. Lord Tennyson has been claimed as an adherent of Pantheists and Atheists, as well as of orthodox theologians. He makes no frantic, unavailing effort to pierce the veil which hides the final mysteries, nor does he attempt to soar above the range of mortal vision, or beyond the level of human strength. To Shelley this negative capability would have been as intolerable as it was inconceivable. His passion to penetrate the mystery of existence burned with a consuming fire. He dashed himself to pieces against the bars of his prison house, denied before others began to doubt, and, exhausted by his echo-answered cry 'What is life?' poured forth his hopeless weariness in melodious despondency. As in temperament and mental attitude, so also in mode of expression Shelley was diametrically opposed to Lord Tennyson. He obtrudes difficulties which the Laureate confesses, asserts where the other hints in whispers, dogmatizes where the other is content to suggest.

From the direction and the temper in which Lord Tennyson approaches his subject, it is scarcely to be expected that the 'Ancient Sage' should add to our previous knowledge, disclose new resources, open out wider views which may help us to remodel our conceptions by the aid of the poet's deeper insight. The characteristic of the Ancient Sage is receptiveness rather than originality or daring. To most men the poem will appear a more perfect wording of their less articulate thoughts, a nice expression of familiar difficulties. The reflections are neither trite nor obvious; they have floated chaotically through the brains of thousands, but the poet has given them a definite form, and brought them home to the mind in the guise of remembrance. Lord Tennyson essays no sublime but impracticable task; no solution is attempted of life's riddle; no effort made to penetrate the mystery of the here and the hereafter. Resignation and self conquest are the lessons which he inculcates. For those who think well and do well the Mount of Blessing may lead to the Mount of Vision. It is perhaps doubtful whether the following passage—the most explicit in the poem—constitutes an advance in dogmatic definiteness on the religious creed expressed in 'In Memoriam':—

'Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son,
 Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in;
 Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone,
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone,
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one;
 Thou canst not prove thou art immortal—no—
 Nor yet that thou art mortal—nay my son,
 Thou canst not prove that I, who speak with thee,
 Am not thyself in converse with thyself,
 For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
 Nor yet disproven; wherefore thou be wise,
 Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
 And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!
 She reels not in the storm of warring words,
 She brightens at the clash of "Yes" or "No,"
 She sees the Best that glimmers thro' the Worst,
 She feels the sun is hid but for a night,
 She spies the summer thro' the winter bud,
 She tastes the fruit before the blossom falls,
 She hears the lark within the songless egg,
 She finds the fountain where they wail'd "Mirage!"

'Balin and Balan,' the longest poem in the volume, gives another scene from the Golden Age of Knighthood. Fused in the alembic of poetic genius, the incoherent details that cluster round the Hero King assume a common meaning. 'Balin and Balan' illustrates the part that Guinevere, the fatal Helen of a chivalrous endeavour, might have played in Arthur's courteous paradise. The shadows of coming shame are gathering to cloud the brightness of the landscape. Already Geraint, the incarnation of moody doubt, has carried Enid away from the rumoured corruption of the court; Vivien, serpentlike, is gliding into the Eden of Camelot, where, but for the taint upon the purity of the Queen, that embodiment of falsehood had found no place. Between 'Enid' and 'Vivien' is now inserted the tale of 'Balin and Balan,' two brothers who die by each other's hands, the first victims of the fatal curse that Guinevere is bringing on Arthur and his Table Round. They are, in one sense, slain by that 'spear stroke from behind' of slander which they forswore when they took the oath of knighthood. The presentment of the story illustrates in a larger field what we said before of the different use by early and modern poets of simile and figure. In Spenser the allegory is the substance; it is put forward by the writer, and the interpretation is left to the reader. Lord Tennyson blends the allegory with the fiction till the latent meaning and the external presentation are identified. It is thus that he is

able to subordinate the unreal to the natural elements, and remove the stumbling block of magic. The new book helps materially to fill up the outline of the Arthurian tragedy, and contributes directly to the final catastrophe. The garden scene between the Queen and Sir Lancelot is very perfect in its kind. It affords almost as fine a specimen of the Laureate's pictorial power as Pallas Athene gave of his skill as a sculptor:—

‘Then chanced, one morning, that Sir Balin sat
Close-bower'd in that garden nigh the hall.
A walk of roses ran from door to door ;
A walk of lilies crost it to the bower ;
And down that range of roses the great Queen
Came with slow steps, the morning on her face ;
And all in shadow from the counter door
Sir Lancelot as to meet her, then at once,
As if he saw not, glanced aside, and paced
The long white walk of lilies toward the bower.
Follow'd the Queen ; Sir Balin heard her “ Prince,
Art thou so little loyal to thy Queen,
As pass without good-morrow to thy Queen ? ”
To whom Sir Lancelot with his eyes on earth,
“ Fain would I still be loyal to the Queen,”
“ Yea so ” she said “ but so to pass me by—
So loyal scarce is loyal to thyself,
Whom all men rate the king of courtesy.
Let be ; ye stand, fair lord, as in a dream.’

Then Lancelot with his hand among the flowers
“ Yea—for a dream. Last night methought I saw
That maiden Saint who stands with lily in hand
In yonder shrine. All round her prest the dark,
And all the light upon her silver face
Flow'd from the spiritual lily that she held.
Lo ! these her emblems drew mine eyes—away :
For see, how perfect pure ! As light a flush
As hardly tints the blossom of the quince
Would mar their charm of stainless maidenhood.”

“ Sweeter to me ” she said “ this garden rose
Deep-hued and many-folded ! sweeter still
The wild-wood hyacinth and the bloom of May.
Prince, we have ridd'n before among the flowers
In those fair days—not all as cool as these,
Tho' season-earlier. Art thou sad ? or sick ?
Our noble King will send thee his own leech—
Sick ? or for any matter anger'd at me ? ”

Then Lancelot lifted his large eyes ; they dwelt
Deep-tranc'd on hers, and could not fall ; her hue
Changed at his gaze ; so turning side by side
They past, and Balin started from his bower.’

Here the sentiments of the living agents are ushered in by a symphony of nature. The very flowers serve, as among Eastern lovers, to speak the language of passion; the 'deep-hued many-folded' rose becomes a fitting emblem of the voluptuous, passionate Queen. No sense of her disloyalty mars the radiance of her beauty; but the morning has passed from the face of Lancelot: the shadow of his sin darkens his life. What seems to be mere description helps the general impression, and enforces the internal contrast. It is a fine accord between the world of sense and the world of soul; the inward emotions are blended with the external signs.

Lord Tennyson's narrative poetry does not depend, like that of Byron, on the energy of passion, nor, like that of Scott, on the stirring nature of his incidents. His incomparable workmanship enables him to dispense with the devices by which inferior artists conceal defects of execution. The tale is told with that Doric simplicity which would be barren but for the natural dignity of the language and the sustained finish of the style. Scarcely any of the Laureate's poetry conveys a more distinct impression of mere charm and power of form than the best passages of the 'Idylls of the King.' The execution appears to be free. Yet the unlaboured handling is the very quintessence of elaborate refinement, which results from lengthened and indefatigable discipline. Only the occasional artifices betray how great a strain extreme simplicity demands. The versification is more mannered than that of his other poems: but this is chiefly due to his fastidious choice of language. Complexity and variety are almost incompatible with the monosyllabic plainness of his 'Arthurian Idylls.' In a species of poetry which Lord Tennyson has made so peculiarly his own, he is his own most formidable rival. 'Balin and Balan' does not rise to the first rank among the Idylls. The human interest and moral significance of the incidents fall below the highest standard which the Laureate has created. Balin, with his paroxysms of fretful petulance, is not a character to awaken sympathy, and Balan, his better angel, is sketched in the barest possible outline. Yet Balin is depicted with more dramatic force than is displayed in the portrayal of many more interesting actors among the Knights of the Table Round. His character is not built up by information from the poet, but is allowed to exhibit itself in word and deed. The chief interest of the poem, however, lies in the effective touches which bring out more clearly the guilty passion of

the wilful, self-indulgent Guinevere, and heighten the pathos of the figure of Lancelot dragging his lengthening chain of incurable love, irredeemable disloyalty, and irremediable remorse.

It is hardly to be expected that the new volume should increase Lord Tennyson's reputation; it is sufficiently marvellous that it will not in any way diminish his fame. From first to last there is no trace of exhausted resources. With veteran skill he wields all the weapons of his craft. He unites consummate art with undiminished freshness; his verse retains all its melodious smoothness; his passion for correctness burns with unabated fire; his language has lost none of its bloomlike grace; his perception of beauty is undimmed; his insight into inanimate nature seems no less keen than when those secrets that he who runs never reads were first revealed to the quiet eye of the reverential watcher. The delicacy of his descriptive touches fails in nothing of its refined suggestive truthfulness; in the use of metaphor and simile he is irreproachable as ever; his mastery over words is neither weakened nor decreased. Excellences like these are necessarily accompanied by relative imperfections. This is not the time for any attempt to assign to Lord Tennyson his true place among poets. Such applications of the comparative method of criticism yield no harvest of increased appreciation. It is wellnigh impossible to make the pride of intellect pay becoming homage to the natural promptings of the heart, or to combine in just proportion the intelligence of the Greek with the energy of the Hebrew. Men must choose between the two schools. Those who prefer kindled thought to artistic perfection would gladly exchange the mannered melody for the sweep of swiftness and strength, surrender the fastidious self-restraint to feel the breathless interest, pardon some inexactness for boldness, or forfeit the ineffable daintiness for the indescribable force of spontaneity. Yet those in whom these feelings are strongest cannot fail to recognise the rare beauty of the Laureate's workmanship. Nor will they yield to the most devoted of his admirers in the warmth and sincerity of their congratulations that he so bears his 'winter-weight of years' as to retain his cunning unimpaired and unabated.

ART. VIII.—1. *Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister.* 1832–1852. London: 1885.

2. *Home Letters written by the late Earl of Beaconsfield in 1830 and 1831.* London: 1886.

ALTHOUGH it is understood that Lord Beaconsfield left to literary executors unusually complete and ample materials, the publication of his Memoirs appears to be indefinitely deferred. Yet each year of delay discounts the interest of these biographical and historical treasures, if it does not depreciate their permanent value. The lives of eminent statesmen should be written by their contemporaries—by the men who have shared their labours and witnessed the same passages of history. It is deeply to be regretted when this duty is neglected by those who survive them, and in whose hands their papers and correspondence are placed. The performance of this task is due to their illustrious friends and due to the public, for it cannot be discharged equally well by the writers of another generation. The late Sir Robert Peel constituted the late Earl Stanhope and Lord Cardwell his literary executors. Those eminent men were admirably qualified to write his life, but, unhappily, they too have passed away, and the biography is unwritten. We hope Lord Beaconsfield's papers, which are in excellent hands, will not share the same fate. But the publication is already too long delayed. Meantime we welcome any information as to one of the most remarkable statesmen of the century, and may congratulate ourselves, like Sancho, on the rich skimmings of Camancho's kettles, when we get anything to stay our anxious expectation. We were grateful to Mr. Ralph Disraeli for the little volume of his brother's 'Home Letters' written from the Mediterranean, and it had a very wide circulation. Indeed these brightly written and characteristic letters were so generally appreciated, that all who are interested in the personality of Lord Beaconsfield have with one consent been 'asking for more;' and Mr. Ralph Disraeli, after some natural hesitation, has wisely consented to gratify them. The sequels to publications that have been extremely popular are foredoomed, as a rule, to comparative failure; but the popularity of this second series of the correspondence has far surpassed that of its predecessor. Nor could it well be otherwise. For these letters, written, like the former, to the sister who had his absolute confidence, are all of them egotistical in a supreme degree—we use the word with no

unfavourable or unkindly meaning—and they are a succession of self-revelations of a character as curious as it was complicated. The veteran politician had carefully exercised himself in self-control: perhaps he had felt the imperative need of it, in his consciousness of the frank ostentation of his foibles. In striking contrast to his great rival in the Commons, he could sit apparently impassive and unmoved in the face of ingenious misconstructions and through the most irritating personal attacks. When the strife of political conflict was setting most strongly against him, no one could read the signs of discomfiture in his face; and even in society and the streets he wore an impenetrable mask which is said seldom to have slipped aside in confidential intercourse. In his youth, and in his unreserved intercourse with his sister, he would appear to have carried a warm heart on his sleeve. He had assured himself of her loving interest and of her discretion, and he seems to have had absolutely no secrets from her. She was the Myra of the real Endymion. We have called the letters egotistical, but the egotism is almost engaging. He delights to dwell, with what in a less world-wise and ambitious man would have been the innocence of refreshing simplicity, on small social successes, as on political triumphs; and had death cut him short prematurely in his wonderful career, these letters would have stamped him as egregiously vain and ludicrously self-conscious. So that we are by no means surprised that his brother should say, apologetically, in the preface—and Mr. Ralph Disraeli, by the way, makes use of our own expression—‘To some their tone may be thought egotistical; but ‘it must be remembered that they were written without ‘thought of publication, and to a sister who fully believed in ‘the writer’s power, and who happily lived just long enough ‘to see him Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the ‘House of Commons.’

For what strikes us the most in them is the marvellous self assurance, more marvellously justified by subsequent events. He knew something of himself and his powers, and nothing could shake him in his self opinion. He was daunted neither by difficulties nor discouragements; nay, he even drew encouragement from his disheartening failures. He had fixed his eyes from the first on the very topmost rungs of the political ladder, and he was determined, regardless of slips, to climb patiently till he reached them. If he were hooted or howled down, he nerved himself with the conviction that he was immeasurably the superior of that

bellowing band of ordinarily silent members. From the first, in his clever political fictions he sneered at the 'twelve-hundred pound men,' the Tapers and the Tadpoles, grovelling and toadying for place, and contenting themselves with obscurity and a competency. But these letters seem to show, too, that from the very beginnings of his start he had substantial grounds for feeling sanguine. While writers in the press were ridiculing his highflown and ill reported oratory, when the rank and file of his parliamentary opponents sought to shout or laugh him down, he tells his sister that he was receiving the most flattering testimonies of approval from discriminating judges, who had no reason to love him, and who detested his political opinions. Moreover, in his impatient ambition and indefatigable energy he had sought a second string to his bow; the public and the publishers showed their sense of his abilities as a pamphleteer and a novelist.

It is made clear in the letters, that soon after his *début* he had been welcomed courteously in society as a coming man. No doubt he was greatly indebted to the friendship of Count D'Orsay, but it said much for an unformed and somewhat conceited stripling that he had won his way to D'Orsay's intimacy; and he characteristically paid a graceful tribute to that friend in reproducing him as the admirable and generous Mirabel. But he quickly formed other intimacies no less flattering and advantageous. In one of the first of the letters we find him with Bulwer at Bath, where, according to himself, they were fêted as twin lions, dividing the attentions of the fashionables. Bulwer and he use and almost abuse the privileges of close friendship in the outspoken criticism of their respective public appearances and literary productions. He has been ridiculed, with reason, for the affectedly aristocratic tone of his novels, which ring through all their pages with high-sounding patronymics, and where long-descended peers and magnificent millionaires are plentiful as blackberries. That habit of high colouring stuck to him down to 'Lothair' and 'Endymion;' but it must be remembered that he began to write when the fashionable novel of Mayfair was the only style that was either 'taking' or 'paying.' If his tastes, his instincts, and his aspirations were aristocratic, and if his ambition of social success was stimulated by the disadvantages that opposed it, it is nevertheless evident from these letters that he did not depict a society with which he was not acquainted. He had

nearly as many invitations in the great world as he need have cared to accept; he was petted in certain coteries as a literary celebrity; so that in the very first of these letters we have him giving himself the airs with a distinguished lady-author, which even then sat easily enough on the extremely self-possessed young *parvenu*. From the first he takes quite naturally to dropping titles of ceremony, calling dukes and lord chancellors simply by their names. Though, even in that affectionately confidential correspondence, we might have liked him better had he affected less familiarity with rank and shown somewhat more deference to his superiors in age and station, nevertheless it is evident that if he sought his heroines and heroes among people of the most exalted station, he was drawing his originals from circles of society in which he was privileged to move.

Thus the personal lights thrown autobiographically on his character and habits of life are extremely interesting and instructive. But at least as interesting and more historically important is the information he communicates so freely as to the commencement of his public career. The first letter is dated five years and a half before he had obtained a seat in Parliament. Yet, had we not been aware of the fact, we should hardly have suspected it; for from the February of 1832 he is writing as a keen man of party, who is following with the shrewdest intelligence each move in the changing game, while watching and waiting for an opportunity to cut into it. We have all his hopes and fears as to his chances of being returned for Wycombe. And when at last he is actually elected for Maidstone, through the friendly influence of Mr. Wyndham Lewis, we have his own very original version of the memorable maiden speech, which has hitherto been understood to have been a humiliating failure. We are enlightened, with a considerable flourish of trumpets, as to the incidents of his successive appearances in the House, by which, and step by step, he made his way with scarcely a slip or even a stumble. No doubt, in the exhilaration of repeated triumphs, he does blow his own trumpet; but he invariably quotes high opinions for the praise he bestows on himself. And we see how, gradually, by sheer power of brilliant readiness, by command more or less superficial of his subjects, by adroit management of men, by rare fertility of resource and indomitable firmness of will, he steadily gained ground with a jealous following, till he became the champion they might still distrust, but dared not venture to dispense with.

Formidable and dangerous in debate as Brougham, though from far different qualities, his followers could never refuse him high place, since throwing him overboard must have meant disruption or self destruction. Many members of his party disliked him at the first; not a few of them either envied or distrusted him to the end. But we can see how by wary strategy and quickwitted intelligence he steadily made himself so indispensable that he could undertake the education of the country gentlemen, who had no love for literary men or paradoxical dialecticians, and an inborn antipathy to aliens with foreign sounding names. There can be no question that in these confidential letters he shows himself for the most part as the calculating politician and as the cynical man of the world, with somewhat unscrupulous ambition. He is determined to make his way; he is comparatively indifferent as to the means, though we do not for a moment intend to cast reflections on his personal or political honour. But he had read history; he could estimate the obstacles opposing him; he had realised that the atmosphere of politics is essentially demoralising; and he was ready to meet unscrupulous enemies with his enemies' weapons. Had he lived and governed in Walpole's time, he might have influenced Parliament as Walpole influenced it. While in his lighter moments, and when not occupying himself with his novels as a recreation, he seeks relaxation from more serious affairs, as the frivolous trifler, with those fashionable folks he affects to despise. Not that he really did despise them, for he knew the value of the shoulders of aristocratic acquaintances to a brilliant outsider who meant to climb.

At the same time the frequency and the freedom of these letters, often dashed off in the press of business, or when his head was half turned by some intoxicating success, show the softer and more kindly side of his nature. It seems clear to us that Disraeli, though he made a marriage of convenience, must naturally have been an eminently domestic man. We are far from saying that he was not attached to his wife. We are sure that he felt the warmest gratitude to her, notwithstanding what he says of love marriages. But we are persuaded that had he been born to the wealth of a Tancred, he might have been tempted to be the hero of such a romance as that of the 'Lord of Burleigh,' and that he would have cherished his bride all the more in the consciousness of a certain self sacrifice. While in the letters never intended for the eyes of those mentioned in

them he expresses real and ardent gratitude to the friends who had consistently befriended him in critical circumstances. The point on which he comes out most unfavourably is in his relations to Peel, though the story is only told incidentally and by casual references. But Peel, as Disraeli represents it, had singled him out for exceptional notice, and treated him with altogether exceptional kindness. Peel received him at his table, he paid him marked attentions there; and in the House of Commons he was ready to applaud and back him up without a foreboding of the future or a suspicion of jealousy. His early relations with Sir Robert Peel appear to have been cordial. But in the course of their acquaintance, which never amounted to intimacy, Peel had undoubtedly conceived a strong distrust of his character, which ripened into dislike; and when in 1841 the Minister formed the great administration of which he was the head, he positively refused to admit Mr. Disraeli to any post in it, however humble, although Lord Lyndhurst and some other friends warmly urged Sir Robert to secure the services and the support of so rising a man. The claims of Disraeli to office were rejected, and as he was not only arrogant but vindictive, he never forgave the slight, and became ere long the most formidable antagonist and the bitterest enemy of the man whose friendship he had sought, but sought in vain.

We have said something to throw a general light on the special interest of the correspondence; and henceforth our article must consist in great measure of extracts. For no one can speak for Disraeli like Disraeli himself; and, indeed, in the earlier half of the volume, which covers twenty eventful years from 1832 to 1852, we might be tempted to make quotations from half the pages. With rare exceptions we are arrested over each of them by something, either of past or present interest, or of shrewd prescience of the future. Now it is some ludicrously suggestive personal touch; now we have a bit of vivid description brilliantly dashed in, or acute and original observations on a memorable public event. Now it is a portrait, a sketch, or a caricature, either of one of the most conspicuous of public men, or of some more ephemeral notoriety whose name is better known than his person. Or, again, it is a story, an epigram, or a repartee, very well worth repeating for itself, but still better worth preserving on account of the characters associated with it.

The first of the letters, dated February 1832, marks one

of the first of the milestones in Disraeli's literary career by a reference to the manuscript of 'Contarini Fleming.' He had already written 'The Young Duke,' 'Vivian Grey,' and 'Alroy;' so to a certain extent he had made his mark as a novelist. He says of 'Contarini Fleming,' in the preface which he long afterwards prefixed to 'Lothair,' that, although written with deep thought and feeling, it had fallen almost stillborn from the press. Yet he characteristically consoled himself in the retrospect by the commendations of writers of genius. Goethe, it seems, and Beckford had praised his neglected book, and Heine had spoken of it with flattering enthusiasm; though Goethe died within a few weeks of its appearance. When it came out he was characteristically excited and sanguine. He attends a literary reception at his brother novelist Bulwer's, where he meets Lord Strangford, D'Orsay, Lady Morgan, &c.; and it was on that occasion, as we have already observed, that he solaced himself with the opportunity of slighting a celebrity.

'Bulwer came up to me and said, "There is one blue who insists upon an introduction!" "Oh, my dear fellow, I really cannot. The power of repartee has deserted me!" "I have pledged myself; you must come," and he led me up to a very sumptuous personage, looking like a full-blown rose—Mrs. Gore. . . I avoided L. E. L., who looked the very personification of Brompton—pink satin dress and white satin shoes, red cheeks, snub nose, and her hair *à la Sappho*.'

These were Bulwer's extravagant and most embarrassed days, when he seems to have been entertaining freely by way of advertisement. Shortly afterwards, noting a dinner there parenthetically, Disraeli goes to another 'brilliant soirée' at Bulwer's, where 'there were a great many dames of distinction and no blues.' He meets Sappho for the second time, but now he finds her 'modernised, better dressed and 'pretty.' He devotes two or three sentences to her, and as many to another lady. 'I was introduced by particular desire to Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, a pretty little woman, a flirt and a rattle, indeed gifted with a volubility I should think unequalled, and of which I can convey no idea. She told me that she "liked silent, melancholy men." I answered that I had no doubt of it.' Such was the impression made on her intended husband by Lady Beaconsfield, to whom the future Premier was as grateful for the forwarding of his fortunes, as the Father of True Believers to the wealthy Kadidjah, the first and the least attractive of his wives. We may suspect that the union was not without its drawbacks to the silent, meditative, and somewhat melancholy

man; but it is a proof of the genuine goodness of his heart that he never gave the slightest ground for such suspicions. On the contrary, it strikes us that he must have gratefully stretched a point, when years after the marriage he dedicated 'Sybil' 'to the most severe of critics—but a perfect wife.' In the course of the same memorable evening 'I stumbled over Tom Moore, to whom I introduced myself. It is evident that he has read or heard of "The Young Duke," as his courtesy was marked. "How is your head?" he enquired. "I have heard of you as everybody has." A month later he made his first acquaintance with Peel.

'Yesterday I dined at Eliot's, a small party consisting of eight. I sat between Peel and Herries. . . . Peel was most gracious. He is a very great man indeed, and they seem all afraid of him. By-the-bye, I observed that he attacked his turbot most entirely with his knife, and Walker's story is true. I can easily conceive that he could be very disagreeable, but yesterday he was in a most condescending mood, and unbent with becoming haughtiness. I reminded him by my dignified familiarity both that he was ex-minister, and I a present Radical.'

Immediately after being gratified by that introduction to the great man, he was delighted by the letter from Beckford acknowledging a copy of 'Contarini.' 'His answer is short, but very courteous. It commences with four exclamations: "How wildly original! How full of intense thought! How awakening! How delightful!"' We have seen him admitting long afterwards that the novel had fallen stillborn. Now he writes, 'As far as I can learn, it has met with decided success.' The misfortune was, 'that amid abundance of praise and blame,' not one of his numerous critics had as yet comprehended him, and from the first was generated that resentful contempt which found sharp expression in the sarcasm of 'Lothair,' that the critics were the men who had failed themselves.

In the winter of 1833 he accompanied his friend Bulwer to Bath. It was about the time that Mr. Pickwick visited that ancient watering place, and considering the attentions then paid to Lord Muntanhed, it is no wonder that the distinguished *littérateurs* drew attention. But it is amusing to remark that, in those early days, Disraeli ranks himself on a perfect equality with his more distinguished companion.

'We are great lions here, as you may imagine, but have not been anywhere, though we have received several invitations, preferring the relaxation of our own society, and smoking Latakia, which as a source of amusement, I suppose, will last a week. I like Bath very much. Bulwer and I went in late to one public ball and got quite mobbed.'

The two men were very good friends, but there was always a certain jealousy between them. When they praise each other, there is criticism by way of compensation; and the criticism is delivered in a frank, face to face fashion, which may sting but should give no reasonable ground of offence. We are reminded of the passage in the Psalms, 'Faithful are the words of a friend.' A few weeks after returning from Bath, Disraeli goes down to the House of Commons to hear Bulwer move the adjournment of the debate. Bulwer prided himself on his oratory, being perhaps somewhat diffident of his oratorical powers, and Disraeli criticises the speech in the character of a candid friend:—

'Bulwer spoke, but he is physically disqualified for an orator, and, in spite of all his exertions, never can succeed. He is heard with great attention, and is evidently backed by a party. Heard Macaulay's best speech, Sheil and Charles Grant. Macaulay admirable, but, *between ourselves, I could floor them all.* This *entre nous*. I was never more confident of anything than that I could carry everything before me in that House. *The time will come.*' [The italics are ours.] 'Grey spoke highly of my oratorical powers to Bulwer, said he had never heard "finer command of words." "Vivian" is thought the best thing I ever wrote.'

For we remark that Disraeli was always drawing new confidence and fresh energy from the praises which after all he achieved can scarcely be called flattery; though we must repeat, in common candour, that Bulwer did everything in his power to repress any outrageous vanity. Thus in 1836, to go forward for a few years, Bulwer reports, charitably enough, that, at a conversazione at Lady Charlotte Bury's, he had heard only commendation of 'Henrietta Temple,' and but one report, 'Tears, tears, tears!' All the same, at a *tête-à-tête* dinner with Disraeli, Bulwer, while praising one of his friend's platform speeches as 'the finest in the world,' condemns the novel as the very worst. Disraeli, at the moment, was far more nearly interested in the fate and future of his novels than of any particular speech delivered in the air to a country electorate; for the novels were discussed in the society whose flatteries were as the breath of his nostrils, and moreover they must have made a material addition to his income. Here is a characteristic remark about Bulwer, showing his knowledge of the man: 'Bulwer has written me to say that, understanding I give my opinion in society that he is "Godolphin," and that is quite enough from our intimacy to convince anyone, he solemnly assures me he is not the author. There can now be no doubt of it.'

In the winter of 1834 we are rather surprised to come across him in the hunting field, living 'solely on snipes,' but nevertheless shining in the first flight, there as elsewhere, and mounted like his own Sidonia on a blood Arabian. 'I hunted the other day with Sir Henry Smythe's hounds, and, although not in pink, was the best-mounted man in the field, riding an Arabian mare, which I nearly killed in a run of thirty miles, and I stopped at nothing.' Yet, even when training on snipe for severe work across country, those indefatigable energies of his were never in repose. For he adds, 'I pass my days in constant composition.' Solitude of this sort might be well by way of variety; but no man was less inclined to turn hermit, and he gives a very different report of his proceedings in the next London season. He basks and purrs like a petted cat, under admiring eyes and caressing hands.

'I was at Lady Dudley Stuart's on Sunday—a pleasant circle—and made the acquaintance of Lord Hertford' [the Marquis of Monmouth]. 'I dine with Lady Cork to-day, to meet the Mulgraves, Tavistocks, and Lincolns. . . . I dined yesterday with Lady Blessington and Durham among the guests, and he talked to me nearly the whole evening; afterwards to Lady Salisbury's. . . . To-night I am going to the Duchess of Hamilton's. I have had great success in society this year. I am as popular with the dandies as I am hated by the second-rate men. I make my way easily in the highest set, where there is no envy, malice, &c., and where they like to admire and be amused.'

The time he devoted to society was by no means misspent. He studied the characters and noted the talk, which he reproduced, sometimes almost too realistically, in his novels; and he was engrossed besides with the more serious business of forming valuable political connexions and assuring himself influential patronage. His tact was as great as his talents, and he seems to have had a marvellous knack of interesting men of position on a first introduction. We have seen him engrossing the ear of Lord Durham, when they found themselves seated side by side at the dinner table, or even casting his glamour over the reserved and cautious Peel; and although he carefully felt his way, his sparkling self-confidence never failed him. A year or two subsequently he seems to have dined for the first time with Sir Robert.

'I came late, having mistaken the hour. I found some twenty-five gentlemen grubbing in solemn silence. I threw a shot over the table and set them going, and in time they became even noisy. Peel, I think, was quite pleased that I broke the awful stillness, as he talked to me a

good deal, though we were far removed, he sitting in the middle of the table. I had Sir Robert Inglis on my right hand, whose mind I somewhat opened. . . . The dinner was curiously sumptuous—"every delicacy of the season;" and the second course of dried salmon, olives, caviare, woodcock pie, foie gras, and every combination of cured herring, was really remarkable.'

From the first Lord Lyndhurst must have taken a strong fancy to him, and in fact they soon became intimate friends—so much so, that he talks of bringing the brilliant Chancellor down to spend a quiet week in the solitude of Bradenham. And it was doubtless on the strength of Lyndhurst's warm recommendations that the Duke of Wellington began to look to him as a hope of the party, actively interesting himself in finding Disraeli a seat. In the autumn of 1834 he is full of his possible return for Wycombe, which was practically a pocket borough. 'The Duke and the Chancellor are so besetting old Carrington in my favour, that they say he must yield.' These sanguine hopes were doomed to disappointment; but in 1835 he paid closer attention than ever to politics, frequently being present at important debates, and in January 1836 is the first allusion to the famous 'Runnymede Letters' which were then appearing in the 'Times.'

'The letters in the "Times" have made a great sensation. I am the first individual who has silenced the press with its own weapons. On Thursday the "Globe" made no answer; on Friday, in consequence of the taunting talk at the clubs, it reprinted my letter with a snivelling leader, asking time (till to-day) to answer it, but I feel confident that any fresh movement will only bring it fresh discomfiture. 'Tis a great thing to have such an organ for response as the "Times." This the "Globe" did not count on.'

And a few days later—

'The "Letters of Runnymede" are the only things talked of in London, especially the latter ones. The author is unknown, and will probably so remain. One or two papers have foolishly ascribed them to me. There is certainly some imitation of my style, and the writer is familiar with my works.

'*March 5.*—The "Letters of Runnymede" are still making a great sensation. They are considered as rising regularly in power, and the two last, the characters of Lord J. R. and O'C., are generally esteemed the most powerful.'

With the elections of 1837 he attained the grand object of his ambition and came in for Maidstone. He was indebted for his seat to the friendly influence of Mr. Wyndham Lewis, his senior colleague and the husband of his future wife. But of course he is full of self-gratulation.

'I believe I am the only *new* candidate of our side who has not an opposition. It was thought impossible in these times that a man could enter Parliament for the first time, and for a borough, in such a manner. . . . So much for "the maddest of all mad acts," my uncle G.'s prescience and B.'s unrivalled powers of encouragement!'

Peel welcomed him so warmly at the Carlton that 'all 'noticed his cordial demeanour.' At that time Peel had no more devoted admirer than Disraeli, and we are told that the great statesman's speech on the Address was 'one of the 'finest I ever heard, most powerful and even brilliant.'

A fortnight later comes the notice of the *débutant's* own maiden speech, which is decidedly the most interesting episode in the volume. For if we accept his own version, it proves the falsehood of the time-honoured story that has hitherto been universally accepted, placing the affair in an entirely novel light. And undoubtedly his explanations are so far borne out by strong circumstantial evidence.

'December 8, 1837.—I made my maiden speech last night, rising very late after O'Connell, but at the request of my party and the full sanction of Sir Robert Peel. As I wish to give you an *exact* idea of what occurred, I state at once that my *début* was a *failure*, so far that I could not succeed in gaining an opportunity of saying what I intended; but the failure was not occasioned by my breaking down or any incompetency on my part, but from the physical powers of my adversaries. I can give you no idea how bitter, how factious, how unfair they were. It was like my first *début* at Aylesbury, and perhaps, in that sense, may be auspicious of ultimate triumph in the same scene. I fought through all with undaunted pluck and unruffled temper, made occasionally good isolated hits when there was silence, and finished with spirit when I found a formal display was ineffectual. My party backed me well, and no one with more real kindness than Peel, cheering me repeatedly, which is not his custom. The uproar was all organised by the Rads and the Repealers. They formed a compact body near the bar of the House, and seemed determined to set me down, but that they did not do. I have given you a most impartial account, stated indeed against myself.

'In the lobby at the division, Chandos, who was not near me while speaking, came up and congratulated me. I replied that I thought there was no cause for congratulation, and muttered "Failure." "No such thing," said Chandos, "you are quite wrong. I have just seen Peel, and I said to him, 'Now tell me exactly what you think of D.' Peel replied, 'Some of my party were disappointed and talk of failure. I say *just the reverse*. He did all that he could do under the circumstances. I say anything but failure; he must make his way.'"

The Attorney-General pronounced judgement in a similar sense and in almost identical language; but the opinion of Sheil, the fiery Irish patriot, may be accepted as more dis-

interested, and no man was more of a connoisseur in oratory. Disraeli, very unexpectedly, met Sheil at a dinner with Bulwer.

‘It thus arose :—On Saturday Bulwer walked into the Athenæum. Sheil, who has just recovered from the gout, was lounging in an easy chair, reading the newspaper; around him was a set of low Rads (we might guess them) abusing me and exulting in the discrimination of the House; probably they thought they pleased Sheil. Bulwer drew near, but stood apart. Suddenly Sheil threw down the paper and said in his shrill voice, “Now, gentlemen, I have heard all you have to say, and, what is more, I heard this same speech of Mr. Disraeli, and I tell you this, if ever the spirit of oratory was in a man, it is in that man; nothing can prevent him from being one of the first speakers in the House of Commons (great confusion). Ay! and I know something about that place, I think; and I tell you what besides, that if there had not been this interruption, Mr. Disraeli might have made a failure. I don’t call this a failure: it is a crush. My *début* was a failure because I was heard, but my reception was supercilious, his malignant. A *début* should be dull. The House will not allow a man to be a wit and an orator unless they have the credit of finding it out. There it is.”’

And the veteran took the opportunity, at Bulwer’s dinner, of giving the young member the fruits of his own experience with some sage and friendly advice.

‘If you had been listened to, what would have been the result? You would have made the best speech that you ever could have made. It would have been received frigidly, and you would have despaired of yourself: I did. As it is, you have shown to the House that you have a fine organ, that you have unlimited command of language, that you have courage, temper, and readiness. Now, get rid of your genius for a session. Speak often, for you must not show yourself cowed, but speak shortly. Be very quiet, try to be dull, only argue, and reason imperfectly; for if you reason with precision, they will think you are trying to be witty. Quote figures, dates, calculations, and in a short time the House will sigh for the wit and eloquence which they all know are in you; they will encourage you to pour them forth, and then you will have the ear of the House and be a favourite.’

The compliments may have driven the counsels home, but it shows how seriously Disraeli must have laid the conversation to heart, that he remembers and repeats it with the exactness of a Boswell. Nowise daunted by his discomfiture, ‘acting on the advice of Sheil, a strange parliamentary monitor for me, after all,’ he was on his legs again ten days afterwards. He spoke on the Copyright Bill, and ‘with complete success,’ sitting down amid general cheering, after having been markedly and loudly applauded by Peel, and receiving many flattering compliments. Thenceforth

the House, on both sides, seems to have been predisposed in his favour, and, in the feeling that he was addressing an interested and sympathetic audience, his further success was made easy. The story of his third performance—which, though undertaken on the spur of the moment, was more of a regular speech than the former—is so characteristic that it is worth quoting.

'*March 16, 1838.*—You will hear that last night, very unexpectedly, for I had given up all thought of speaking, and suffering naturally not a little, both mentally and physically' [Mr. Wyndham Lewis had died very suddenly], 'I rose and made a most successful speech. I was so disturbed by deputations from Maidstone, rival candidates for the vacant post, and having nearly lost my voice which I had been cooking with so much care for days, that at six o'clock, when I sat down in my place, I had quite given up all idea of speaking; but finding the House thin, and getting more composed, I began to think I would make a speech merely for the press. Even with this humble view I was unfortunate, for I could not catch the Speaker's eye, and time flew on, and the great guns one by one returned—Peel, Graham, Goulburn, Hardinge, Herries, &c. About ten o'clock Hardinge beckoned to me, and I seated myself between him and Graham. He wanted to speak about moving the new writ for Maidstone. Just as I rose to quit my place, Clay, who was speaking, sat down, and the Speaker, imagining that I was going to rise, called my name. I was in for it, put my hat down, advanced to the table and dashed along. I got the House still in a minute, and was heard with the greatest attention and good humour. I made a much shorter speech than I should have done at an early hour and in a thin house, and at length sat down amid loud cheers, and really principally from the Government side; many of them shaking hands with me and saying "All our people agree it was one of "the best speeches made on the subject." Lord John said nothing, but watched me very attentively, a smile on his face, and I thought he looked malignant; but I did him injustice, for walking home with Ossulston, who was full of congratulations, he said, "I have only seen "Johnny, and he says it was the best thing he had heard for a long "time, a great thing for one so scant of laudation." As for our own people, Graham, Goulburn, and Hardinge, and good old Herries, shook hands with me immediately when I had regained my place. In the lobby all the squires came up to shake hands with me and thank me for the good service. They were so grateful, and well they might be, for certainly they had nothing to say for themselves. All our party noticed the great courtesy of the Whigs and the other side generally to me. I ascribe my popularity in the House to the smoking room.'

Previously to his coming into Parliament, as afterwards, he sat there as a shrewd and observant critic. He reminds us of the stories of the younger Pitt listening keenly to Fox and other orators, and suggesting, in hasty asides to the companion at his elbow, how this might be driven home or

that might be answered. He had no toleration for dulness, but he seems to have been generous in his judgements when he really admired, and it is highly characteristic of the independence of his opinions that he gives hearty commendation to untried men. On the one hand we have many specimens of the sarcasm which undoubtedly predominated.

'January 23, 1838.—To be impartial, which one should be when a man with brains is concerned, Roebuck yesterday was not equal to the occasion. Sharp and waspish, he would have made a good petulant opposition speech, but, as the representative of a nation arraigning a ministry of high crimes and misdemeanours, he was rather ridiculous. The subsequent debate was, on the whole, interesting. Sir G. Grey, who had gained a reputation by the Canadian revolt, contrived pretty well to lose it. Lord Francis Egerton spoke with all the effect which a man of considerable talent and highly cultivated mind, backed by the highest rank and 60,000*l.* per annum, would naturally command. He has a bad delivery, a good voice, but no management or modulation of it, and the most ungainly action conceivable; nevertheless on the whole impressive, and his style rich and somewhat ornate. Leader ludicrously imitated Roebuck for more than an hour, and then the only feature was Pakington's *début*, who sat next to me. His friends expected a great deal from him, and they announce that he quite fulfilled the expectation. He was confident, fluent and commonplace, and made a good chairman of quarter sessions speech. "It was the best speech that he ever will make," said Sugden, "and he has been practising it before the grand jury for "the last twenty years." However, I supported him very zealously, and he went to bed thinking he was an orator, and wrote to Mrs. Pakington, I've no doubt, to that effect.'

Or, again, describing the debate on the Address of the year before.

'The Address was moved by Lord Leveson' [now Earl Granville], a child apparently, in a rich diplomatic uniform, and seconded by Gibson Craig, a new member in a court dress. Leveson made a crammed speech like a schoolboy; Gibson Craig, of whom the Whigs had hopes, rose, stared like a stuck pig, and said nothing; his friends cheered, he stammered, all cheered, then there was a dead and awful pause, and then he sat down, and that was his performance. The Address was then read, and Wakley made a most Radical speech and amendment (see the papers), determined to bring matters to a crisis. He was fluent, flippant, and vulgar; a second-rate hustings orator. He was seconded by Molesworth, a most odious speaker, who wearied the House. Great difficulty, however, in keeping H. Liddel quiet, who, flushed with his Durham triumph, had been at half-cock all day. . . . Nothing now could longer restrain Liddel, who rose fluent and confident, to the infinite mortification of our side, who feared this would be a diversion for the Government. It is impossible to imagine a more pitiful failure; but fortunately it was only an individual exposure and not a party injury.'

On the other hand he writes in December, 1837: 'Colquhoun, one of the new orators, made his maiden speech, and with great success, a sort of Tory Roebuck; calm, unrivalled self-possession, perspicuous and logical. He rallied a nearly lost debate, and more than decided the victory.' Then again: 'Herries's speech of its kind was a masterpiece, poignant, polished, and never failing in a single point. I had no idea of his calibre.' In those days he had nothing but admiration for Peel, often remarking on 'one of his great speeches;' while on occasion he bestows equally hearty commendation on some of the Whig leaders, notably on Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and Brougham.

His pictures of public men are extremely entertaining and effective, though they must be put together from casual touches in detached passages. His clever sketches of Brougham remind us of the memorable caricature in 'Punch,' where the ex-Chancellor in his famous check trousers is standing on his head, over the legend—'What he will do next.' Disraeli had an infinite admiration for Brougham's versatile powers and marvellous readiness, but was keenly alive to his eccentricities. Of one of the wild outbreaks in the Upper Chamber he says, 'Brougham was terribly tipsy. He shook his fist at Lord Wicklow and quoted Ciceronian braggadocios. When he sat down, he seemed quite maudlin.' He relates how Brougham, at a Greenwich dinner given by the Duke of Buckingham, 'made nearly fifty speeches, full of comic humour and fierce slashing of the Whigs,' and he comments frequently on those insanely inspired onslaughts in the Lords which excited unbounded enthusiasm among auditors in the galleries, but spread dismay alike among enemies and allies. Disraeli went down to that dinner with his friend Lyndhurst, whom he invariably praises in a very different spirit and with no sort of *arrière-pensée*. As to Lyndhurst we have no insinuations as to unworthy and egotistical ambitions, no reproaches or even remarks on political tergiversation; and, in fact, the Lyndhurst presented to us is an entirely different character from the Mephistopheles we met with in Lord Campbell's 'Life.' If there was anything Disraeli envied in his dignified friend, it was the youthful vivacity of his spirits and the perennial freshness of his energy. On social celebrities with sharp-pointed pens or the reputation of wits he is generally severe, and seldom, as in the suspicion of some probable assault, misses an occasion of saying something malicious.

He had no great love either for the Rigbys who wrote slashing articles, or for the Pintos who said smart things in drawing-rooms, or whispered sarcasms at the dinner-table. It is proverbial that two of a trade seldom agree, and with his successes and the affectations of his dress and his manners, Disraeli was probably not unconscious that he was a likely enough subject for satire. He must have come often in contact with Croker, but he seldom mentions the Secretary to the Admiralty. He met Lockhart once by special invitation at Lord Lyndhurst's, Lockhart having been invited that he might review the 'Vindication.' To Disraeli's disappointment, the editor of the 'Quarterly' 'never spoke a word,' and from that he augured nothing favourable. 'He is known in society by the name of "the Viper"'—surely the sobriquet by which he was better known was 'the Scorpion'—'but if he tries to sting me, he 'will find my heel of iron.' He always speaks good-naturedly of Theodore Hook, who sat to him for the brilliant Lucian Gay of 'Coningsby,' quoting one or two of Hook's happiest *bons-mots*. 'The delectable Mr. Hayward' formed no very welcome addition to a pleasant Christmas party at Deepdene; and there is a bitter mention of Bernal Osborne after a sharp rencontre in the House of Commons.

'The speech was successful. Bernal Osborne made a *brioche*, which I was delighted at, as he malignantly attacked me, and his manner was most flippant and audacious. After the first minute he commenced, "Gentlemen," as if on the hustings—cries of "Order." "Well, I suppose "you are gentlemen"—cries of disgust. After this he five times made the same blunder, in fact lost his head.'

In September 1839 we were surprised to find him suddenly writing with the easy airs of a man of fortune, while crossing Kent to Dover *en route* for the Continent in his carriage with 'our own horses.' The explanation is in a single line we had overlooked, reminding us that he had married Mrs. Lewis the month before. Thenceforward he was rich and independent, and spared the temptation of playing the political game with any pressing regard to the loaves and fishes of office. Six years before he had given his sister his settled ideas on marriage; and by an odd coincidence it was *à propos* of a lady he had met at a *déjeuner* at the Wyndham Lewises'.

'By the bye, would you like Lady Z—for a sister-in-law, very clever, 25,000*l.*, and domestic? As for love, all my friends who married for love and beauty either beat their wives or live apart from them. This is literally the case. I may commit many follies in life, but I

never intend to marry for love, which I am sure is a guarantee of infelicity.'

It is noteworthy that, while paying the indispensable tribute in his novels to the reigning sentimentalism by making his heroes endanger their prospects for some extravagantly romantic passion, he invariably condones their youthful disinterestedness by enriching them in the end. In his own marriage, as we have said already, he behaved admirably. If he was never passionately in love, he was intensely grateful. In public and in private he showed his wife the most affectionate regard, though we can hardly imagine that he had not something to undergo from the 'rattle' who, on a first introduction, startled him with her unrivalled volubility. But, setting gratitude aside, she had won on his affections by a thoughtful devotion which almost rose to the sublime; and on one occasion, as we know, rather than see her husband put out, when he was on his way to make a great speech at Edinburgh, she suffered her fingers to be crushed in the carriage door without uttering an ejaculation of pain.

There is a pleasant and picturesque account of the wedding tour which carried them up the Rhine and through the leafy shades of the Black Forest to admire the art marvels of King Louis' new capital of Munich, and his quaint old cities of Nuremberg and Würzburg. But there is a more personal interest, with much more of self revelation, in the second visit they paid to the Continent, when he had climbed considerably higher on the political ladder. The compliments paid him were a flattering recognition of his position; and he dilates on his brilliant social triumphs with amusing enjoyment. They were received from the first in the best English society; he writes with satisfaction of an entertainment at the Embassy, and of an evening passed 'at Madame Bauhcand's, the wife of the General and aide-de-camp of 'the King and friend.' He goes to see Déjazet act, coming home disgusted and disappointed. He spends a couple of hours with Thiers, 'a very little man, but well proportioned, 'not dumpish, with a face full of intelligence and an eye full 'of fire.' All that, however, was nothing in comparison of what was to come. We are told how the King delighted to honour the rising Conservative chief, singling him out for special favour.

'Yesterday was my most distinguished visit: like a skilful general, I kept my great gun for the last. On Sunday night I received a visit from the royal aide-de-camp on service, to inform me that the

King would receive me in a private audience at St. Cloud on the morrow at 11.30. I was with his Majesty nearly two hours alone, the conversation solely political, but of the most unreserved and interesting kind. He was frank, courteous, and kind. In taking my leave, which of course I could not do until he arose, he said he hoped my visit to St. Cloud had made as favourable an impression on me as mine had on him, that he hoped to see me in the evenings at the palace, where he should have the pleasure of presenting me to the Queen.

‘I passed, for the first time of my life, an evening in the domesticity of a Court. . . . The King was very gracious when he observed me, and, after expressing his pleasure that I had arrived, called a courtier to present me to the Queen. Her Majesty asked me six questions, to which I replied. She is tall and sad, with white hair, a dignified and graceful phantom. Then I was presented to Madame Adelaide, who is lively like her brother. In the course of the evening the King conversed with me a long time. I doubtless owe to his good word my grand dinner with M. Guizot, who told me the King had observed to him, “he had had a most interesting conversation with me.”

‘Last week I received a command to dine at the Tuileries. I was the only stranger among sixty guests. . . . In the evening the King personally showed the palace to the Queen of Sardinia, and the first lady in waiting invited me, and so did the King, to join the party, *only eight.*’

Then he tells how in a *tête-à-tête* he so fascinated the King, that his Majesty, like the man in the parable, said, ‘I go,’ but went not, when respectfully requested to receive the Prince de Ligne, the new ambassador from Belgium. Finally, we have what gave the great zest to the whole in the frank sentences that close the letter.

‘I am the *only* stranger who has been received at Court. There is no Court at present, on account of the death of the Duke of Orleans; and the Ailesburys, Stanhopes, and Russian princes cannot obtain a reception. The King speaks of me to many with great *kudos.*’

‘Coningsby’ came out in the spring of 1844. ‘There is no particular news, except that Bradshaw, the last of the school of Brummell, has read a book, and it is called “Coningsby,” twice in one evening.’ On which we may remark that Mr. Bradshaw must have been a marvellously rapid reader, for we may presume that, being entranced, he did not skim. ‘Sybil’ was finished just a year subsequently; it must have been thrown off in the intervals of indefatigable political activity; and, indeed, the author says, ‘I have never been through such a four months, and hope never again. What with the House of Commons, which was itself

‘quite enough for any man, and writing six hundred pages, ‘I thought sometimes my head must turn.’ Visiting the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, he writes:—

‘I thought you would like to have a line from Beaumanoir, though it is not in the least like Beaumanoir, but Coningsby Castle to the very life; gorgeous, Gothic of a quarter of a century past, and slopes and shrubberies like Windsor; the general view, however, notwithstanding the absence of the Thames, much finer. Granby and myself arrived here in a fly on Thursday, and were received by two rows of servants bowing as we passed, which very much reminded me of the arrival of Coningsby himself.’

As for the family, amiable, agreeable, and accomplished, they must have been exactly the family of Lord Henry Sydney, with all the winning charm of its stately domesticity. In fact, throughout the letters, in his flying allusions to the society in which he mixed, we see the crude and hasty sketches of the pictures he elaborated in his novels. He has been ridiculed for the superfine company he loved to keep in his fictions—for living too exclusively with dukes and knights of the garter, with cabinet ministers and fashionable beauties. But in reality, and at all events when he wrote his later novels, he was welcomed in the very best society in town, and a guest in the greatest of the country houses. There may be more or less reason in the criticism, for his tastes were always aristocratic; but it is only doing him common justice to remark that, although he seems characteristically to exaggerate the ceremonial in these establishments, he was painting the men and the manners that had long been familiar to him.

But if his successes in society were almost as brilliant as he could have desired, it was because he never let his pleasures interfere with his business. He gratifies his sister with gossip, because he knows she sympathises in everything that pleases him, and in the weaknesses of which he may have been curiously unconscious. But the politics which we have kept somewhat in the background, because they are less personally illustrative than the rest, and too allusive to form any serious or connected contribution to his political biography, are nevertheless the real backbone of the letters. It is evident that political ambition really engrosses his mind; even literary aspirations come far behind it. And we may note one or two political points before dismissing the volume. His judgements of men, though sometimes cynical and sarcastic, seem generally to have been shrewd and fair. But his prescience failed him altogether in esti-

mating Mr. Gladstone and his prospects. Mr. Gladstone had spoken in the House on retiring from the presidency of the Board of Trade in February 1845. Whereupon Disraeli writes: 'Gladstone's address was involved and ineffective. 'He may have an *avenir*, but I hardly think it.' Though afterwards, when placed next to Gladstone at an Academy dinner, he owns to finding him 'particularly agreeable.' In January 1849 he had outstripped for the time his rival in the future, being in nomination for the leadership of the Conservative party. 'I am inclined to think the office will 'be mine, though it is an awful responsibility. . . . They 'say Peel will never get over my appointment. . . . After 'much struggling I am fairly the leader, and gave notice 'to-night, amid the cheers of the squires, of a grand motion 'which I hope will rally all the farmers to my standard. On 'the whole, I think the party have behaved extremely well.' In one of the midsummer debates 'Peel was elaborate in his 'courtesies to me, and talked of the "respect due to my 'abilities and station," which my fellows cheered immensely.' The complacency of the 'my fellows' is charmingly characteristic. But resolute and firm as he always seemed externally, moods of depression would alternate with extreme exhilaration, and in the spring of 1850 he is strangely despondent. 'Never was the political position 'more complicated, difficult, and urgent. I hope, but dare 'not determine, to be in my place on the 8th. If I cannot 'lead the party after the holidays, I had better retire altogether. There will be a fierce and eventful session. The 'Whigs could be turned out in a week if we were ready.' Yet within a week he has regained courage and hope.

'The political position is interesting, and I should not be surprised if our troops are brought into line immediately. They will be so, if my plans are adopted; but there are so many people to consult and persuade, that it is like commanding an army in Italy under the Aulic Council at Vienna. However, I have not much cause to complain, as they are sufficiently docile.'

The letters come to a close almost simultaneously with his satisfactory completion of Lord George Bentinck's 'Political Biography,' which he had feared as a task involving 'enormous labour, which nothing but solitude, study, and 'abstinence can beat down, if indeed they can. . . . Two 'immense chests of George Bentinck's papers from the Duke 'of Portland—materials for a memoir long contemplated. ' . . . I finished the last line of the last chapter last night, 'and never in my life felt more relieved, not having had a

'moment's ease the whole autumn. . . . Lord John Russell has written me a charming letter about the "Political Biography."' While on the last page but one he gives his impressions of Prince Albert.

'On Sunday I was two hours with the Prince—a very gracious and interesting audience. He has great abilities and wonderful knowledge, I think the best-educated man I ever met; most completely trained, and not over-educated for his intellect, which is energetic and lively.'

In the latter years that are covered by this interesting correspondence he had been exerting himself indefatigably, as we have seen. He had fairly broken down under the double strain of his incessant political and literary labours, aggravated by the inevitable cares and anxieties besetting the man who has set his heart on getting on. It is to the collapse of his health that we are indebted for those 'Home Letters' which preceded the present publication. He had been ordered rest, distraction, and change of scene; so he started on the long foreign tour, which supplied much of the materials for 'Tancred,' with all the gorgeous oriental colouring of that delightful novel. It was then he found in his courier Brunet, who could 'speak all languages but 'English,' the prototype of Tancred's accomplished courier Baroni. These letters, though lightly and brightly written, abounding in vivid pictures of scenery and in telling sketches of such remarkable men as the famous Pasha of Janina, may be less interesting than the others, but they are equally characteristic of the writer. For example, when he paid his respects to the somewhat saturnine Governor of Malta, being bent upon pleasing, he is irresistible as usual.

'I flatter myself that he passed through the most extraordinary quarter of an hour of his existence. I gave him no quarter, and at last made our *nonchalant* Governor roll on the sofa, from his risible convulsions. Then I jumped up, remarking that I must be breaking into his morning, and was off; making it a rule always to leave with a good impression. I told him I had so much to do! I walked down the Strada Reale, which is nearly as good as Regent Street, and got five invitations to dinner (literally a fact).'

Although he had been sent from home that he might relax, his mind was never in repose, and he sought his relaxation in keen observation of men and things, in accumulating the stores of information, and in collecting his treasures of fresh experiences which were to be turned to profitable account in his future works. Altogether, in these two volumes of correspondence, we have a wonderful ex-

ample of the power of controlled and concentrated purpose, backed up by unflagging energy and industry. Disraeli's brilliancy served him well, but it would have done comparatively little for him without his patient assiduity; while, with all the failings which he hardly seeks or cares to conceal, his frank confessions show him, on the whole, in unexpectedly pleasing lights, as a brother, a husband, and an affectionate friend. This is not the place or the occasion to refer more particularly to his political career; but, in spite of great foibles and of obstacles almost insurmountable, he undoubtedly achieved the great objects of his early ambition, he lived to be Prime Minister of England, and he has left a mark in history which will not be effaced. His fame has increased rather than diminished since his death, and, although he began life as a literary adventurer, he will go down to posterity with the reputation of a statesman, even amongst those who were most opposed to his political opinions.

ART. IX.—*Histoire des Princes de Condé.* Par M. le Duc D'AUMALE. Tomes III., IV. Paris: 1886.

THE memorable period of French history comprised in the second part of this work stands in marked contrast with that which has passed since the Duc d'Aumale undertook the task of writing the annals of the House of Condé. The first fifty years of the seventeenth century saw France emerge from the eclipse of power in which she had been left by the religious wars, and acquire that commanding place in Europe which she retained even after the Peace of Utrecht. During this time of her rising greatness she enlarged her borders on every side, and founded an empire beyond the seas; her authority became supreme on the Continent; she was illustrious alike in war and in peace; and if there were grave defects in her autocratic government, it made the State respected, put down faction, and was, on the whole, a beneficent influence. It was an age, above all, of great men in France: the dominant order which stood round the throne had many of the faults of an exclusive caste, and often proved a source of disorder and peril; but it provided a noble array of soldiers and statesmen of conspicuous merit, and it gave the nation a race of leaders, distinguished equally in camp and in council, who raised it to a position of splendour. How widely different have been the fortunes

of the France of the last thirty years ! how dissimilar is the ominous spectacle presented by that far famed people to those who still have hope in its destiny ! France has become almost a secondrate power ; she has been deprived of two of her fairest provinces, and has a watchful foe on her weakest frontier ; and she is as closely hemmed in by the new German Empire as she was once overshadowed by the House of Austria. Worse, too, than the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, is the diminution of her renown in arms caused by the war of 1870 ; Sedan and Metz have tarnished the glory which Blenheim and Waterloo left undimmed ; and the decline of her weight in the councils of Europe, and of that moral influence beyond her limits, widespread and immense in former times, is at least equally marked and unfortunate. As for the governments of France in this generation, they have alternated between corrupt despotism and extravagant democratic license ; but while they have often been as severe and arbitrary as the old *régime* in its worst days, they have failed to maintain the national greatness, to check the destructive strife of parties, and to attain a semblance of strength and authority. With the collapse, too, of her noble orders, France seems to have lost the breed of men who made her the foremost power of Europe ; the Revolution, despite the boast that ‘it opened a career to all kinds of talents,’ has long ago ceased to place leaders of commanding power at the head of the nation ; and at no period, since the reign of Louis XV., have the soldiers and public men of France held so low a rank in the esteem of the world. This remarkable change, we believe and hope, is due far more to the ruinous effects of the jealousy and envy of democratic government than to the permanent decay of French genius and worth ; the princely author, indeed, of this book is a living instance how these evil influences exclude merit of the highest order from the position it ought to hold in the State. But the fact remains, and is of profound significance. This work suggests reflections like these : would we could add, as we compare the age of the two Pitts with the present time, that the elements of decline and weakness which have smitten the fabric of French greatness were not, at this moment, disturbing England !

To come, however, to the book before us : these volumes take up the tale of the fortunes of the House of Condé at the point at which the author left it many years ago. They continue the story of the inglorious life of Henry, the second prince of the name, and describe the youth and the first

exploits of his illustrious and heroic son, the Grand Condé of the roll of history. The work is of a very high order, though in some points we believe the views of the Duc d'Aumale are not free from error. As was the case with his first two volumes reviewed by us in 1869,* the author's descriptions of passages of war are admirable and of peculiar excellence; they are especially good in their graphic portraiture of the theatres of the operations they sketch, and, if somewhat deficient in dramatic art, they are full of insight and perfectly clear. The account of the fierce guerilla contest, waged with matchless constancy and wonderful skill, by Henri de Rohan, in the Cevennes fastnesses, is singularly able, telling, and lifelike; and the narrative of the great day of Rocroy, of the desperate fight of three days round Fribourg, and of the murderous strife on the slopes of Nördlingen, is complete, striking, and lucid alike, though we do not concur with all its conclusions. The Duc d'Aumale's view of the politics of the time is not equally full and impartial; and his estimate of the master spirit of the age is marked by a tone of undue detraction. His picture of Richelieu, in fact, reflects the hostility with which the grands seigneurs of the generation of Louis XIII. opposed the measures of the great cardinal; and though he does not conceal the immense services of the most illustrious of French statesmen, he has not given them sufficient prominence. We are somewhat surprised to perceive this tendency in a work instinct with true patriotism. Granting all that can fairly be urged against Richelieu, it is not now, surely, that French writers should underrate the merits of the renowned minister who raised their country out of a state of impotence, gave it the double blessing of strength and order, changed the monarchy into a national government supreme over all kinds of anarchy, and, if despotic, in one sense popular, and, steadily carrying out, despite appalling obstacles, a policy of extraordinary wisdom and grandeur, placed France at the head of the powers of Europe, and secured to her a frontier which, after a possession of two stormy centuries—so enduring and deep-laid was his work—she has lost, only as it were yesterday, through her own folly and that of her rulers. The Duc d'Aumale, too, is scarcely just to Turenne, though it is fair to say that he has not yet reached the most splendid parts of Turenne's career; yet it is evident, we think, that he is not disposed

* See the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxxx. p. 355.

to raise that great captain to his true eminence, perhaps because he does not wish a rival to stand by the side of the famous soldier who is fitly made the hero of this work. Yet Turenne easily surpassed Condé 'in the sublime side of the art of war,' to use Napoleon's expressive phrase; and, among the great commanders of the seventeenth century, he can, perhaps, be only compared with Parma, with Gustavus Adolphus, and with our own Marlborough.

We pass on to the two personages who are the special subjects of the present volumes. The Duc d'Aumale strives to make Henry of Condé appear in a less repulsive aspect than he usually wears on the stage of history; but all his art cannot conceal the features of rapacity, meanness, indecision, and cunning, conspicuous in that unpleasing character, so different from that of his princely house that we can almost believe the gossip of the time and doubt if he was a genuine Bourbon. The Duc's failure, however, in this respect only brings out in more perfect relief the admirable skill and elaborate care with which he has placed before the reader the true image of the Grand Condé, in childhood, and in the first days of his glory; this part of the biography is a contribution of the utmost value to the store of history, and makes the author's work of extreme importance. The Duc d'Aumale, in fact, is the first writer who has had access to the mass of documents which illustrate the life of the future hero when his character was in course of formation; even as to the first campaigns of the prince, the Duc has drawn from original sources of information before unknown, and the result is that the Grand Condé is a different being in some respects from what he appears to be in the pages of Voltaire, or even in the masterly sketch of Napoleon. We believe, indeed, that the traditions of the camp respecting Condé are, in the main, correct; his peculiar genius was seen in his insight and inspiration on the field of battle, and in his marvellous power over a devoted soldiery; and, as we have said, he was behind Turenne in the scientific direction of war, and even in tactical art and prescience.* But he was infinitely more than a mere great soldier of the type of the Blüchers, the Neys, the Murats; in him military qualities of a high order were cultivated to the point of perfection by assiduous

* See Napoleon's remarks on the skill with which Turenne baffled Condé at Gien in the campaign of 1652 ('*Commentaires*,' vol. vi. p. 237, ed. 1867), and on Turenne's defeat of Condé at the battle of the Dunes (*ibid.* p. 276).

and most careful training; he was thoroughly versed in the literature of his art, and excelled even in the sphere of strategy; and, above all, he was a born ruler of men, whether in controlling a provincial government, or in animating subordinates with his own heroic spirit. As for other figures on the author's canvas, the Duc d'Aumale has ably described the fine military powers of Guébriant, inferior, perhaps, to Turenne only in combining great operations of war; and he has done justice to the splendid qualities of Mercy, a name almost forgotten,* yet one of the first captains of that stirring age, remarkable for his decision on the field and for his wonderful skill in defensive tactics, who defeated Turenne in a pitched battle, and twice discomfited the furious onset of a French army led by the Grand Condé. The Duc, too, gives us many graphic portraits, conscientiously drawn with extreme care, of the less prominent men of mark of that day—of lieutenants who crowded the tent of Condé, of functionaries who obeyed the behests of Richelieu, of conspicuous scions of that haughty noblesse which struggled in vain against the mighty cardinal; and he has sketched with a light but cunning hand the outlines of the great ladies of the time, stars of the Hôtel Condé and the Hôtel Rambouillet, many of them heroines of the coming Fronde, and wholly different in their imperious natures, and in the levity which blended with their Amazonian boldness, from the pure and modest women of the reformed faith, and from the brocaded dames who, in the next century, chattered scepticism in Madame Du Deffand's salon, or bowed to the Pompadour and the Du Barri.

The first part of this work closed with the most striking and dramatic episode in the obscure career of Henry of Condé: how Henry IV., 'despite his grey hairs,' fell madly in love with the wife of the prince, said to have been the most beautiful woman in Europe; how Charlotte de Montmorency coquetted with the king; how her jealous lord carried her off to Brussels, and took refuge himself in Italy; and how the royal lover, intent on striking his long-meditated blows at the House of Austria, and on possessing himself of a willing Helen, was about to invade the Low Countries, when the dagger of Ravallac cut short his days, is told in all the

* Napoleon clearly perceived the great abilities of Mercy, but at St. Helena he would not write a eulogy on a Bavarian general. He never would say a word on the achievements of Marlborough, though he perfectly understood what kind of commander Marlborough was.

histories of the time, and is well described by the Duc d'Aumale. The tragic fate of the great King of France drew Condé from his retreat at Milan, and, after a short delay in the Spanish Netherlands—he avoided, it would appear, the princess—he found himself in Paris, just at the time when Mary of Medicis had been proclaimed regent. The exile received an eager welcome from the greedy faction of the great nobles, kept down until now by the late king and Sully; and their leaders hoped that the first prince of the blood would prove a thorn in the side of a feeble government. But Condé was not a man of the class which ventures to plot if the attempt is dangerous; the queen and the Concinis easily found the means of gaining his allegiance, if not his faith, by gratifying the avarice of a mean nature. The prince was bought off, like the rest of the party, by largesses of money and other favours; and ‘the spoil of France,’ it was said, ‘secured the kingdom a brief time of repose.’ The malcontents, however, soon stirred again; the ‘Spanish policy’ of the queen and her counsellors was made the specious pretext of a rising of which rapacity was the chief motive; and Condé and four of the chiefs of the noblesse suddenly quitted the Louvre and appeared in arms. Fresh concessions speedily brought to an end a rebellion, sustained by no principle; and the prince and his confederates, once more gorged with honours and grants of every kind, gave a respite to the terrified regent.

Condé next assumed the popular part repeatedly played by French princes to the detriment of the crown and its interests; he pleaded the cause of the *tiers état* at the States General of 1614; he justified the remonstrances of the factious Parliament; and in short, mainly from selfish motives, he assumed the attitude of a high-minded champion of the nation against a corrupt court. The value of this patriotism was quickly seen. Condé ere long had joined in a second conspiracy of the leading nobles against the Government; and on this occasion they drew to their side many of the discontented Huguenots of the south, already restricted in their rights and franchises, and alarmed at the announcement of a double marriage between the royal houses of France and Spain. A formidable outbreak seemed imminent; but the old expedient removed the danger, and the prince and his fellows, once more abandoning their pretensions for extravagant bribes, conveniently threw the Huguenots over, and made peace with the imbecile Government. The reconciliation was, nevertheless, hollow; and Mary of

Medicis and her counsellors marked out Condé for especial vengeance. Personal jealousy, hatred, and fear concurred to envenom a quarrel of long standing, and incautious expressions dropped by the prince at a banquet given at the English embassy were tortured into a charge of high treason. Condé was suddenly arrested and sent to the Bastille on an order obtained from the boy king; and, in spite of all that the Duc d'Aumale urges, we cannot pronounce him free from guilt, though he had not of late committed a crime. The captivity of the prince was severe, and continued for more than two years. One consolation awaited the prisoner: his wife, who had held aloof from him, shared the weary hours of his enforced seclusion; and the reconciliation was, perhaps, complete,* though the princely siren, for years afterwards, threw her toils over more than one noble lover.

Condé obtained his release in 1619, was received by the young king at Chantilly, and was solemnly restored to all his honours; and from this time forward he made no attempt to dabble in plots or to play at treason. The immediate cause of the change, we believe, was not so much that misfortune had made him wise and loyal; the new ruler of France, Luynes, detested his enemy, Mary of Medicis, and had gratified him with a considerable loan; a common hatred and a common interest associated him with this powerful favourite. He seldom, however, appeared at court, or in the brilliant circle of the Hôtel Condé; and during the next few years he devoted himself to the congenial task of improving a fortune originally slender, but rapidly growing. The government of Berry having fallen to his lot—it was one of the grants he had wrung from the queen—and that of the Bourbonnais being added, Condé took up his abode at Bourges, and, though he maintained the splendour of his high office, his chief occupation was to buy up lands, to drive hard bargains with submissive churchmen, and to engage in lawsuits which seemed promising. On two occasions during this period he was summoned to assist the Crown in the field, or, as first prince of the blood, to give it counsel. In 1620 the quarrel between Luynes and Mary of Medicis led to civil war, and the old faction of the discontented noblesse made the complaints of

* The letters of the princess to her husband are tolerably affectionate after this time. Still they are rather those of an ambitious *mère de famille*, manœuvring for the advancement of her children, than of a true wife.

the queen a fresh pretext for rising against the king and his minister. The insurrection for a time threatened to involve the north and the west of France; but Condé, taught by his own experience, recommended prompt and decisive measures, and after demonstrations of no importance the rebellion collapsed and peace was made. The second disturbance was much more serious, and not only led to a grave crisis, but proved the forerunner of greater events. The Huguenot communities throughout the kingdom, taking umbrage at the proposed extinction of the privileges of the Reformed in Béarn, and indignant at the evident sympathy of the government with the House of Austria—flushed at this moment with splendid success in Bohemia, Germany, and Spanish Italy—flew to arms in the west and the southern provinces; and in a short time the flame widely spread from the verge of Brittany to the hills of Dauphiné. A murderous conflict of months ensued; a royal army failed at Montauban; and Condé, who had obtained a separate command, was discomfited at the siege of Montpellier. Incapable, however, as a military chief, the prince knew how to chastise ‘rebels;’ and the representative of a great Huguenot house, who had lately been a Huguenot champion, gained an evil name for the atrocious cruelty with which he ravaged the Reformers’ undefended villages. Peace was at last restored through the influence of the queen, but really through the advice of Richelieu, who, already making his genius felt, had watched events with an attentive eye, and perhaps had already thought out the policy which was to save France from these scenes of horror. Condé, feeling that his occupation was gone, abruptly quitted the Royal Council, and crossed the Alps on the plea of a vow.

The Prince travelled for some time in Italy, and found the world changed on his return to France. In the spring of 1624 Richelieu had become minister, and his powerful hand and farseeing eye soon made themselves felt at the helm of the State. The successor of Henry IV. and Sully, he had already entered upon their labours, and he had begun the great work which was to raise France out of weak disorder to a proud eminence. Abroad he had laid down the lines of the policy which was to lessen the preponderance of the House of Austria; at home he had perceived that the ‘Huguenot ‘liberties,’ which made the Reformers’ cities independent commonwealths, were incompatible with the unity of France. His first measures, however, had been chiefly aimed at reducing the power of the great nobles, which had been a

source of peril to the State ever since the days of the League and the Guises, and which had spread confusion throughout the kingdom, and exposed the monarchy to general contempt under the feeble rule of Concini and Luynes. A noble himself, he knew well how valuable was a noble order to France, and yet how ruinous was the anarchy of the noblesse, and he had steadily addressed himself to the task of breaking down the great feudal seigneurie, and yet of employing the ennobled classes in their proper sphere, the service of the Crown. Despite resistance of every kind, he had made some steps to attain this result, and the demolition of many a lordly chateau and the punishment of more than one lordly plotter had proved how determined he was in his purpose. Condé, not deficient in shrewdness and tact, saw that, in the case of a ruler like this, discretion was the better part of valour; and from the first moment he made himself conspicuous by his abject submission to the cardinal. Richelieu, however, scorned and disliked a man who had joined rebels and plundered the realm when deeds of the kind were tolerably safe, and who besides was the avowed enemy of Mary of Medicis, his early patron; Louis XIII. had the same feelings, and Condé was forbidden to approach the capital, and was relegated in disgrace to his government. The prince was not invited to take part in the assemblies of Notables which, at this period, were convened to discuss and to enact reforms, and which in fact carried out many of the best proposals of the late States-General; he was not admitted to the Royal Council, and he had no share in carrying out the policy by which Richelieu, winning allies for France, and holding the balance between Spain and England, advanced steadily to his one great object, the lessening of the ascendancy of the House of Austria, and the securing of the influence of France in Germany. Condé, too, became, in another way, a mark for the cardinal's jealous suspicions. His wife, in league with young Anne of Austria and with that archplotter Madame de Chevreuse, had endeavoured to prevent a marriage approved by the minister for the king's brother; her dangerous charms had won to her side a great officer of state and two or three nobles; and the intrigue ended in one of the many conspiracies against the detested minister. The vengeance of Richelieu was swift and sure; and Condé, though not involved in the plot, became naturally the object of increased distrust.

A sudden change on the stage of politics brought the prince again into the service of the Crown, if it did not

wholly restore him to favour. Richelieu was earnestly pursuing his foreign policy, when the intrigues of Buckingham and the growing influence of the Puritans in the councils of England led to the last and most dangerous of the Huguenot risings. The signal of insurrection was given by La Rochelle—the citadel of the Protestantism of France on the sea—and the southern provinces were soon up in arms under Henri de Rohan, their renowned leader, assisted, perhaps, by the gold of Spain. The cardinal took decisive steps to crush the rebellion, and to put an end for ever to a state of things destructive to France; and while he organised the fleet, set on foot armies, and made great preparations to besiege La Rochelle, he placed Condé in supreme command in the south. He was probably induced to make this selection in order to secure a princely name as a makeweight against the royal family, all at this moment combined against him, with the single exception of Louis XIII.; and he was well aware of the character of the man he intended to make a convenient instrument. Condé received his commission at a brief interview, at which he humiliated himself before the imperious minister, and Richelieu felt assured of his services by a promise of the spoils of Henri de Rohan. The appointment, however, proved unfortunate; and on this as on every other occasion the prince showed that he had no capacity in directing the operations of war.

The Duc d'Aumale's narrative of the struggle between the unskilful chief of the royal army and the brilliant leader of the Huguenot bands is, as we have said, of rare excellence; especially the sketch of the scene of the contest is admirable in its picturesque clearness. For two long years, Rohan, entrenched in the Cevennes, and making the best use of the defiles of the hills, baffled the greatly superior forces of Condé with a mere handful of half-armed peasants; concentrating behind the mountain screen, or suddenly issuing from the passes, he repeatedly overthrew his bewildered enemy; and Condé's discomfiture was so complete that at last he sullenly gave up the contest. The exploits of Rohan, in fact, bear a remarkable likeness to those of Montrose; and his success was so marked and lasting that all Languedoc continued to resist, though Condé, beaten in fair fighting, had, as before, recourse to the cruel revenge of laying the country waste, and of other deeds of rapine. Events, however, on another theatre, brought the unequal conflict at last to a close. The cardinal, after the fall of La Rochelle, had marched an army led by the king across the Alps against the Duke of Savoy;

and, after compelling that prince to treat, he directed it, in irresistible strength, against the still resisting Huguenots of the south. The sack of Privas and other atrocities of the kind convinced Rohan that all was now over; and the Peace of Alais, made in 1629, closed the long chapter of Huguenot risings. The cardinal in the hour of triumph, as is well known, showed his wonted forethought: he deprived the Huguenot towns of rights which had made them really independent of the State, but he confirmed their purely municipal franchises, and he secured them complete religious liberty. This settlement, marked by profound wisdom, promoted the growing national unity, assured to France the devoted services of a long roll of illustrious names, and preserved for the nation its most precious elements; and its abrogation in a subsequent age was not the least of the many causes of the decline of France in the eighteenth century.

Henri de Rohan is almost a forgotten hero, but he was one of the great warriors of the age; and it is gratifying to know that the Huguenot seigneur did noble service to the Crown in Germany, and fell on the field at the siege of Rheinfeld. The Duc d'Aumale makes these remarks on him in a lofty strain of eulogy:—

‘We are afraid that we interfere with profound and honourable convictions when we assert that Henri de Rohan is the first of the Huguenots. He had not the great position or the authority of Coligny; equally jealous and more turbulent, he was perhaps less austere and certainly less impassioned. His conduct in the month of June 1629 ought to make us excuse the factious temper he too often displayed; he was not, we admit, a better citizen than Coligny, but at least he had an opportunity of giving a striking proof of patriotic unselfishness not accorded by circumstances to the admiral. As a commander, we think him above Coligny; all his campaigns are models. Were it not that the Protestants of France can boast that they have given their country Turenne and Duquesne, we should say that he was the first of their warriors. He is one of our best military writers—the best until Napoleon appeared. The peculiar glory of Rohan—that which distinguishes him from almost all his contemporaries—is that he made, nay, imposed, the Peace of Alais, and yet neither asked nor accepted anything for himself.’

The failure of Condé in the late contest did not lead to his disgrace at the Louvre. He did not obtain the lands of Rohan, for they were not wrested from their noble owner; but, in addition to his other charges, the government of Burgundy was conferred on him. The office was one of great importance, for the province lay on the verge of the empire; and the policy of Richelieu, despotic and costly,

had already caused disputes and ill-blood between the central and local authorities; but it was bestowed on Condé; we know, for the reason to which we have already referred, the king's brother Gaston, and the two queens, being now more than ever opposed to the cardinal. The prince proved a very fair ruler while France was not actually engaged in war; he showed skill in patching up quarrels between the royal intendants and the Provincial Estates; and he faithfully carried out the orders despatched to him by the Royal Council. Yet he never enjoyed the minister's confidence; and, indeed, the flattery he addressed to Richelieu at the very time when the noble blood of the most heroic figure of the high noblesse, Henri de Montmorency, the brother of his wife, was being shed by the pitiless cardinal, was ill calculated to gain a great man's sympathy.

In 1635 the covert hostility between France and the House of Austria, which had been increasing for many years, was exchanged for open and direct war; and the contest raged from the mouths of the Scheldt to the confines of Bohemia and thence to the Pyrenees. The arms of Louis were at first unsuccessful; a raid into the Low Countries failed; the battle of Nördlingen, effacing the results of the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, had made Ferdinand supreme in Germany, and the soldiery and the fleets of Spain triumphed in the Milanese and along the coasts of Provence. The Duc d'Aumale hints that the result was caused by the too ambitious projects of Richelieu—by 'his undefined plans' in the phrase of Turenne—but it was rather due to the want of experience and discipline in the new French armies, in a transition state between a standing force and the feudal militia now in decline; and we wholly deny that the great cardinal was slow in discovering* able men in war, or in giving them the commands they deserved. The tempest soon approached the Burgundian hills, and, the armies of Gallas and Charles of Lorraine having reached the borders of Franche-Comté, Condé was directed to lay siege to Dôle, a frontier town of the last-named province. As was his wont, however, he was not successful; the burghers, led by their aged bishop, made a determined and heroic defence, and the prince, whose bad temper and want of decision had been generally condemned in his camp, was compelled ingloriously to raise the siege, a part of his forces having been detached

* Harcourt and La Valette were good commanders. Richelieu brought Turenne and the Grand Condé forward; and besides, generals are not easily found at the beginnings of wars.

to stem the tide of Spanish invasion now rolling across the lowlands of Picardy. He was more fortunate a few months afterwards; by the autumn of 1636 Gallas had entered Burgundy, and, advancing along the valley of the Saône, had sat down before St. Jean de Losne; but Condé contrived to relieve the place as it was about to yield to a last assault; and the imperial army fell back to the Rhine, cruelly harassed and wasted in its prolonged retreat. The siege, marked by the desperate courage and obstinate efforts of the people of the town, was memorable for another circumstance: Francis of Mercy, one of the great captains of Germany in the Thirty Years' War, first distinguished himself at St. Jean de Losne.

We must pass rapidly over the next two years, not marked by events of supreme importance. The power of France was slowly advancing, and she had nearly 200,000 men in the field; but her armies were not as yet a match for the veteran legions of Spain and Austria, with their great traditions of Parma and Wallenstein; and the chief elements, perhaps, of her military strength were to be found in the old bands of the King of Sweden, or in Saxe-Weimar's well-tried levies, both her allies in the gigantic contest. Yet Richelieu was gradually attaining his ends; he had already obtained a footing on the Rhine, had rolled back the invaders of 1636, and had planted the standards of France in Artois; and though still a mark for intrigues at home, and for the vengeance of the unforgiving noblesse, he had become recognised in the councils of Europe as the champion of the true rights of nations against the domination of one arrogant house and the Catholic reaction in its worst aspects. The newly created navy of France, besides, had made its influence felt in the struggle; it had avenged the Spanish descent on Provence, and it had more than once defeated the proud squadrons—imposing, massive, but ill ordered—which still retraced the memories of the long lost Armada.

In 1638 the cardinal planned an invasion of the Basque provinces of Spain by a double attack by sea and on land; and the operation was to be followed by a formidable effort to overrun Roussillon, as yet a province of the Spanish monarchy. The chief command of the land forces was entrusted to Condé by the cardinal; and Henri de Sourdes, Archbishop of Bordeaux, one of the warrior prelates* of that stir-

* Richelieu's appointments of churchmen to high military commands have been ridiculed; but La Valette was a real general, and

ring age, was given the direction of the French fleet. The operations were at first successful ; the capture of Passages secured a fort, and the prince sat down before Fontarabia, convinced that victory was near at hand. Condé, however, displayed his usual qualities ; he hesitated at the propitious moment ; he fell out with his chief lieutenant ; he could not make his authority felt ; and though his colleague gained a promising triumph, the place was relieved by a Spanish force, and the invaders were driven across the frontier. The operations on the other side of the peninsula were scarcely more fortunate. Condé, indeed, captured the fortress of Salces, considered the principal key of Roussillon, and threw a garrison into the place ; but it was soon surrounded by Catalan levies, and in an attempt to raise the siege the prince lost nearly half his army. The anger of Richelieu flamed out fiercely, and at one moment it seemed probable that the rank of Condé would not save his head. He contrived, however, to shift the blame on one of his subordinates, a younger brother of the well-known chief, Cardinal la Valette ; and the circumstance that the fascinations of his wife had touched the heart of the amorous prelate added, doubtless, to the satisfaction of her lord in having made a scapegoat of one of her lover's kinsmen.

The career of this prince had now almost ended, and we shall not dwell on the last years of his life, not yet described by the Duc d'Aumale. He was not employed again in the field, but he occasionally sat at the Royal Council, and he was allowed to retain his great offices. During this period he continued to pay assiduous court to the ruler of France, and to solicit all kinds of places and favours ; and occasionally he had much trouble in smoothing away differences between his haughty son and the domineering and punctilious cardinal. After the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII. he became a leading member of the regent's Council ; and

the Cardinal Infant was one of the most successful leaders of the imperial armies. We quote from a satire of the day :—

‘ Un archevêque est admiral. (*De Bordeaux.*)
 Un gros évêque est caporal. (*De Chartres.*)
 Un prelat préside aux frontières. (*De Nantes.*)
 Un autre a des troupes guerrières. (*De Mende.*)
 Un cardinal a des soldats. (*La Valette.*)
 Un autre est generalissime. (*Richelieu.*)
 France, je crois qu'ici bas
 Ton Eglise si magnanime
 Milite et ne triomphe pas.’

he made Rocroy a pretext for urging such extravagant claims for himself and his house, that Mazarin turned away in disgust, and for a moment thought of depriving France of the services of the Grand Condé. He died in 1646, unregretted and almost despised at court. We transcribe the Duc d'Aumale's account of that part of his career, which, obscure as it was, does not illustrate the worst side of his character :—

‘ Henry II. of Condé suffered through life from the deficiency in his education we have before referred to—a deficiency, in those days, of the most essential kind : he never received a military training. He was calumniated by those who accused him of cowardice ; he gave ample and repeated proofs of courage. Bassompierre was surprised at the coolness he displayed at the siege of Montpellier ; at that of Dôle he remained calm in his quarters amidst the storm of cannonshot. He was often under fire in the campaign of Languedoc and at Fontarabia. But he had little energy in war ; he was remiss in action ; he was a mere administrator in military affairs. His soldiers seldom beheld him ; he kept aloof from his troops. This habitual isolation gave rise to evil reports ; he repeatedly arrived on the field too late. He never acquired the authority obtained by assiduous work and by constant personal devotion to the service. He was not, in all respects, a safe person to deal with. Tenacious in hatred, but pliable with those in any degree connected with the depositaries of power ; strongly attached to his creatures, often unjust and brutal towards everyone else ; ready to disavow, at the first moment, those who did not fall in with his wishes ; incapable of making the most of men of ability, seldom the most easy to lead—he could neither impose obedience, nor facilitate it, and, in a word, was ill seconded and badly served. With much power of application, good sense, and eagerness to do what was right, and with clear views and readiness of conception, he never could bring a military undertaking to a good conclusion. He was too fond of his ease, and when he was reproached with his immoderate taste for the pleasures of the table, he was wont to say, in a dull way, “ They say that I am “ always at eating-houses since I left Paris ; I have been there only “ twice.” . . . In a word, if he has been judged too severely, undoubtedly, as a soldier, he kept outside the traditions of his race ; his military conduct does not deserve the attention of posterity.’

This apology for Condé, such as it is, is hardly a complete or a just estimate of a strongly marked but unpleasing character. The distinctive quality of the prince was an unscrupulous greed of money and place ; he was the Harpagon of the great noblesse, and he surpassed them all in cynical selfishness. To this should be added a meanness of nature shown in arrogance to inferiors in rank, and in servility to the high and powerful ; he was of the true breed of the bully and the coward, and his abject submissiveness to those he

feared, and especially to the all-controlling Richelieu, is seen in many turns of his life and conduct. He was not wise, and never won the respect or friendship of the wise or the good; but he was shrewd, dexterous, and, above all, cunning. The first prince of the blood of France displayed in public and private affairs the low craft of a supple attorney. In war he was an absolute failure; he was unfit even for a subordinate command; and it is an extraordinary instance of the freaks of nature that a son of his should have been a consummate soldier. For the rest, an ungainly form, a sullen aspect, and a garb habitually sordid and slovenly, were in keeping with an ignoble nature. He was disliked and scorned by the fine ladies of the court, and seldom appeared in their brilliant circles; and if he was probably not guilty of the revolting vices laid to his charge, he was insensible to the peerless charms of the most attractive woman of Europe. In his case and that of Charlotte de Montmorency, the saying of Chesterfield scarcely held good; the chances of the husband against those of more than one lover were extremely slight.

From this figure we turn to that of one who, though some stains tarnish his fame, was, nevertheless, a real hero. In 1621 the Princess of Condé gave birth to a son, distinguished in history by the name she is wont to make the reward of splendid exploits. The infant was heir presumptive to the crown, for Louis XIII. had as yet no offspring; but the house of Condé was under a cloud, and the event scarcely attracted notice, the attention of the Spanish faction at court being then engrossed by the welcome news of the victories of the House of Austria, whose pride that child was destined to humble. The heir of the Condés received the name that belonged to the eldest scions of the race; and it was one of the few good traits in his faulty character, that the prince gave the most devoted care—his own early training had been much neglected—to the education of the young Duc d'Enghien.* As has been the case with many great future chiefs, the child was delicate and even sickly; and for this reason, and also because his father sullenly kept away from Paris, the baby prince was brought

* The true name was Anguien—that of Enghien, the old Walloon style, was not restored until the eighteenth century—but we have followed the accustomed way of spelling it. The Duc d'Aumale prefers to retain the old, but less familiar, form of it.

up at Montrond in the pure air that encircles the site of one of the chief châteaux of the lords of Berry. At the age of five the boy was introduced, in feudal pomp, to the citizens of Bourges, and he was received at the font in an imposing ceremony, in which scions of the greatest houses of France represented the king and Mary of Medicis—we may note the absence of the jealous queen—as sponsors for one who, it still seemed probable, would become the chief of the Bourbon monarchy.

From Montrond the young prince was transferred to Bourges, to be instructed in the first rudiments, and he was carefully brought up under that sacerdotal system which, strange as it may appear to Englishmen, and many and grievous as were its faults, nevertheless fashioned some of the most powerful intellects of Europe during two eventful centuries. The boy was reared by the Jesuit fathers in their celebrated college of Ste. Marie; and save that he had a dwelling of his own, and that in school hours he sat in 'a gilded seat railed off' to denote his princely rank, he was, at his father's special request, treated in the same way as the other pupils, and subjected to the same strict discipline. He remained at Bourges for nearly seven years, and no pains were spared to render him worthy of the exalted position of a child of France. His studies were well chosen and severe; they were far above the standard of those of the noblesse; and, comprising, as they did, one of the classical tongues, geography, history, mathematical science, and the elements of the law of Rome, they were adapted to form the mind of one who was to direct great operations of war. The physical training, too, of the lad was attended to with especial care; he was exercised regularly at the *manège*; and he was made to learn the accomplishments, active and graceful, which distinguished the noble youth of the time. Under these influences the fine intellect of the prince expanded with marvellous quickness; he was a ripe scholar even in his teens, as the Latinity of his letters proves; he was skilled in literature and the exact sciences; and the weakly boy by degrees developed into one of the boldest and best of horse-men, a proficient, too, in every manly pastime, and especially in the art of the dance, and capable of enduring extreme fatigue. The precocity, however, which was perhaps the most distinctive feature of Condé's genius, was, in his case, not a premature growth; and though he gave signs, when still a lad, of the haughty temper which was his chief

fault, he displayed strength of character and a sound judgment. As might have been expected, his great faculties showed their natural bent at an early age; he was fond of playing at soldiers in the fosses of Montrond, with village children under his command; he read, as a child, the lives of the heroes of Greece and Rome with passionate delight; and, like Turenne, he gave days and nights in growing youth to the study of war. Characteristically, however, the mind of Turenne was chiefly attracted to the campaigns of Cæsar and to the marches of Alexander the Great; Condé loved to dwell on the chivalrous exploits of the paladins of France on the field of battle.

In 1636 the youth was presented to Louis XIII. His visit to Paris was, however, brief; he accompanied his father in the same year to Dijon, where both were received in high state, and heard for the first time the tumult of arms as the war rolled to the Burgundian frontier. His letters to the prince show that he watched the progress of the siege of Dôle with intelligent interest; and on this occasion he made the acquaintance of Gassion, afterwards a marshal of France, and his right arm on the field of Rocroy. Next year he entered the celebrated school, near the Temple, lately endowed by Richelieu, for the military education of the young noblesse, and his mode of life at this place of learning was, in some respects, like that which he had led at Bourges. At the 'Royal Academy' he devoted hours of intense labour to the study of war; he read the works of the day on tactics and strategy, and he became thoroughly versed in engineering science, and in the theory of the attack and defence of fortresses, a branch of the art being then well developed, though it had not yet passed into the hands of Vauban. The accomplished soldier had, however, escaped from the discipline of the Jesuit fathers, and his life was no longer a round of austerities. Despite his father's morose objections, the princess claimed the society of her son, and the youth first enjoyed the pleasures of his age in the salons of the Louvre and the Hôtel Condé. Here he displayed the graces of the gallants of the time, distinguished himself at ball and *carrousel*, and perhaps crossed swords or shook the deadlier dice with scions of the gayest noblesse of Europe. Here, too, flitting from light love to light love, he became a brilliant cavalier of dames; and even now he had touched hearts among the company of fair ladies linked in early friendship with Anne Geneviève, his peerless sister, whose dangerous charms, in the distant days of the stormy Fronde, were able

to lure from the path of duty the solid and well-ordered nature of Turenne.

The Duc d'Enghien entered on his great career in 1638, at the age of seventeen. His father had been appointed to the command in Spain, the ill-fortune of which we have referred to, and the youth, by 'the king's express order,' was chosen to fill his parent's place, and was made governor of Burgundy in Condé's absence. The occasion was one which required a man of experience and parts to hold the office; the imperial forces, under Charles of Lorraine, hung menacingly on the verge of the province; the way of the French armies to the great siege of Brisach, in course of progress under Saxe-Weimar, lay through the northern edge of Burgundy; and it does seem strange that a beardless boy was nominated to so arduous a post. D'Enghien, nevertheless, completely justified a selection probably made by Richelieu, and gave signal proof, in his difficult charge, of capacity of a high order, and of a maturity of character that must be pronounced wonderful. He addressed himself first to the defence of the province; a memorandum from his pen shows how he visited all its strong places, how thoroughly he understood the condition of each, and with what admirable scientific skill he turned to account their points of vantage; and he contrived to make so formidable a show of the small bodies of troops entrusted to him that the enemy did not attempt to attack him. With similar industry and professional tact he expedited the march of the French soldiery through Burgundy on their way to the Rhine; he restrained their excesses by watchful discipline, and yet secured supplies for their wants, and—a striking proof of his precocious insight—he continued to hurry them on to the front, and refused to give credence to false reports of the enemy as to the relief of Brisach. His energy, determination, and military knowledge were the theme, in a word, of universal praise; and not less so was the care he bestowed on a body of troops that bore his name. His father, with characteristic meanness, had regarded them as a mere source of profit; the young prince, with a true sense of his station, restored their discipline and martial bearing, and made them worthy of carrying into the field the banner of the august House of Condé.

Nor was the civil administration of this marvellous youth less admirable than his arrangements for war. He continued and improved on the policy of which the prince had set the example, in circumstances, however, of less

difficulty; and while he took care that the province should yield its proper quota to the public service, he regulated its finances with sagacious prudence, and reconciled the conflicting pretensions of officials of the crown and reluctant parliaments. One of the most decisive marks of his genius was the authority which, at this early age, he exercised over the wills of men; grey veterans gave him ready obedience; he had already fascinated the French soldiers; and he usually succeeded in having his way with punctilious magistrates, with men of the gown, and with the chief burgesses of Dijon. Among the men of mark now in relations with him, one name is entitled to special notice; it was that of a staid, heavy-browed soldier, known already, however, for his distinguished parts, who, concealing splendid genius under a dull exterior, was to fill Europe with the renown of Turenne. D'Enghien, too, at this time, had become intimate with a magistrate of Dijon who was to be the father of the most illustrious of French prelates, destined in after years to pronounce a eulogy, of even more than his wonted eloquence, over the grave that closed on the Grand Condé.

D'Enghien had held his office for nearly two years, when the king and Richelieu entered Burgundy in a progress on their way to the south. The ripeness of thought of the young governor impressed deeply the cardinal's mind: it is amusing to read a letter in which he praises 'the talents, the discretion, and the sound judgement' of a prince 'who had lately grown two inches.' The visit caused the minister to make up his mind on a subject on which it had been hesitating. The Prince of Condé had entreated Richelieu, in language of almost abject servility, to bestow the hand of a niece on his son, and the promise of D'Enghien fixed the purpose of the far-seeing and ambitious statesman. In 1640 the young prince was affianced to Claire Clémence, a daughter of Marshal Brézé by Nicole du Plessis, a sister of Richelieu. It was in vain that he made no secret of his strong repugnance to the intended bride; the ill-omened engagement was forced on him, and was, perhaps, the price of his father's pardon for his failures in the Spanish campaigns. After the ceremony, as if to banish care, D'Enghien hastened to join the army of the north, engaged at this moment in the siege of Arras, and he took, as a volunteer, an active part in the contest which led to the fall of that stronghold, the capital of Burgundian Artois. He showed brilliant courage in this passage of arms, but he was chiefly distinguished for the close attention he gave to the details of

the siege, and to the science of the French engineers in their dispositions to reduce the fortress.

'The situation of the town, its political and military importance, the developement of the walls, the strength and the perfection of the defensive works, the numbers of the garrison, and the temper of the population,* gave the enterprise a character of peculiar grandeur. M. le Duc followed the progress and the details of the investment with assiduous care, and showed a capacity even then the subject of remark. He has a pencil in his hand as often as a sword, for he is earnest in his profession; he makes a note of everything, observes the places of arms and the works, and in the evening sends sketches and an account to his father, describing and judging well, but avoiding criticism. If he speaks of himself, it is in answer to his father's questions, and always in a tone of simplicity and modesty, without affectation. Present every day either in the batteries or at the head of the sap, or at the advanced posts, or in foraging, he sees how siege-works are constructed, destroyed, or carried; he observes the formation, the movements, and the mode of defending convoys; he learns how to array and to lead troops, to conduct small bodies of men, to skirmish, and to engage; and he is ever in the *mêlée*. Often in contact with distinguished engineers and experienced officers, he receives from them many a profitable lesson; but for a superior intelligence there is no better example than the observation of errors that should be avoided.'

The marriage of the prince took place soon afterwards, and was celebrated with becoming splendour. Like Byron, however, the bridegroom felt as if illness struck him when at the altar; in a few days he was in a raging fever, and his mind for a time was thrown off its balance. Such was the beginning of an inauspicious union which was to cast a stain on a glorious career, to lead to years of heartburnings and sorrow, and to end in a frightful domestic tragedy. The marriage, in truth, caused the proud spirit of the prince to writhe, as it were, in anguish; at this time, besides, he had become attached to one of the fair companions of his bright sister, and his frequent indulgence in passing amours made him loathe the slightest restraint on his freedom. The bride, too, was without attractions; her face was childish and her figure lean, and few could guess that this poor exterior concealed the heart of a saintlike woman and the endurance of a long-suffering martyr. The Duc d'Aumale has given us a sketch of the marriage; the behaviour of the prince at the

* The people of Artois, at this period, entertained the old Burgundian feeling of hatred towards the French. Seventy years afterwards, in the war of the Spanish Succession, they were more 'French' than the French themselves.' This power of moral assimilation, nobly exhibited in our day by Alsace, remains one of the glories of France.

accident which befell his bride illustrates the vein of coarseness which ran through his nature in his relations with the sex.

‘The marriage was celebrated at the palace of the cardinal, and was followed by brilliant festivities. Richelieu was successful everywhere, in Artois and in Germany; his family was allied to the royal house; and he had just added to all these laurels fresh branches, especially gratifying to his pride. *Mirame* had received the plaudits of an illustrious assembly, at which—a memento of the military processions of Rome—several general officers appeared who were prisoners of war. After a representation, at which the official tragedy was followed by new comic pieces, the theatre was transformed, as it were, by enchantment, and the Duc d’Enghien, leading in the queen, opened the ball with her. It was remarked that the young duchess, embarrassed in a coranto by the high-heeled shoes she wore to increase her low stature, fell; the court laughed, and her husband joined in the laughter. The pallor and disordered appearance of the Duc were also noticed.’

The young pair took up their abode in Paris, the bridegroom, however, having first hurried off to study two or three sieges in the north. His relations with his wife were from the first unhappy; he did not conceal his cold aversion; and they were aggravated by the tyrannical jealousy of the cardinal, who, suspecting the truth, interfered at every turn with his household arrangements. His father, in truth, glad to escape from the passion of a lionlike nature, had handed over his son, so to speak, to Richelieu—‘He is your nephew, your creature; do as you please with him,’ so runs one of the prince’s letters—and the proud youth was subjected to the prying despotism introduced everywhere by the ruler of France. Spies watched his goings out and comings in; his servants were in the pay of the cardinal, and complaints of his loose life and of his waste of money were regularly laid before the suspicious minister. D’Enghien, however, trusting to the cardinal’s word that the command in the north would be conferred on him, contrived to dissemble his resentment; and the course of events soon compelled all those associated with Richelieu by blood or by interest to rally round the veteran statesman. It was now the time of the last great conspiracy against the ascendancy of the minister, and circumstances seemed to favour the design; for the cardinal was struck down with disease; news had arrived of defeats in the north; risings had occurred in parts of the kingdom; and a favourite, suddenly raised to power, had endeavoured, as it appeared with success, to shake the confidence of the king in Richelieu, and had won over more than one noble, and even several chiefs of the army. The Duc d’Aumale

thus graphically describes the position of Richelieu as he lay on his death-bed, as it was thought, at Narbonne, while his authority was being sapped by Cinq Mars, and Louis XIII. seemed cold and distrustful:—

‘Sick, in a state almost of decomposition, covered with sores, subjected daily to the surgeon’s knife, Richelieu suffered dreadful pain at the slightest movement. And his moral agony was even more poignant. Everything seemed failing him; insurrections were being multiplied, the *croquants* in Perigord, the *va-nu-pieds* in Normandy; the payment of taxes had stopped; recruiting was not less difficult; men and money were wanting. And, as though to complete misfortune, his nephew, Marshal Guiche, who thought himself assured of victory, had lost the battle of Hennécourt, only thirty leagues from Paris. Terror prevails on all sides; it is a second Corbie. His place should have been beside the king, and sixteen leagues lay between, and he was unable to move. It had indeed become necessary to take him away from the unwholesome air of Narbonne, to transport him, at first to Agde, afterwards to put him into a barge on the lakes, and to take him as far as Tarascon in Provence. And another person possesses the ear of the king. It is his mortal and now his declared enemy, whom he will soon designate as a public traitor. Periods of discouragement succeed to moments of excitement—his correspondence shows this—but despondency prevails, especially as days pass by and he receives no intelligence or replies from the king, save occasionally two or three dry and insignificant lines, instead of those long letters in which, day by day, Louis XIII. gave him an account of and asked his advice in everything. He thought himself lost, and so did the rest of the world.’

D’Enghien showed remarkable presence of mind and decision of character at this crisis. He watched by the bed of the sick man, made himself sure of the chiefs of the army, and had a chosen band of attendants ready to protect the cardinal and to form his escort. In short, much as he disliked Richelieu, he understood where his interests lay, and he defended them promptly and without flinching.

‘M. le Duc was almost the only member of the circle of the minister apparently thus abandoned by fortune who kept his head cool; he did not give up or yield. He is at work ever since the crisis has taken an acute form. Acting with equal secrecy and forethought, he provides for the safety of the cardinal. The danger is imminent. The majority of the generals, no doubt, are the creatures of Richelieu; La Meilleraie is his nephew, and is wholly dependent on him, but Schomberg can be sceptical; if he says he is “among our friends,” he has many relations with M. le Grand, is on bad terms with the Grand Master, and is still devoted to Madame de Hautefort, lately banished by the cardinal.* The Vicomte de Turenne is the lieutenant-general

* On this occasion, however, the loyalty of Turenne was unquestionable.

of the army, and his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, is in the plot. If M. le Grand can induce the king to issue an order for the arrest of the Grand Master and the cardinal, the generals will seize La Meilleraie, and the king's guards will not be kept back by the purple robe of Richelieu. M. le Duc anticipates the struggle, and prepares for it. This is what he writes to his father: "J'ay fait dire à tous les officiers de vos troupes et des miennes qui sont au siège de faire tout ce qui leur sera commandé par M. le Grand Maître. J'ay aussi engagé tous mes amis de la province"—to collect them around the cardinal, to defend him, and to escort him if he is to hasten to Paris. "On a peur que le Roy, poussé par M. le Grand, ne veuille entreprendre quelque chose contre M. Le Cardinal, ou que M. Le Grand n'emmène le Roy vers Paris, pour y arriver avant nous. Espéron nous a offert sa place (Leucate); tous nos officiers m'ont tesmoigné grande affection. M. de Schomberg demeurera entre deux selles, le cul à terre." Already M. d'Enghien has "put together" a body of cavalry. Eight hundred "well-trained" men are by his side, when "God aided the king by a marvellous discovery"—it is the treaty of Fontrailles, the written proof of the treason of Cinq Mars, which Richelieu has got into his hands. This is victory. How confident and haughty the tone of his letters becomes!

This was the lofty style of the cardinal's letter announcing the end of the unhappy favourite, the victim of another Day of the Dupes:—

'Vostre Majesté aura tout à la fois deux nouvelles bien différentes: l'une est la reddition de Perpignan, qui est la plus belle et la plus considérable place de la terre pour la France; l'autre est la condamnation et l'exécution de M. Le Grand et de M. de Thou, qui se sont trouvez si coupables au jugement de tous leurs juges, qu'ils ne virent jamais un procès sy clair. Ces deux événements font voir combien Dieu aime Vostre Majesté. Je le supplie qu'il continue à verser ses bénédictions sur elle, et qu'il me renvoie la santé que je desire pour la servir.'

D'Enghien had done Richelieu the greatest service, and he obtained the command on the northern frontier. He soon however, fell out, again with the cardinal; and the incident shows how proud was his temper, and the imperious nature of the ruler of France. He had consented that Richelieu should precede him 'in virtue of his extraordinary qualities;' but he fired out in passionate wrath when the minister claimed the same distinction for Mazarin and for his own brother, the dull and obscure Archbishop of Lyons. His terrified father protested in vain; 'the affront,' he exclaimed, 'went to his honour,' and his indignation so mastered his judgement, that—anticipating the days of the Spanish Fronde—he declared he would quit the service of France and offer his sword to Charles of Lorraine. The cardinal, nevertheless, insisted, and, after kicking against

the pricks in vain, the proud young man was forced to submit. His wrath burst forth in a characteristic letter which expresses the long-pent-up complaints of his order against the domineering minister:—

‘Le Cardinal de Richelieu est un tiran : il a poussé la Reine, la Reine mère, Monsieur, le Comte de Soissons à bout, aussi bien que la maison de Guise, celle de Vendôme et tant d’autres. M. mon père a creu qu’en me faisant espouser sa niepce, il se pareroit, et moi aussy, de ses violences ; il le sert de la meilleure foy du monde en tout ce qu’il peut ; il n’y a sédition dans les provinces qu’il n’appaise ; il termine tout ce qui s’eslève contre luy dans les parlemens ; il s’attire l’inimitié de toute la France en portant et faisant vérifier les édits dans les compagnies souveraines ; il luy a donné la droitte en son propre logis ; il n’est complaisance qu’il n’ayt pour luy et pour tous ses parens. Qu’a-t-il faict pour luy ? Il lui a donné le gouvernement de Bourgogne, parce qu’il vouloit l’ôter à M. de Bellegarde, son ennemy mortel ; et c’est le feu mareschal d’Effiat qui le lui persuada, parce qu’il vouloit avoir de M. mon père le gouvernement de Bourbonnais, comme il l’a eu. Le Cardinal lui a donné l’abbaye de Saint-Denis pour le rendre irreconciliable avec la maison de Guise, et toutes les prieres de M. mon père l’ont-elles empesché de faire couper la teste à mon oncle Montmorency ?’

What might have been the effect of the discovery of such a letter we can hardly conceive, but within a few days the danger had passed away, for Richelieu was no more. The great minister had not attained old age, but he had gloriously done his allotted work, though the Treaty of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees do not bear his illustrious name. He had given a death-blow to French feudalism, with its lawless disorder and selfish tyranny ; and though the great nobles were to stir again, the monarchy was steadily growing in strength, and was becoming the symbol and the assurance of the unity and the grandeur of France. He had caused the religious wars to cease ; the Huguenots had become the best of subjects, and France had been saved from the frightful troubles which had covered Germany with blood and ashes, and which checked her progress for two centuries. More than all, he had contrived to associate the policy of France with the moral forces becoming dominant throughout Europe ; he had made her influence supreme on the Continent ; and if her armies had suffered defeats, she was steadily and surely extending her borders, and was advancing to what the national sentiment has recognised as her natural frontiers. If, in the furtherance of these great designs, Richelieu had committed questionable acts, nay, if perhaps he had done lasting injury to his country’s interests in one direction by the suppression

of local rights and privileges, still his immense services outweigh these many acts of cruelty and even of crime. Let it be added, too, that this consummate statesman showed wonderful skill in raising to eminence whatever France possessed of genius and worth; he crushed the insolence of the great nobles, but he drew from the order into the service of the State a number of men of high merit; and if he made government an oppressive burden, he gave a strong stimulus to the French intellect. The middle and the close of the seventeenth century is the period when France enjoyed a triple supremacy in arms, in letters, and in diplomacy.

After some hesitation Mazarin confirmed the selection of Richelieu for the command in the north, and D'Enghien was at his head-quarters in the spring of 1643. His genius for war was, however, unknown, and, by the directions of the Regent's Council, his operations were to be controlled by a veteran who had just received the bâton, one of those mentors who have been often chosen to guide princes in their essays in arms. The plan of the campaign had been traced by Guébriant, a strategist of the great school of Gustavus, and a predecessor worthy of Turenne; apart from efforts in Italy and Spain, it contemplated a concentration of the allied forces of France, Sweden, and Protestant Germany in the valleys of the Moselle and the Sarre, which would give their commanders the chord of the arc on a theatre extending from the shores of Flanders, along the Rhine, to the Lake of Constance, and would secure a large advantage for offensive movements. The project, however, was not carried out, owing perhaps to the death of Richelieu, perhaps to able counter-movements made by the generals of the Empire and Spain; and the operations of 1643, like those of most of the years of the war, were isolated and not thoroughly combined. D'Enghien, when he arrived at his camp at Amiens, found the army of the north formed into two masses, disseminated over a wide space of country, and dangerously exposed to a well-directed effort made by a bold and quickly moving enemy. The first mass, under his direct orders, extended along the banks of the Somme, from his head-quarters to the mouths of the river; the second lay in the valley of the Oise, and, being as it was under a separate command, and communicating as it did with an independent force intended to take the field in Champagne, it was a remote and even a diverging body. The whole army, too, was in a condition in which a successful campaign seemed far from probable. Even now, after nine years of fighting, the

veteran and hardened legions of Spain had proved, as a rule, superior in the field to the gallant but less tried French forces; and they had lately gained two important victories at Hennécourt by the Scheldt, and at Marfée near Sedan. No French general, besides, had proved himself to be the equal of the Cardinal Infant; and repeated changes made in their chiefs, and the jealous bickerings and disputes amongst them, had impaired the worth of the French soldiery. The death of Richelieu had disastrous effects on the whole system of military administration in France, and the army of the north had felt the consequences. Several general officers had left headquarters, and hundreds of subalterns were not to be found. The services, too, required to enable troops to live and move had been much neglected; ammunition and magazines were deficient; and the ranks were thinned by widespread desertion. The bonds of discipline had, in a word, been relaxed; supplies of all kinds were scarcely forthcoming, and the army seemed ill able to take the field.

The narrative of the Duc d'Aumale becomes from this point of the highest excellence, and forms an admirable page of military history. The presence of a superior mind was seen as soon as D'Enghien assumed his command; he addressed himself to restore the discipline and self-confidence of his weakened army, and to make his subordinates feel his authority; and, resisting timid advice from the Louvre, he began to collect his scattered forces and to prepare for a rapid and bold offensive. Meanwhile great efforts were made at his instance to furnish the troops with the necessary supplies; absence from head-quarters was severely punished; and the prince indicated, with true insight, the dangerous position of his detached wing, and tried to have it placed under his direct orders. In a few days men and officers bowed under the influence of commanding powers; real genius proved its moral ascendancy; and by the second week of May the army of the north was in safer positions and in a far better state than had been the case with it a month previously. The offensive movement, however, of D'Enghien was forestalled by Mello, who had just succeeded the Cardinal Infant in the supreme command of the Spanish armies on the French frontier. The generals of Spain had long cherished a hope, founded on the traditions of many victories, that a single bold stroke might finish the war; and in the situation of the hostile forces, and especially of the isolated French right, Mello thought he perceived a

favourable chance of breaking through their widespread line, and thence making his way to the capital of France by the valleys of the Aisne and the Marne. With this object he directed his forces, extended upon a broad front from Valenciennes to beyond the Meuse, to draw together upon his left; the movement of concentration, ably designed, was executed quickly and with great skill; and by May 15 the main Spanish army was collected around the walls of Rocroy, a small fortress closing the routes to the Aisne, one detachment only being a few miles distant. The place, garrisoned by some four hundred men, seemed incapable of making a real defence; within twenty-four hours the advanced works were stormed, and its fall on the 17th was considered certain.

A rude awakening was to interrupt this state of assured and pleasing confidence. On May 9, D'Enghien had begun to move, his left and centre gathering towards his right; and by the 15th he was in the valley of the Upper Oise, his whole force, including the detached wing, being now concentrated and in his hands. On the next day he heard that Rocroy was attacked, and his resolution was at once formed. His best lieutenant, Gassion, a cavalry chief possessing rare gifts, and daring to a fault, was pushed forward with the advanced guard; and the prince followed with the main army, making for Rocroy with extreme celerity. Gassion fulfilled his task with his wonted skill; his squadrons surprised and cut to pieces an outpost under the guns of the fortress; and he returned to headquarters with the welcome news that the way to Rocroy was still open. The Spanish general, in fact, either from overconfidence, or because he desired not to lose time, had not attempted to invest the place, and the only precaution taken by him against the attack of a possible enemy was to put a weak detachment on the upland plain between Rocroy and the intricate labyrinth of woods, marshes, and narrow defiles which closed the approaches to the town southwards. A council of war was held on the 17th, and D'Enghien again did not hesitate. Thrusting aside L'Hôpital, his aged counsellor, he instantly ordered a forward movement, and by the morning of the 18th the army of the north was toiling through the obstacles to its advance. It attained the open ground without firing a shot, and by the afternoon had begun to form in order of battle within sight of Rocroy. This movement compelled the Spanish commander, who hitherto had scarcely opposed his enemy, to draw off from the beleaguered fortress,

and the dense lines of the hostile arrays were speedily marshalled for the impending conflict.

The Duc d'Aumale has described with great minuteness the characteristics of the two armies. The force under Mello had one element of weakness which greatly impaired its worth; it was composed of different races and tongues, and the Walloon and Italian soldiery were not enthusiastic in the cause of Spain. But his army had the moral power of success; it was a disciplined and experienced body, and no infantry had proved a match for the renowned and veteran Spanish *tercios*, the glory of the arms of Farnese and Spinola. The organisation too, of the Spanish army was, on the whole, better than that of their foes; and its superiority was strongly marked in the artillery, an arm of growing importance. The French army, on the other hand, was almost wholly of native origin, but it still felt the effects of defeat; and though it was well led by a gallant noblesse, and it had often exhibited splendid courage, it wanted cohesion and enduring strength, and, as a military instrument, was far from perfect. For the rest, the formations of the two armies were essentially of the same kind; a dense centre of footmen, with guns on the front, was supported on either side by masses of horse; but the lines of the French were somewhat more flexible, and their tactics were somewhat more rapid, owing perhaps to the national character, perhaps to imitation of their Swedish allies under the master hand of the great Gustavus. The real difference in the opposing hosts consisted, however, in that between their chiefs. Mello was a good general of the second order, D'Enghien was a man of genius in war.

We can merely glance at the main incidents of the great and terrible day of Rocroy, so lucidly related by the Duc d'Aumale. The Spanish army was the more numerous, 27,000 to 23,000 men; and the superiority of its well-served guns made considerable gaps in the French ranks as they deployed to take up their allotted positions. A false movement, too, of the French left, imprudently made by L'Hôpital's orders, had exposed that wing for a time to danger; and there was much despondency in D'Enghien's camp as the evening of the 18th closed. The armies made ready for battle in the night; and Mello, exulting in the hope of victory, sent message after message to summon to the field the detachment which had not yet come into line. D'Enghien superintended every arrangement, and, surprising the enemy in the grey dawn of the 19th, threw the cavalry of his right on the Spanish left, and assailing it furiously in

front and flank—here Gassion showed remarkable skill—drove it from the field in precipitate flight. A spectacle meanwhile of a very different kind was seen on the other side of the battle. The French left had advanced to attack, but it had exposed its flank to the horse of the foe; and it was forced back, routed, on the troops of the centre, who, already menaced by those in its front, were beginning to waver and to lose their order. The battle seemed lost, when D'Enghien changed the fortunes of the day by one of those movements, of inspiration and consummate skill, which formed the most distinctive proofs of his genius. Changing front rapidly, he fell on the rear of the enemy as it was pressing forward; the Walloon infantry instantly gave way; and the prince's horsemen soon spread confusion through the dense masses of the Spanish centre. The French left and main body were thus relieved; but the battle continued to rage furiously, until the Italian regiments on the Spanish right were crushed by a charge of the French cavalry. The Spanish army was now a wreck; the plain was covered with its shattered masses, and not a battalion or squadron held together, save where at the centre, like the 'granite column' of Marengo or the Old Guard at Waterloo, the unbroken tercios maintained their ground amidst the tumultuous waves of fugitives. The best horsemen of France, led by D'Enghien himself, in the full flush of assured victory, were thrice hurled in vain against that splendid infantry, and a fourth desperate effort was required to destroy the living citadel of heroic men.

Resistance had before this ceased on other points of the blood-stained field, and the detachment, summoned by Mello on the 18th, succeeded only in rallying fugitives. We transcribe this account of the death-struggle of the tercios with the victorious French:—

'Gaps appear here and there in the ranks of the Spaniards; the men seem calm and resolute, but the last volleys were less well sustained. The guns are silent; the ammunition is failing. Fontaines is no more to be seen in his seat; he has fallen, his face on the ground, his body pierced with shot. Providence has spared the veteran the pain of seeing the defeat of the infantry which he deemed invincible. The French had contrived to set up again three or four of the retaken guns. D'Enghien smites down with their discharges an angle of the living fortress. Other battalions come up, and extend the line of our fire. Gassion has approached with his squadrons; the light horsemen of La Ferté, by this time rallied, threaten the tercios on the other side. The duke was completing his dispositions for a fourth attack, when he was informed that Spanish officers were quitting the ranks and waving

their head-gear as if to seek for quarter. He advances to receive their parole; but, either from a misunderstanding or by an accident, some pieces are discharged. These are supposed to be a signal, and a volley ensues, from which the prince escapes only by a miracle, and which "fills our men with frenzy." Horse and footmen press forward; the phalanx is assailed and penetrated on all sides. The madness of blood seizes the French soldiery, and especially the Swiss, who had suffered heavily, and who slay all who come into their power. . . . At last the massacre ceases; the old tercios are no more!

In these operations from first to last D'Enghien had shown the powers of a great captain. The prompt, wise, and efficacious measures he had taken to strengthen his enfeebled army, his just view of the military situation, the celerity of his march to the heads of the Oise, above all, the decision and skill exhibited in seizing the plain and passing the defiles, all this indicates a real chief; and we have dwelt on these points because they illustrate the less known side of his genius in war. Undoubtedly, however, the most decisive proof of his capacity was the splendid movement which plucked victory out of defeat at Rocroy; here he displayed, for the first time, that instinct of the secret of success in battle in which he surpassed almost all generals; and this transcendent gift was as conspicuous in him at Rocroy, when he was still a youth, as in his old age on the plain of Seneffe. The Duc d'Aumale has thus sketched the young conqueror; the lines, perhaps, are too soft and fine; we miss the harsher and coarser features of the portraits of Michelet and Henri Martin:—

'Louis de Bourbon was of the middle height, thin, well proportioned, delicate in appearance, but muscular, and inured to manly exercises, to the use of arms, and to horsemanship. A growing moustache scarcely covered a somewhat thick lip; the mouth was large, the chin retreating, the cheek bones prominent; the arched profile of the face exaggerated what is commonly called the Bourbon type; the brow was very fine, the eyes of a deep blue, rather too much on a line with the forehead, but very handsome. The look of the prince was piercing, and his whole person inspired a singular and subjugating charm.'

Rocroy was the first great victory won from Spain by France for more than a hundred years, and it opened a new era in the annals of war, the ascendancy of the arms of France, which continued until the day of Blenheim. It is unnecessary to dwell on the exultation of Paris and of the Hôtel Condé; swarms of young nobles set off to contend for the honour of serving under the prince, and brilliant fair ones sent dainty missives and letters of real or feigned passion.

Like a true general, D'Enghien thought only of turning his success to the best account; 'the whole country,' he wrote, 'is now at our mercy;' and having rejected weak counsels to reduce small fortresses in Spanish Flanders, he sat down before the great place of Thionville with an army of 20,000 men, thus marking his approbation of the plan of Guébriant, to which we have alluded before.

We shall not follow the details of the siege minutely described by the Duc d'Aumale; nor are they, indeed, of peculiar interest. Lines were drawn round the place in the last days of June; the trenches were opened by the second week of July, and the attack then proceeded by the usual methods of sap, mine, and the fire of ordnance, until breaches were made in the fortress itself, and the outworks were carried by escalade or surprise. D'Enghien gave proof of his engineering skill and knowledge in the direction of the siege; and though he has been charged with headstrong rashness—and sometimes he was impatient to a fault—in twice attempting to storm the body of the place before the breaches had become practicable, we must recollect that a relieving force was threatening his lines at a short distance; and, in fact, Wellington, of all commanders the most chary of his soldiers' blood, ran the same risk, for the same reason, in the desperate but triumphant assault of Badajoz. Thionville surrendered on August 18. The Duc d'Aumale informs us that the prince himself was the author of the account of the siege which bears the name of one of his engineers, and that he considered it one of his greatest achievements.

'The hand which had held the marking-line to trace the attacks is that which took up a pen to describe the siege; it is that, too, which, unshaken under a storm of cannon-shot, shells, and grenades, had more than once traced on the ground the works it sketched on paper. It is the Grand Condé who took Thionville, as it was he who won the battle of Rocroy. These two exploits, so widely different, were, of all his great deeds, those on which he most loved to dwell. The victory of May 19 was the first blossom of his glory; he considered it his masterpiece, and in the last years of his life he took pleasure in retracing its incidents and in describing them. And yet, perhaps, he felt even more pride at the thought that, by his scientific skill and perseverance, he had conquered on the Moselle an outwork of that power of which he had destroyed the legions on the heaths of the Ardennes.'

We turn to glance at the course of events on the eastern theatre of the war in Germany. Guébriant, ill supported in the Regent's council, and with a force comparatively weak, was unable to attempt the concentric movement

towards the Low Countries referred to before; but he made a diversion in Southern Germany in order to detain the enemy in his front, and to prevent him from threatening D'Enghien's army. The marshal advanced from Lake Constance, along the skirts of the Black Forest, and sat down to besiege Rottweil, a fortress upon the heads of the Neckar; his ultimate purpose, probably, being to carry the war into the heart of Bavaria. Here, however, he was completely defeated by that most remarkable chief, Mercy—we have already noticed his rising fame—and the French were compelled to fall back to the Rhine, by the Kinsig, and finally to retreat to the Vosges. Meanwhile D'Enghien had won Rocroy, and gained extraordinary success in the north; and one of the results, as we have said before, was that his father had made, in his name, such extortionate demands for himself and his family, that Mazarin declared he would confer the command of the army in Flanders on Angoulême, a bastard of the extinct House of Valois, and without the least capacity in war. The situation, however, was too difficult to permit an appointment like this to be made; and, after hesitations and disputes at the Louvre, the young prince was directed to march to the aid of Guébriant on the German frontier. The army showed signs of angry resentment at the prospect of a fresh and a winter campaign; but the ascendancy of D'Enghien repressed mutiny, and the two commanders effected the junction of their forces near Strasbourg in the middle of autumn. The prince having set off for Paris, the marshal broke up with the combined army, and, after a daring march through the Black Forest, once more made an attack on Rottweil. The place had fallen by the third week of November; but Guébriant had received his death-wound, and the French, chiefly owing to this irreparable loss, were suddenly involved in a great disaster. They were in cantonments around Tuttlingen, a small town near the springs of the Danube, when Mercy, admirably collecting his forces, surprised his enemy in a state of dispersion, and the defeat was so decisive that the shattered bands were driven in flight beyond the Rhine, and found no refuge until they had attained Alsace. The command of the broken army was ere long conferred on the general who, beyond all Frenchmen, was the most fitted to take the post: Turenne, whose superior strategic gifts, and whose capacity in organising war,* had

* This great quality of Turenne is not generally known, but as an administrator he certainly surpassed Louvois; and to the marshal,

been recently displayed in Italy, was given the direction of affairs on the Rhine.

Turenne devoted seven months of toil to repairing the strength of his beaten forces. He assumed the offensive in June, 1644, and, crossing the Rhine with 10,000 men, defeated one of Mercy's detachments, reinforced the garrison that held Fribourg, and, having tried the mettle and power of his troops, repassed, without loss, the great river. Before long, Mercy had besieged Fribourg with a force probably 20,000 strong,* and with characteristic prudence and skill he traced entrenchments around the fortress, which, with a front overlooking a marshy plain, intersected by the many arms of the Dreisam, on its other side stood out from a region of wooded hills and intricate ravines running into the depths of the Black Forest. Turenne, having crossed the Rhine again, marched from Brisach to the relief of the place, and endeavoured to seize the heights of the Schönberg—a hill to the south-east of Fribourg, the occupation of which might have proved decisive—but a sudden panic fell on his troops, and the French marshal was compelled to fall back,† taking a position, however, on his enemy's flank, and awaiting reinforcements expected from the Rhine. The conqueror of Rocroy, happily for France, was at the head of the army of relief; after long delays and eccentric movements, due to the indecision of the Regent's Council, D'Enghien had at last been despatched to Germany with from 7,000 to 8,000 men, and the prince had joined Turenne by August 2 at Brisach, not many miles from Fribourg. The place had surrendered a few days before, but it was resolved to make an attempt to retake it, and the plan of operations was made by Turenne and accepted at once by his ardent colleague.

The Duc d'Aumale has described with great ability the series of desperate battles that followed, but we have only space to glance at his narrative. By the morning of the 3rd the French were in motion, the project of Turenne being that D'Enghien should storm the Schönberg by a direct attack, while he should himself turn the enemy by the

more than to any single man, was due the efficiency of the armies of Louis XIV.

* Napoleon says 15,000, but the Duc d'Aumale is more probably correct.

† Napoleon blames Turenne for not having done more to interrupt the progress of the siege; but the emperor has probably underrated the strength of Mercy.

right, a force under his own command being advanced along a wooded ravine that lay under the eastern slope of the hill. The engagement began at five in the afternoon; D'Enghien's men marched boldly to win the heights, but these had been fortified with the greatest skill, and a terrible fire burst from the redoubts and batteries, which had been carefully designed by Mercy to protect a position of the first importance. The efforts of the assailants long proved fruitless; the right of the prince was almost destroyed, and a terrible repulse appeared imminent, when a desperate attack led by D'Enghien in person gave the French possession of part of the lines which defended the slope of the fatal eminence. Meanwhile the flank attack of Turenne had failed; his troops, harassed by the difficulties of the ground, and impeded by obstacles placed in their way by a watchful and most intelligent enemy, encountered a fierce and unexpected resistance, and, after a struggle which lasted all night, they had not mastered the far side of the Schönberg.

Day had now dawned, and the French commanders to their astonishment found the heights deserted. Their nimble adversary, under the cover of the night, had disarmed his lines and drawn off his troops; and he now fell back to the Josephberg, a hill almost under the guns of Fribourg. D'Enghien did not stir from his camp on the 4th,* his worn-out force having cruelly suffered, and heavy rains having clogged the ways; and Mercy admirably making use of a delay, which, if necessary, was much in his favour, entrenched himself in his new position. The prince and Turenne attacked next morning with the whole weight of their collected forces; but one of their lieutenants made a false movement; and though the assailants came bravely on, they were defeated after a fierce encounter. D'Enghien next made an effort against Mercy's right; but this, too, in the end failed; and the evening beheld the great German chief still victorious upon the blood-stained hill. The two armies, during the next few days, remained inactive and unable to move—each had lost half its effective force; but on the 9th, probably by Turenne's advice, the prince tried to obtain the success by manœuvring which he had failed to obtain by downright fighting. Defiling towards the north, through the marshes and woods through which the streams of the

* See the masterly and, in our judgement, the conclusive remarks of Napoleon. ('Commentaires,' vol. vi. p. 192, ed. 1867.) The passage is too long to quote.

Dreisam flowed, and keeping Fribourg at a safe distance, the French army reached the Glotterthal, a wide valley which opened a way through the mountains, directly on Mercy's rear; and that able commander, as soon as he found that his communications were in real danger, effected his retreat into the Black Forest.

The prince, in this passage of arms, had displayed tenacity and courage of the highest order. Much, too, as the Duc d'Aumale observes, may be said for his operations as a whole; he probably adopted the plan of Turenne, and made his first effort against the Schönberg, because it would have been extremely dangerous to try to sweep round on Mercy's rear by a flank march to the Glotterthal, through a difficult and intricate country, while that great general had his force intact, and could issue from Fribourg upon his enemy. The project of directly attacking Mercy, and of crippling his army in the first instance, was, therefore, far from mere rash boldness; and D'Enghien showed judgement in giving it up when real success had become improbable, and in moving across the plain of the Dreisam, to attain the vulnerable side of his adversary. Napoleon, however, insists, in his commentary on these operations, that the attacks on the hills, on the 3rd and the 5th, were strategic errors; the French could hardly expect to win, and exposed themselves to a crushing defeat; and we accept the view of the great master that the true way to operate would have been to menace the Glotterthal in the first instance. Be this as it may, the palm of the contest ought certainly to be given to Mercy; his forethought and skill were alike admirable; he had proved that he was a great captain. The ability with which he had made provision for fortifying and defending the Schönberg; his decision and promptitude in withdrawing his shattered army to a new and strong position; the perfect knowledge of the art of the engineer shown in his hastily constructed lines; and the capacity, prudence, and sound judgement of his conduct during the whole of the struggle—all this entitles him to rank among the foremost leaders of the Thirty Years' War.

The next move of the prince on the theatre of war reveals the statesman as well as the soldier; and he is entitled to the largest share of the honour, though the suggestion probably came from Turenne. After the retreat of Mercy, the valley of the Rhine was cleared, to a considerable extent, of foes; and the influence of France, it was already known, was becoming powerful in the great towns on either side of

the historic stream. Instead of delaying to capture Fribourg, D'Enghien made directly for the Upper Rhine; and, having sat down before Philipsbourg, the place surrendered in a few days, owing to the lukewarmness, it is supposed, of the governor. Meanwhile Turenne had marched down the left bank of the Rhine, and the apparition had seemed magical; Worms and Spire sought the protection of France; and, before long, Mayence, where a French party had existed since the beginning of the war, joyfully opened her gates to the marshal. The conciliatory measures and language of the prince contributed powerfully to these conquests, largely due, like those of 1793, to the spread of French ideas and sympathies; and the generosity and moderation of the victorious warrior in not interfering with settled usages, and in abstaining from harsh exactions and pillage—so different from the conduct of the chiefs of the Empire—were the theme of universal admiration and praise. We quote from the just remarks of the Duc d'Aumale:—

‘The glory which surrounded the Duc d'Enghien, the terror inspired by his army, the ardour with which his lieutenants were filled, are not sufficient to explain the rapidity and the ease of his conquests; the wise and judicious policy adopted by him, and which he inspired in those around him, modified the inclinations of many, softened prejudices, and contributed to the disarming of all resistance. Those magistrates, those priests, those functionaries, those traders, who had been accustomed to see armies approach their gates and pass on like destructive torrents, and to behold generals enter their towns to extort ransom without mercy, or to give them up to pillage; those labourers who deserted their fields, and fled with their cattle to the hills at the first sound of the drum and the trumpet—all these admired the stranger prince, who laid on them a light charge only, and maintained his troops in exact discipline. If the Duc d'Enghien always “found corn to be had cheap,” if so many towns opened their gates to him, it was because he knew how to protect the peasant everywhere, to uphold justice at Spire, and commerce at Frankfort and Strasbourg; it was because he appeared, not as the conqueror, but as the guardian of Germany.’

Before the autumn had closed almost all the Palatinate had been occupied by the victorious French. D'Enghien by this time had returned to Paris; and upon this Mercy, with recruited forces, endeavoured to combine his movements with Charles of Lorraine, and to overwhelm the army left under Turenne. That great general, however, was seen at his best when operating against divided enemies; he held firm in the region around the Hardt; and he skilfully baffled both his opponents, who never contrived to effect their junction.

Turenne went into winter quarters at Spires, and in the spring of 1645 marched towards Franconia, in order to join on the Maine the Swedes, who had defeated Gallas in several combats; but he was beaten, with heavy loss, by the illustrious chief, who, in these campaigns, scarcely met an equal. The marshal had advanced to the Tauber, when Mercy suddenly fell on his army, thrown forward dangerously, and all but surprised, and the rout of the French was complete at Mergentheim. Turenne, however, was always great in defeat; he took a position on his enemy's flank, and obtained large reinforcements in Hesse; and Mazarin hastily despatched D'Enghien, with 8,000 men, to the aid of the marshal.

The prince joined his colleague early in July; he burned to avenge the late disaster, and, pushing across the Neckar with a superior force, and disregarding the loss of a Swedish contingent—he had had an angry dispute with its chief—he made at once for the Upper Danube. He was anticipated, however, by his most able adversary, who, skilfully making a rapid march, took a favourable position near Nördlingen, the scene of the great victory of the Cardinal Infant, and made preparation for a stubborn defence. The French were on the spot by August 3, and the spectacle they beheld was sufficient to make even the most confident leader hesitate. The army of Mercy held a line of prodigious strength, covered on either side by the course of the Eger and the Wornitz; the village of Allerheim, strongly fortified, stood like a bastion before the centre; the flanks were protected by two hills and by obstacles of different kinds; and a series of entrenchments ran along the front amidst farms and orchards that formed powerful outposts. It was impossible, therefore, to turn the position, and to attack it in front was hazardous in the extreme; but though Turenne was against the attempt, D'Enghien would take no denial and ordered an attack. The efforts of the French against Mercy's centre, though repeatedly made, altogether failed; they were mowed down by the fire from Allerheim, but Mercy fell as he was about to lead a counter-attack that might have proved decisive, and his troops allowed victory to escape from their grasp. Meanwhile, to the right, a great disaster had overtaken the prince's army; John de Wert had routed the French cavalry and driven them beaten off the field; and though Turenne maintained the fight on the left, and had even gained a good deal of ground, this partial success appeared fruitless. At this crisis the marvellous insight and tenacity

of D'Enghien restored the battle, and seconded by the errors of his foes enabled him to turn defeat into victory. Rallying part of his centre upon his left and making use of his last reserves, he rapidly advanced to join Turenne; and then changing front with the united force—the counterpart of the great stroke at Rocroy—he bore down on the centre of Mercy, which, deprived of its chief and ill-directed, had idly looked on and remained immovable. Had John de Wert, returning from the pursuit, crossed the field and fallen on the prince's flank,* nothing could have saved the French from disaster; but that general failed to seize the occasion, and D'Enghien's inspiration secured his triumph. Outflanked and assailed by a superior enemy, Mercy's centre offered a feeble resistance, a large detachment laid down its arms, and John de Wert, who had succeeded to the command as night fell, saw the battle lost, and was only just able to withdraw from the field the shattered wreck of a brave army which certainly ought to have been victorious.

It is impossible, we believe, to justify the strategy of D'Enghien in this campaign, or his resolution to fight at Nördlingen, and the Duc d'Aumale scarcely touches the subject. The prince and Turenne were baffled by Mercy's march; and as the French army was scarcely superior to its adversaries on August 3—16,000 to 14,000 men, and the Germans were probably better troops†—they could not expect to defeat an enemy in a formidable and well prepared position. All the chances, in fact, were against the prince, and had not Mercy been killed at the critical moment he would probably have won a decisive victory. Nay, even after the fall of that chief, John de Wert ought to have gained the battle. Had he given an impulse to Mercy's centre, had he thrown his horsemen on D'Enghien's line after the discomfiture of the French right, the issue of the day must have been different, and even to the last the defeated army ought to have been able to hold the position. Yet when all this has been justly said, D'Enghien is entitled to the very highest praise for the splendid conception which gave him victory, and for the admirable skill and deter-

* Napoleon says emphatically: 'Malgré la mort de Mercy, la victoire eût encore été aux Bavarois si Jean de Wert, revenant de la poursuite de l'aile droite française, se fût porté contre Turenne.' (Commentaires, vol. vi. p. 262, ed. 1867.)

† See Napoleon, 'Commentaires,' vol. vi. p. 202, ed. 1867.

mined energy exhibited by him in carrying it out. The combination by which he threw part of his centre upon Turenne's left, the enemy in his front remaining passive, and launched the whole mass on his astounded foe, was a master stroke of tactical genius, and, in our judgement, it was even more brilliant than the better-known manœuvre which turned the scale at Rocroy. Napoleon has properly censured the prince for offering battle at Nördlingen, but the Emperor has commended, in befitting language, D'Enghien's conduct in this part of the contest: 'Condé deserved his victory on account of the perseverance and the boldness which marked his genius. If these qualities did not help him in the attack of Allerheim, they caused him, after the defeat of his centre and his right, to begin again the battle with his left, his only unbroken troops. It was he who directed the movements of this wing, and the glory wholly belongs to him. Ordinary observers might say that he ought to have employed this wing, still intact, to cover his retreat, and not to have run such a risk; but on principles like these a general will miss every opportunity of success, and will be continually beaten.'

The Duc d'Aumale pays this just tribute to the great qualities of Mercy in war:—

'This commander, "whom the Prince of Condé and the vigilant Turenne never once surprised in a false movement, and to whom they have rendered this notable testimony, that he never let a favourable opportunity slip, that he never failed to anticipate their plans, as though he had taken part in their counsels"—this general, we say, does not hold that place in history which his capacity and merits have made his due. The man who conducted the offensive movements of Tuttlingen and Mergentheim, who prepared the defensive battles of Fribourg, who withdrew his troops from the defiles of St. Peter, who improvised the defence of Allerheim, who combined the operations of the Bavarian army in 1643, 1644, and 1645, ought to have appeared upon Napoleon's list of masters of war. Why is he so little known, so coldly eulogised? Is it because he was a stranger * to the troops he led, in origin and in language? Or because he perished in a battle won by his antagonist? He was, it seems, very soon forgotten.'

The volumes before us close at this point, and we shall not attempt to forestall a narrative which will describe the career of the Grand Condé in its chequered passages of glory and shame. The hero of the work, as we have said, indisputably was a being of a different type from the merely brilliant figure of other historians. The Duc d'Aumale has, for the

* Mercy was a Lorrainer.

first time, done justice to the precocious genius, to the maturity and the depth of judgement, and to the force of character of the prince in youth; and though the consummate power of the Grand Condé in directing troops in the shock of battle was, we think, his distinctive mark as a warrior, he was in many respects a truly great captain. The Duc d'Aumale thus sums up his exploits in the passages of war we have briefly noticed.

'The annals of war present nothing analogous to these three consecutive campaigns, rich in their fruits, and obscured by no reverses. If, every spring, there is a general change in the theatre and in the actors, whether enemies or friends, nevertheless certain well-defined traits continually are to be discovered in the conduct of the operations: forethought in preparation for the field, vigilance in command, simple, distinct, and judicious conceptions, the accurate execution of strategic combinations, the highest ability in varying tactical movements, boldness, perseverance, sudden and strong inspiration in action, sound judgement, rapid decision, elevation of political views to confirm success, and to make it yield its rewards. These qualities have seldom been found united; such great and different powers have seldom been exercised in so constant and so regular a way. It is possible to blame Louis de Bourbon for his ardour, his impatience, his contempt of natural obstacles, for his habitual disposition to take, as they say, the bull by the horns. As each battle is fought his temerity appears to increase, and the sacrifice of men becomes larger. Yet could he, at a less price, have destroyed the Spanish infantry, and made an end of the Bavarians? Who shall affirm that he could? No matter what efforts he demanded of his troops, he inspired them from the first with a confidence which continually increased. No general has had more devoted soldiers, or has obtained equal sacrifices from his men.'

In concluding an article already long, we shall offer only a single remark. The prominent, nay the subordinate figures on the brilliant canvas of the Duc d'Aumale, almost all belong to the great noblesse of France; Richelieu, Turenne, and Condé were pillars of the State, and raised the monarchy to the highest point of splendour. No such names appear in democratic France, though we do not forget the great powers of Chanzy, or the patriotism of Gambetta; but the magnificent growths of the seventeenth century do not seem to rise from that soil, exhausted by the lava of revolutionary fires, and where all that is noble and rich in promise is nipped by the blasts of popular envy. It is ill with a State, as all history shows, which loses a great aristocratic order. This has been the fortune of modern France: may other nations not present a like example!

ART. X.—1. *England's Duty to Ireland as plain to a Loyal Irish Roman Catholic.* By THOMAS MAGUIRE, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Trinity College, Dublin. (Tenth Thousand.) Dublin: 1886.

2. *Ireland: a Book of Light on Irish Problems.* Edited by ANDREW REID. 8vo. London: 1886.

‘PATRIOTISM and honour forbid it,’ we exclaimed in concluding the last article which appeared in January in this Journal—strong and painful words when applied to a course of policy which apparently commends itself to a section of the Liberal party and to some men whose principles of patriotism and honour are unimpeached. We cannot attempt to reconcile their principles with their conduct or to explain so strange a paradox. But we repeat our conviction that the concession of legislative and administrative independence to Ireland would be a measure disastrous to that country and dishonourable to England, and we abide by the declaration made by Her Majesty the Queen in person from the throne, that she is inflexibly opposed to any measure which may disturb the union of these kingdoms. It is believed that the Address of the House of Commons in answer to the Speech from the Throne responded to this declaration, for Mr. Jesse Collings’s amendment related to another subject and the Address was in other respects unaltered.

We hold it to be as certain as any proposition in arithmetic that the establishment of an independent legislature and administration in Ireland, whether limited or not, would infallibly lead to the separation of the two countries, to an attack on the rights of the Imperial Parliament and the Crown, and that, far from terminating the unhappy relations of the two nations, it would be the prelude to fiercer and more sanguinary contentions between them.

Nor do we stand alone in this opinion. We might invoke, as far as our experience goes, the unanimous opinion of educated men of all parties, except the party of anarchy and destruction, and of every man who has considered the question by the light of reason and of history, whose mind and conduct are not warped and enslaved by the exigencies of party warfare and parliamentary tactics. The true mind of the nation is unhappily not always to be found within the walls of the House of Commons, because the men who sit there cease to be free agents and are led to tamper with their own convictions by the pressure of constituents more ignorant

than themselves, and by the commands of a master. We appeal, therefore, with confidence to the judgement of the country; we might appeal to the judgement of the civilised world. The proposal to expropriate the landowners of Ireland at an enormous cost, and to establish an independent Government in Ireland, has been received with amazement by the nations of Europe, with compassion in the United States, with indignation by the British colonies. It is condemned by the public opinion and the conscience of mankind.

We do not care to repeat in this place the abundant evidence of the opinions entertained by the whole Liberal party on this question for the last fifty years and from a much earlier period, for our object is not to convict men whose characters we esteem of inconsistency and tergiversation. It must be left to them to explain their motives for so sudden and notorious a conversion. But the facts are these. Six months ago no statesman or politician of any weight or authority in the Liberal party had expressed the slightest disposition to concede the demands of the Irish Nationalists. On the contrary, the renewal of the principal clauses of the Crimes Act was held to be a necessity by the most competent and influential members of the last Liberal Cabinet down to the day of its dissolution. Their successors were blamed for not having attempted an impossible task. Emphatic declarations were made that the United Kingdom must be governed by one parliament; that there was no halfway house between absolute imperial authority and total separation; that an alliance with the Parnellites was so foul a disgrace that none but Tories could be capable of so infamous a transaction; and that a government tainted by such an alliance could not stand. Mr. Gladstone has himself described the Irish Nationalist Party as a body of men who 'wish to march through rapine to the disintegration and 'dismemberment of the Empire, and even to the placing of 'different parts of the Empire in direct hostility one with 'the other.' Yet Mr. Gladstone has allied himself to the Parliamentary representatives and leaders of this faction. A shrewd American writer has remarked that, if Mr. Gladstone had been President of the United States in 1861, there would have been no civil war, for Mr. Gladstone would have capitulated to the Southern Confederacy and allied himself to Mr. Jefferson Davis—but the Union would have perished. We choose rather to repeat the vigorous language of the most brilliant and famous of our own contributors, who declared forty years ago that the Repeal of the Union was

‘such a piece of anti-British villainy that none but the bitterest enemy of our blood and people could entertain such a project.’ This was the opinion of the Rev. Sydney Smith; he added that, like the Lord Spencer and the Lord Grey of those days, he preferred even civil war to such a calamity.*

It is difficult to conceive that principles laid down in such plain and peremptory language could be transformed by a sudden apostasy; but it is still more difficult to conceive that the men who avowed these principles should cease to obey them. Such at least has not been the conduct of Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, and several other members of the Liberal party whose names have not reached the public. They refused office on the ground not only of political expediency but of public morality. They sacrificed all personal advantages to their sense of patriotism and honour. The country has not been insensible to their lofty motives and disinterested conduct. And we have the emphatic declaration of Lord Hartington, on March 5, that the question of Home Rule never has been submitted to the Liberal party or accepted by that body, and that it must now be decided by a reference to the fixed principles of the party and not by any surrender to personal influence or opinions. The subsequent withdrawal from the Cabinet of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, after the partial disclosure of Mr. Gladstone's intentions, proves that the leader of the more advanced section of the Liberal party and the late Irish Secretary are not more favourably disposed to the new Irish policy than those gentlemen who refused from the first to connect themselves with a Government bent on so hazardous an experiment, and one so inconsistent with their previous declarations. The immediate result of Mr. Gladstone's return to office, and the proposal of Home Rule in Ireland, has been the division of the Liberal party into four sections—the Whigs, the Radicals, the followers of Mr. Gladstone, and the followers of Mr. Parnell—the two former sections being opposed to Home Rule and the two last in favour of it. It deserves to be remembered that *nine* members of the Cabinet have seceded from the Government of Mr. Gladstone since its formation in 1880. These states-

* This passage occurs in one of the last works of the patriotic Canon—a pamphlet in which he warmly advocated the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, whose claims he had defended with so much humour and eloquence in earlier times.

men are the true representatives of the Liberal party in a far higher sense than those of their colleagues who have clung to office; and it is to them we look to restore the union of the party by the ascendancy of its legitimate policy and principles.

The question of Home Rule was studiously eliminated from electoral addresses, except to denounce it. It formed no part of the well-known address of Mr. Gladstone to the electors of Midlothian. It was not submitted to the electors of Great Britain, though it was the sole test of the opinions of the electors of Ireland. Not till after the election was any sign given of the impending change of front, when it had become apparent that the Liberal majority in Britain was not sufficiently numerous or compact to resist a band of eighty-three Irish Nationalists. Then, at first in ambiguous glimpses, a new light seemed to break upon the leader of the Liberal Opposition, and his return to office was secured by the Irish vote. No new events, no new arguments, have as yet conveyed to our mind the reasons by which such a change of policy can be explained or defended. If the principles on which the integrity of the United Kingdom and the supreme authority of Parliament have hitherto been maintained are sound, those principles are unchanged. They stand, in our judgement, on the immutable basis of truth and honour, and any departure from them is a step on the path to disaster and ruin.

For what is Home Rule? The expression is a vague one, but we are told by Mr. Parnell that it means the legislative and administrative independence of Ireland, and Mr. Parnell has always avowed his object with consistency and frankness. There may be gradations in such a scheme, but the mere nominal recognition of the sovereignty of the Crown would reduce the relation of Ireland to Great Britain to the condition of Hanover, when it formed part of the dominions of British sovereigns. Legislative independence means that the laws of Ireland should be made by a representative assembly of Irishmen sitting in Dublin, and that the acts of the Imperial Parliament should cease to bind *proprio vigore* the people of Ireland. It appears from Mr. Parnell's declaration at Castlebar on November 4 last that he is perfectly aware that the first condition of the legislative power and independence of Ireland is that it should be exercised '*free from outside control*,' in other words, without being subject to the laws of Britain, and that no concession short of this will be accepted by him and his followers. There cannot be

two parliaments, both supreme; or one parliament controlling the acts of another. Administrative independence means that the Irish executive should be purely Irish, the chief offices of state being filled by members having the confidence of the Irish Parliament, the whole patronage of the country, including the appointment of all the subordinate officers of government, being at their disposal, and all authority being exercised by them and their followers. The judges of the High Court and of Appeal, the county judges, the magistrates, the police, and the revenue officers would all owe their appointments to the same authority. It would be impossible to divide the executive functions between an imperial and a local establishment, and if any part of the imperial revenue were still raised in Ireland, it must be in the form of a payment of fixed amount, for which the Irish Government would be responsible. This of course involves the gradual expulsion from the public service of those who may not share the opinions of the Nationalists, and the distribution amongst themselves of the spoils of a conquered kingdom. Father Brehan exclaims in his elegant language, 'From the topmost to the bottomest man, we'll have in a 'man of our own.' The British Government, having no voice in the legislation of Ireland and no executive power, could not be required to lend any portion of its forces to support an alien authority, and would cease for Irish purposes to have any existence. It is absurd to suppose that a British army could be maintained in Ireland on such conditions, for the army must be subject to the authority of the Government of the country; and on the other hand the independent legislature and administration of Ireland could not be carried on surrounded by an army of what would be regarded by the Nationalists as alien troops. Their first act would be to organise the police as an Irish military force, and to revive the fatal institution of the Irish Volunteers.

Mr. Parnell and his confederates urge these prodigious claims on the ground that they represent the Irish nation, because the Irish electors have sent a large majority of Nationalists to represent them in the House of Commons. That assumption is the basis of the whole fabric, and we say without hesitation that the statement is untrue. The Irish majority represents the numerical power of the Catholic electorate in the least educated portion of the country, but it represents nothing else. No Irishman of station, property, political experience, or high character has ever joined Mr. Parnell or his league, which utterly differs in this respect

from the great movement of 1782, with Grattan, Flood, and Curran for its orators, and men like the Duke of Leinster, Lord Charlemont, and Lord Moira for its champions; and it differs, though in a less degree, from the followers of O'Connell, who formed a considerable party in Irish society. But at present the Nationalist cause is strongly opposed by the whole landed interest, by the whole trading interest represented by the Chambers of Commerce, by the whole Protestant population, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, represented by the diocesan Synods of the Church of Ireland and the General Assembly of Ulster, by the whole of the professional classes, including the judges and magistrates, and all who are concerned in the administration of the laws, and by all the intelligence of the island. The loyalists amount to at least one third of the whole population of Ireland, combining many liberal and enlightened Catholics with the Protestants of the North. All these men are convinced that to abandon their country and their interests to a Parliament nominated by Mr. Parnell and elected under the eyes of the priests and the League would simply consign them to anarchy and ruin. They would resist, and they would justly resist, such a tyranny; and it is impossible to conceive that, without ineffable dishonour, the sympathy and support of Great Britain would fail them in such a struggle.

We say then that the Nationalist League does not represent the Irish nation, whose name it has usurped. The people are terrorised by acts of cruelty and violence which they dare not resist, and which are accomplished by a detestable alliance between crime and superstition. The upper classes, with all that concerns the dignity, the commercial activity, the administration of justice, and the prosperity of a nation, are paralysed and threatened with extermination. Even down to the class of retail tradesmen, ruin follows in the track of the League, for they cannot exist if those by whom they live are annihilated. As long as this self-constituted power exists and prevails, the dissolution of society will go on. It would be more rapid and complete if the members of the National League ever became the recognised rulers of the country. The plain truth is, as we have said for the last five years, that nothing will be done to restore peace and order in Ireland until the National League itself is conquered and suppressed by the authority of the law. This agitation has shaken the very idea of property in Ireland and destroyed the principle of

obligation to legal engagements. But these are the bases of civilisation and society, and until their authority is restored the country is lapsing into barbarism. It is impossible to contend that a party which is elected exclusively by the poorest, the most benighted, the most priestridden, the most dependent and deluded portion of the population, represents the Irish nation. As well might it be said that the proletariat of Bethnal Green, Stepney, and Whitechapel represents the capital of the British Empire. The Irish nation has, or has had, nobler elements and nobler aspirations than these. What is the condition and character of a party which rests entirely upon the support of the least cultivated or capable classes? What is the destiny of a government which owes its existence to a party resting on no other basis?

If the people of Ireland were a united nation, it is conceivable that their demand for autonomy would have weight, as it undoubtedly had in 1782, when the claims of Ireland were urged with the eloquence of Mr. Grattan and supported by a large proportion of the intelligence and influence of all classes, and backed by the serried ranks of the Irish Volunteers, in which men of both forms of religion and of all parts of the island joined. But it is notorious, for the reasons we have already given, that Mr. Parnell and his associates have no right to speak on behalf of the whole people of Ireland. It is absurd to negotiate with them as the representatives of a large body of men from whom they hold no commission. They represent a numerical majority of the peasantry of Ireland, over whom their ascendancy has been acquired by questionable means. Concessions which would be acceptable to Mr. Parnell, because they would place supreme power in his hands, would be repudiated and resisted by Ulster, by the Protestants throughout Ireland, and by all those who regard severance from England as a fatal blow to their property, their faith, and even their personal safety. The bitterest enemies of Irish autonomy are to be found amongst the Irish themselves, and the educated classes would oppose it as an unworthy abandonment by England of all that enables them to exist as freemen, sharing in the liberties of a great empire, as long as they are protected by the supremacy of the British Parliament and Constitution. There are now but two parties in Ireland, those who are loyal to the British Crown and Parliament and those who are not. Can any British statesman, can any Englishman combine with the avowed opponents and enemies of his own country?

But not only is it demonstrable that the National League and the Irish majority do not represent the Irish nation, and are repudiated and detested by all that is respected in Ireland, but we may go further: what they do in reality represent is a conspiracy organised in foreign countries, supplied with funds from foreign sources, directed by men who are fugitives from justice and outlaws from their native land. It has been repeatedly admitted by Mr. Parnell that, without the constant flow of remittances from the Irish Americans, the agitation could not be carried on, and we doubt whether these Irish representatives could subsist at all on the pittance they might wring from their own countrymen at home. It is not the interest or intention of these agitators that disorder and crime should cease in Ireland. On the contrary, they live by these excesses, and they look forward to the ultimate triumph of their cause for a more tangible reward. The ultimate object of the leaders of the National League is to get possession of the entire government of the country by legislation in a Parliament named by themselves, and by the exclusive command of the executive power. They would then acquire by a species of legality that despotic authority which they exercise at present in defiance of the law. They would employ their power to crush their opponents, to seize the land, to distribute it among their adherents, to appropriate the resources of the country, to exterminate the upper classes whom they denounce as 'landlords,' and to establish the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic faith. But they would not be left in uncontested enjoyment of the fruits of their victory. The American Irish, or at least the political leaders amongst them, have made large sacrifices to their cause, of which they have been the most active promoters, and they have not laboured exclusively for others. They would return in considerable numbers to Ireland, which is to be regenerated by their efforts. The outlaws and the convicts of past times would flock from Chicago and New York, to gratify still more their undying hatred of England, and they would bring with them the opinions and impressions of their American experience. The traditions of the British monarchy are hateful to them, and ere long they would demand complete separation under the flag of an Irish Republic. Very probably these revolutionists and republicans of a new stamp in Europe would sweep away the more moderate partisans of Irish independence, and we should see established within a few miles of the British coast a people contending for republican government, to which in Ireland

no effectual resistance could be made except in Ulster, and acting with a dangerous sympathetic power on the large masses of Irish voters in our own great towns. To concede legislative and executive independence to Ireland is to open the door to revolution. This, it appears to us, is the probable and natural course of events which may be anticipated if the English people or any English ministry were insane enough to abdicate and abolish that just and necessary control which the laws and constitution of the United Kingdom have placed in our hands for the repression of treason and rebellion in all parts of the Queen's dominions. To give the Irish Nationalists an independent autonomy is to give them power, and to give them a power they will use against ourselves.

It will very likely be contended that the measures contemplated by the Government do not amount to a Repeal of the Union at all, and are designed to strengthen, not to impair, the connexion between the two countries. That assertion was made in 1782; unfounded as it was then, it is more unfounded now. The third article of the Act of Union stands in these brief and peremptory words :

‘That it be the third article of Union that the said United Kingdom be represented in ONE AND THE SAME PARLIAMENT to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.’

That is the pith of the whole matter. To establish any sort of legislative Assembly in Dublin, that article must be repealed, and if it be repealed the Union is dissolved.

In all the numerous rebellions we have had to encounter and to quell in Ireland, the main support of the Irish revolutionary party has been derived from some foreign country. In the sixteenth century, during the contest with Spain, it was to Spain that the Irish Catholics looked for assistance. In the seventeenth century, after the massacre and the rising of 1641 which baffled the loyalty of Ormond, they installed an Italian legate as their chief, and drew down on themselves the heavy hand of Cromwell. In the latter part of that century they looked to Louis XIV. and the French fleet to maintain James II. on the Irish throne. Was the battle of the Boyne fought in vain by the Great Deliverer? Are the siege and relief of Derry to be forgotten? Those were triumphs over Irish nationalism backed by a French invasion. For a century the land had peace under the severe restrictions of the penal laws; but when these had been relaxed and a larger measure of independence conceded to the Irish Parliament, it was to the French Directory, to the

principles of the French Revolution, that Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald flew for encouragement. They were in active communication with the open enemies of England, and the rebellion of 1798 was the result. Even the paltry fanatics who followed Smith O'Brien in 1848 appealed at once to the Provisional Government in Paris. The same thing is passing before our eyes. It is not to Spain, it is not to France, it is to America, or rather to the Irish population of the United States, that these Nationalists look for support. Thence they draw their supplies of money; thence they receive the dynamite directed against our towns and the miscreants who use it; thence in due time they expect to obtain more formidable and active allies; and it will not be their fault if they do not succeed in embroiling us in a quarrel with a great people otherwise friendly to ourselves and attached to us by the closest ties.

There are some at least among the advanced guard of English Liberal politicians, who have not always concealed their repulican opinions, and among the Irish the *uncrowned* harp has become the notorious symbol of Irish liberty. If the door be opened, the Irish Republic is behind it, and if republican institutions are ever established in Ireland a large step would be made towards the overthrow of the monarchy in Great Britain. No doubt this sinister speculation has attractions for some of the Radical supporters of Home Rule, and Sir Henry James was amply justified in his declaration that this conspiracy is directed not only against England but against the throne.

The legislative and executive independence of Ireland is no new thing. Twice within the last two centuries (not to speak of earlier troubles) the experiment has been tried, at an interval of about a hundred years, and we know the result. It will be curious if the close of another century witnesses a return of the follies and crimes of 1689 and 1798. These events are well known to every reader of history, but they are so instructive and appropriate at the present moment that we may be pardoned for dwelling upon them with some minuteness.

When James II. forfeited the crown of England and Scotland, chiefly by his bigoted attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, that circumstance only endeared him the more to his Irish subjects of the Catholic faith. Indeed, long before his abdication, the government of Ireland had been placed in the hands of Tyrconnel, who had succeeded in raising an army of 30,000 men chiefly commanded by

Catholic officers, and who had displaced as much as possible the Protestant servants of the Crown. These measures excited the greatest alarm among the Protestants of Ulster, who anticipated a renewal of the horrors which the preceding generation had witnessed forty years before. Thus, when the king ceased to reign in Great Britain, he still conceived himself to be *de facto* as well as *de jure* the king of Ireland, and he was regarded as such by the Irish people. William of Orange might be placed on the throne by the English Parliament and by the Scotch Presbyterians, but no such revolution had been made or accepted by the Parliament of Ireland. The disunion of the kingdoms was complete. The independence of Ireland was absolute, for she had not only a legislature but a king of her own, whose hereditary right to the throne was better than that of his opponent. Such was the state of Ireland when King James landed at Kinsale on March 12, 1689, from a French ship, accompanied by 5,000 French troops, and proceeded by slow marches to Cork and Dublin, where he was received with acclamation by the people. The Host was borne in procession and publicly adored by the king. James had undoubtedly in his favour not only a valid title to the crown, but the loyal support of the vast majority of the Irish people. Were these sufficient grounds to establish and recognise the independence of Ireland? William and Mary had been proclaimed in some of the north-eastern towns; but the Northern Irish saw with dismay that their cause was hopeless without the support of England. They had failed to reduce Carrickfergus. A proclamation of Tyrconnel ordered them to lay down their arms and dissolve their assemblies. They abandoned Newry, they were defeated at Dromore. Many of them fled the country. A remnant of about 4,000 men fell back on Enniskillen and Derry as their last refuge.

From March 12, 1689, to July 1, 1690, when the battle of the Boyne was fought, James II. undoubtedly reigned in Ireland as the sovereign of an independent kingdom; and that is the only period of Irish history when Ireland had a king or an independent existence of her own. It was scarcely possible to have a worse sovereign, but even the sovereign was better than the national Parliament which he convoked soon after his arrival in Dublin. That Parliament consisted, says Leland, 'of a number of new popish lords in the Upper House, and several whose outlawries were reversed, which gave a weight to their party which could

'not be balanced by four or five Protestant lords still remaining in the kingdom and three prelates summoned by writ to this assembly. The Commons were almost entirely composed of men named by Tyrconnel, returned from such counties as were subject to his power or such corporations as he had previously remodelled.'* The lesson has not been lost on Tyrconnel's successors. The first acts of this Parliament were the repeal of the Act of Settlement and the confiscation of the estates of all those who did not acknowledge King James. Thus every Protestant in Ireland who could write was deprived of his estate. They then proceeded to attain all Irishmen resident in Great Britain who did not return to their allegiance to the king, and they were made liable to suffer the penalties of death and forfeiture without pardon. Two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons of all orders and conditions were included in this dreadful sentence.† James himself was opposed to these violent measures, because he foresaw that they would defeat his ultimate object of reconquering Scotland and England after he had established his power in Ireland; but he was too weak to prevent them. He resisted the repeal of Poynings's law, and seemed even then to remember that he had been king of England. But his own actions were equally oppressive and absurd. Money was wanting, and he debased the currency by the issue of brass coin, which was to be received in all payments; and at this very time D'Avaux relates that he was treating with French traders for the export of wool on terms profitable to his own purse. It is needless to follow the revolting details of that period of misgovernment; suffice it to say that the country was reduced to a degree of poverty and literal starvation, which caused William of Orange to be hailed as a deliverer even by those who had been his fiercest enemies.

The first act of the Irish Parliament convoked under William III. on the restoration of peace was to declare in the most solemn and emphatic language that

'This kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom is declared to be justly and rightfully depending upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the same, and the kings and queens of England are by undoubted right kings and queens of this realm.'

'Whence it followed that this act of recognition of King William

* Leland's 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 356.

† Ibid. p. 539.

and Queen Mary, publicly and unanimously owning and asserting the faith and allegiance of the Irish Parliament to their Majesties, should remain to all posterity as a memorial amongst the records of the kingdom.'

'And again by an Act of the 7th William and Mary, cap. iii., it was enacted that since the happy accession of their Majesties to the imperial crown of England, whereunto the kingdom of Ireland is inseparably annexed, united, and belonging, no Parliament could or ought to be holden within this kingdom, unless by their Majesties' authority; therefore the Parliament of 1689, summoned by King James, and all its acts, was declared to be annulled.'

These we take to be fundamental laws of the realm. The title of the Queen to govern Ireland rests upon them. She is Queen of Ireland because she is Queen of Great Britain, with which Ireland is inseparably united. Repeal the Union, dissolve the connexion, concede legislative independence to Ireland, and you destroy the mainstay of Irish allegiance, and the very existence of the monarchy in Ireland would be challenged, attacked, and impugned. On the discussion of the Regency Bill in 1789, Fitzgibbon moved in the House of Commons that the Act of William III. be read, because the House was at that moment on the point of placing the regency of Ireland in the hands of the Prince of Wales on terms differing from those imposed by the British Government. By a parity of reasoning the Irish Parliament might have appointed any other person to the office. To touch the inseparable link of union was to touch the succession to the crown.

We now pass from the stormy period which marked the close of the seventeenth century and led to the first real conquest of Ireland and the establishment of British supremacy over the island to times less remote and to events which bear more directly on the political questions of the present day. The year 1780 was one of the darkest moments of our history. The American war was reaching its inglorious termination; our colonial empire was rent asunder; Great Britain was at war with France, Spain, and Holland; the Empress of Russia had placed herself at the head of a hostile league of the maritime powers, and the forces of Great Britain by land and sea were reduced to exhaustion by these overwhelming contests. The depression of England was therefore regarded as the opportunity of Ireland, and, strangely enough, it was the Protestant parliamentary chiefs who took the leading part in asserting her claims to national independence. The Irish Volunteers were raised to a formidable army for the defence of the country,

though the force so raised might be applied to other objects. The debates in the Irish House of Commons became more and more turbulent and aggressive. Poynings's Act was attacked; the Mutiny Bill was limited by a biennial clause; the Lord Lieutenant was powerless. Then it was that Grattan, in April, 1780, moved his two famous resolutions that: '1. The king, with the consent of the Parliament of Ireland, was alone competent to enact laws to bind Ireland. 2. Great Britain and Ireland were indissolubly united, but only under the tie of a common sovereign.' Besides the Attorney-General and Fitzgibbon no member rose to defend the legislative authority of England, but the House adjourned without a division. We pass over the increasing agitation of the two following years, during which the Volunteers of Dublin and of Ireland assembled in large numbers to dictate the policy of their country and to overrule their own parliamentary representatives. On February 22, 1782, Grattan renewed his motion in a still more definite form, stating that the 'subjects of this kingdom (Ireland) cannot be bound, affected, or obliged by any legislature, save only by the King, Lords, and Commons of the realm of Ireland; nor is there any other body of men who have power or authority to make laws for the same. In this privilege is contained the essence of their liberty, and they accordingly have with one voice declared against the interposition of any other Parliament in the legislation of this country.' This address was opposed by the Attorney-General, Scott (afterwards Lord Clonmell), inasmuch as it would shake all the property in the nation, and that the imperial crown of Ireland (*sic*) was appendant to the crown of England. The address was rejected by 137 to 68 votes. But a similar declaration was carried unanimously in April after the accession of the Rockingham Administration; for the Ministers of the Crown were satisfied that they had no means of resistance, and Mr. Fox soon afterwards intimated that they were prepared to go to the furthest limits of concession—further, indeed, than Mr. Fox himself thought wise or justifiable. The representatives of 143 corps of Irish Volunteers met in convention at Dungannon in the same month, and passed resolutions that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; and that the power exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms under the law of Poynings is unconstitutional and a grievance.

It is a matter of some historical and political interest to point out the precise manner in which the Irish Parliament, called by a misnomer 'Grattan's Parliament,' obtained its legislative independence in 1782, the more so as the nature and extent of the concession are sometimes misunderstood. The Irish Parliament was already in existence; there was no question of calling such a body into life. Such as it was before 1782 it continued to be down to the Union, unreformed and unaltered in its constitution. But its powers, which had before been limited and subordinate, were largely extended, though not so largely (as we shall presently show) as is commonly supposed.

The statute which mainly galled the patriotism of the Irish National party was the Act of 6 George I. cap. 5, entitled 'An Act for the better securing the dependency of 'the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain.' This Act declared in express terms that 'the kingdom of 'Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent on the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to 'make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to 'bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.' This was the stringent law which was repealed upon the motion made by Mr. Fox on May 18, 1782. Mr. Eden, who had been Irish Secretary under the Lord-Lieutenancy of Lord Carlisle, rose, immediately on his return to the House of Commons, to anticipate the decision of the Rockingham Cabinet by repealing the 6th George I. His conversion had been as rapid as some we have recently witnessed. Mr. Fox indignantly denounced the impropriety of such a motion, which he said was one 'for immediately abandoning the supremacy of 'this country and disuniting England from Ireland by a 'single stroke. It was a declaration of unqualified submission on the part of Great Britain, and a direct 'relinquishment of her dearest and most valuable rights.' But within a few days Mr. Fox himself proposed the repeal of the obnoxious statute, the truth being that England had not at that time the military means to resist the demands of 100,000 Irishmen in arms. The Parliament of Ireland sprang from its subordinate condition into legislative independence, and the Parliament of Great Britain renounced

the right 'to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.' Hitherto the practice had been to transmit all the bills passed by the Irish Parliament to England to be considered, approved, altered, or disallowed by a committee of the English Privy Council, as is still the case with the Acts of the colonial and subordinate legislatures of the Empire.

By the arrangements made in 1782, whilst the Irish House of Commons became entirely national and independent, the Executive Government of Ireland remained British. The Lord Lieutenant was the agent of the British Ministry, from whom he took his instructions; the Irish Ministers were his officers, and were not subject to the pleasure of the Commons. By the admission of Mr. Foster, once Speaker of the Irish House, and afterwards an opponent of the Union, *such a state of things could not go on*. Mr. Pitt remarked in his speech of January 31, 1799, that the royal assent to Irish Acts of Parliament was signified under the seal of *Great Britain*, and upon the advice of *British* Ministers. In Great Britain the royal veto is obsolete, because a case can hardly arise in which a bill, not proposed or accepted by the Ministers of the Crown, should be carried; if such a measure were carried, the Ministry would fall. But in Ireland, before the Union, and to this day in some of the colonies, bills or acts might be passed which the British Ministers would be obliged to regard as inconsistent with the prerogative of the Crown, and injurious to the interests of the empire. In such cases it is their duty to advise the Crown to disallow such measures, as was occasionally done to Irish Acts, and may still be done in the colonies. The power of withholding the Royal assent from the acts of subordinate legislatures involves a power to make the modification of such measures a condition of their ultimate approval; and although this controlling power is rarely exercised, its existence is of the utmost importance to the unity of the empire.

The Irish Parliament was not slow to respond to the concession it had obtained by a formal declaration of its own powers, in the form of an Act to regulate the passing of bills, and to transfer the final right of appeal to the Irish House of Lords. The terms of this Act are highly significant, and deserve to be remembered. It enacted—

'That the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors and council of this kingdom, for the time being, do and shall certify all such bills, and none other, as both Houses of Parliament shall judge expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his Majesty, his heirs, and

successors, under the great seal of this kingdom, without addition, diminution, or addition.

‘II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that all such Bills as shall be so certified to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, under the great seal of this kingdom, *and returned into the same under the great seal of Great Britain, without addition, diminution, or alteration, and none other*, shall pass in the Parliament of this kingdom, any former law, statute, or usage to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.’

This bill was introduced on January 2, 1783, by Mr. Secretary Townsend for the express purpose of removing doubts concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature. It was passed unanimously. Until this bill became law the measures which were said to have given Ireland a constitution consisted simply in the repeal of Poyning's Act and the Act of 6 George I.

The Irish Parliament itself had not entirely understood the effect of the clause in this Act which required that their bills should be returned into Ireland under the great seal of Great Britain; and they were startled and exasperated when reminded of it by Mr. Fitzgibbon on the occasion of the Regency Bill in 1789, when he said, ‘You can pass no Act without certifying it into England, and having it returned with the great seal of that kingdom.’ ‘Not Shylock when he heard Portia interpret the law of Venice,’ says Mr. Froude, ‘was more astonished than Mr. Grattan when he learnt the value to Ireland of the Constitution of 1782.’* But, in fact, this was the form in which the assent of the Crown was conveyed and the veto of the Crown might be exercised. Indeed, the old practice of the submission of Irish bills to the English Privy Council for the purpose of obtaining the Royal assent still persisted, although this usage appears to have escaped the knowledge or notice of Irish historians. Thus, on February 1, 1785, it was ordered by the King in Council that a committee of thirteen members of the Privy Council, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the great officers of state, and Mr. Pitt (but no Irish Privy Councillor or peer), or any three of them, should be appointed a committee to consider the bills which shall be transmitted from Ireland during the present session of Parliament, together with the reports to be made there-

* See Froude's ‘English in Ireland,’ vol. ii. p. 501.

upon by her Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and all petitions relating thereto. And, by an order of the same date, it was directed that the Attorney and Solicitor-General (of England) should examine and report upon all bills transmitted from Ireland, and the letters from the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland accompanying the said bills, together with such petitions as shall be referred to them by the Lords' committee.

These references were not a mere matter of form. On March 7 twenty-three Irish bills were referred to the law officers. One of them related to the duties payable on the importation of sugar; it was pointed out that this bill was inconsistent with the lower duties imposed by several English Acts of Parliament, although the duties ought to be equal, and that the high duties imposed by the Irish bill amounted to a prohibition of that description of sugar. But as there was no time to correct the mistake, their lordships allowed the bill to be returned, hoping that the error would be remedied by a short bill in the next session of Parliament. There are other cases in which bills were 'respite'd' upon the advice of the lords of the Council. In most cases they were of course approved, but the form in which the royal assent was conveyed is significant. It was as follows:—

'It is this day ordered by his Majesty in Council that the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain do cause to be forthwith passed under the great seal of Great Britain certain bills lately certified under the great seal of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, unto his Majesty, by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that kingdom, which have been approved at this Board; [here followed the titles of the bills], together with commissions to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland containing his Majesty's royal approbation of the bills annexed to the said commissions, and that the same are returned into his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland under the great seal of his kingdom of Great Britain, and that his Majesty's pleasure and commandment is that in the said Parliament begun, holden, and continued within his Majesty's said kingdom of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland do give and declare his Majesty's royal assent to the said bills by virtue of the said commissions; and his lordship is to cause duplicates of the said bills and commissions to be passed under the great seal.'

There are numerous entries of a similar character in the books of the English Council at the conclusion of each session of the Irish Parliament when the bills were sent over to be considered by the Privy Council and returned under the great seal of England. It appears, therefore, that the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament was still under the control of the Privy Council and the law

officers, and in point of fact some of the bills were not returned. Thus a bill for granting bounties on the manufacture of gunpowder was detained for various reasons set forth in a minute, and the Lord Lieutenant was recommended to have it altered (May 27, 1785). In like manner the important Act of the Irish Parliament, entitled 'An Act 'for preventing doubts concerning the Parliament, Privy 'Council, and Officers, civil and military, on the demise of 'the Crown,' was respited, and not returned to Ireland. The cases we have quoted are from the year 1785, but similar proceedings were taken in each year during the existence of 'Grattan's Parliament.' They appear not to have been understood by previous writers on the subject, and indeed they would seem to be at variance with the terms of the enactments above referred to.

The repeal of the Act 6 George I., and the declaratory Irish Act of 1783, were followed by an Act of the British Parliament (23 George III. cap. 28) for removing all doubts concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any appeal from any Irish court to any court in Great Britain. This Act declared and enacted that 'the 'right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by 'laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland, 'in all cases whatever, and to have all suits at law decided 'in the Irish courts finally, and without appeal from thence, 'shall be established and ascertained for ever, and shall at 'no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.'

A second clause abolished the right of appeal from the Irish courts to the House of Lords in England.

It will be observed that the effect of these Acts was not only to concede to Ireland the right of legislating for her own affairs, but to provide that Ireland should *not be bound by the Acts of the Imperial Parliament*, and not subject to the final decision of an Imperial Court of Appeal. No such concessions have ever been made to any colony in which constitutional government has been established.

The distinction between the authority of the colonial legislatures and the rights claimed by the Irish Parliament deserves to be clearly pointed out. An Imperial Act passed in 1778 declared that the King and Parliament of Great Britain would not impose any duty, tax, or assessment for the purpose of raising a revenue in any of the colonies. This Act, with its limitations, is 'still to be regarded,' says Mr. Todd, 'as embodying the constitutional assertion of the

'supreme authority which is exercisable by the Imperial Parliament over all the Queen's dominions, notwithstanding they may be in possession of local legislatures with powers for local self-government. The colonial possessions of the British Crown, however acquired, and whatever may be their political constitution, are subject at all periods of their existence to the legislative control of the Imperial Parliament.*' In 1865 an Act was passed to remove doubts as to the validity of colonial laws (28 & 29 Vict. cap. 63), which provided that any act of a colonial legislature which should be in any respect repugnant to the provisions of any Acts of the Imperial Parliament, should be, to the extent of such repugnancy, void and inoperative.

Thus it appears that the conditions under which the colonial legislatures exist offer no analogy at all to what the Irish Parliament of 1782 was, or to what the Irish Nationalists now demand. The colonial legislatures are the creation of Imperial statutes; their powers are regulated and limited by those statutes; their very existence may be suspended or extinguished, as has been the case in Jamaica in 1866. But Grattan asserted and obtained the absolute supremacy and independence of an Irish Parliament, subject only to the assent of the Crown. 'I would not accept Magna Charta itself,' he exclaimed in his hyperbolical language, 'if it came to me in the shape of a British statute.' Thus it is evident that the concession of a local assembly to conduct the affairs of Ireland, subject to the restraints and conditions which exist in the colonies, and to the supreme control of the Imperial Parliament, would altogether fall short of the demands of Mr. Parnell. If such a local assembly were in existence, a conflict would immediately ensue between the policy which such a body would seek to adopt and the authority of the Imperial Parliament and the Executive Government of Great Britain.

It must also be observed that all the decisions of the colonial courts are subject to appeal to the Queen in Council. The transfer of the right of appeal to the Irish House of Lords was one of the points most insisted on by the patriots,

* See Todd's 'Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies,' p. 172, and also p. 463, where the whole subject of the relations of the colonial legislatures to the Imperial Parliament is discussed with great learning and ability. Mr. Todd is himself a Canadian, and no writer has done more to elucidate the relations of the mother country to its various dependencies and to explain the complicated structure of the British Empire.

and it was conceded. Unhappily a case occurred within a few years in which an Irish peer sold his vote on a lawsuit, for which he was fined and dismissed the service of the House. This question of the transfer of the ultimate jurisdiction on appeals would of course again arise, and the consequence would be that all the rights of the people in Ireland, and of Englishmen connected with Ireland, would be subjected to the absolute control of such a judicial body as it might please Mr. Parnell and his associates to create.

It may be worth while to notice briefly the peculiar and embarrassing effect which the legislative independence of Ireland would produce on the foreign relations of the Crown. Foreign States would have no cognisance of the Irish Government, and could only continue in relation with that of Great Britain; but there are numerous treaties, conventions, and agreements with foreign powers, especially those relating to trade and property, which require an Act of Parliament to give effect to them, and are inoperative without it. Bearing in mind the fundamental principle of Irish legislative independence, that Ireland is not bound by the Acts of the British Parliament, it is evident that the operation of such treaties would be subjected to the control of a second legislature sitting in Dublin, and the treaty-making power of the Crown abridged. The relations of Ireland with any foreign state must of course be conducted exclusively by the Foreign Department of the British Government, and all other intercourse with States in Europe or America would be clandestine and irregular. But if difficulties of this nature would probably arise in the ordinary conduct of foreign affairs in time of peace, difficulties of a far graver and more perilous character would occur in the event of war. The Irish National party have lost no opportunity of proclaiming their cordial sympathy with the enemies of Great Britain. To them even Osman Digma and the Mahdi were welcome allies. If this country were unhappily engaged in serious hostilities with any foreign power, we are warned beforehand of the part the Irish Nationalists would take in the quarrel; and if that power were American, we should have the Irish Americans in arms at our gates under the protection of an Irish House of Commons.*

* That sound Whig historian of the reign of George III., the late Mr. Massey, observes (vol. iii. p. 91) that 'though the case of Ireland and the case of America were parallel in principle, there was a distinction of such practical weight, as must ever prevent the theory of

It would be superfluous in this place to attempt a narrative of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament from 1782 to 1800. They have been related with characteristic animation and truth by Mr. Froude in his 'English in Ireland'—a book which we would earnestly recommend at the present crisis to all who are interested in this perplexing problem of Irish government. Mr. Lecky, who takes a more favourable view of the dawn of Irish independence, declares that 'after a long winter of oppression and misery the sunlight of hope shone brightly on Ireland, and a new spirit of patriotism and self-reliance began to animate her people. Nor had her loyalty to England ever shown itself more loyal or more efficacious. The intellect, the property, the respectability of the country still led the popular movement, and as long as this continued no serious disloyalty was to be apprehended.'*

No doubt these sentiments were shared by Burke, and by the wisest and best statesmen of the time in both countries. But the more sober record of history and experience shows how far the result fell short of these generous aspirations. It is more easy to describe the proceedings of the Irish Parliament by negatives than by any enumeration of its measures. It did not reform itself, but remained to the last a corrupt and exclusive body, one third of which was returned by the Castle and the prelates or great families of Ireland, and the remainder were profoundly venal, turbulent, and profligate. It was animated by an almost insane jealousy of England, insomuch that one of its first acts was to reject Mr. Pitt's enlightened commercial proposals which would have opened to the country a full commercial partnership with Great Britain. It did not restore peace and order in the provinces. The Whiteboys and Peep-o'-day boys broke out in the mountains of Kerry; Police Bills and Insurrec-

'Irish independence from being carried into effect. America, at the distance of three thousand miles, might be suffered to pass what laws she pleased without endangering the safety of the British Islands; but Ireland, separated from this country only by a narrow channel, with an independent legislature and a regular army under the control of her Parliament, must, in the event of civil commotion or foreign war, become a dangerous neighbour. This difficulty has been apparent to every English statesman; and in modern times it would be considered as rational to restore the Heptarchy as to sever any portion of the British Isles.' These are the invariable principles of the Whig party.

* Lecky's 'England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. iv. p. 560.

tion Acts became necessary, containing clauses of extreme severity. And so far was the independent Irish Parliament from kindling or preserving any spark of loyalty or good will to England, that the principles of the French Revolution were adopted with enthusiasm by the United Irishmen, who formed a revolutionary society as powerful as the National League, and the Irish patriots entered into treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies. One attempt to effect a landing of the French in Bantry Bay was actually made, and but for the defeat of the Dutch fleet by Duncan at Camperdown it would have been repeated. Never was the country more agitated, more convulsed by faction and by crime, than in those eventful years which were to restore peace and prosperity to Ireland, until the treason and the disorder culminated in the rebellion of 1798, the immediate cause of which was the measures taken by Lord Lake to disarm a population notoriously on the verge of revolution.

'The United Irishmen,' says Mr. Froude in a passage perfectly applicable to the present crisis, 'had avowed from the beginning that Emancipation and Reform were but means with them towards a further end. The leading Catholics professed to be loyal, but everyone who knew the genius of the Catholic Church knew also that when the power was in its hands, it would be content with nothing short of complete ascendancy, and the ascendancy of a Catholic majority meant a return to the measures of King James's Parliament. The feeble and half-affected moderation of a few bishops and noblemen would have been but a bulwark of straw against the will of three million Celts clamouring for a restoration of the lands, and under these conditions the maintenance of a shadowy connexion between the islands could have been purchased only by acquiescence in a confiscation to which England could never consent without dishonour and degradation.'*

We say then, from these instructive passages in history, that the concession of legislative independence to Ireland has been tried and has failed to give peace, prosperity, and good government to the Irish; it has failed to promote amity towards England; and it has ended in rebellion and civil war.

By a singular anomaly, at the very same time that measures are in contemplation which would sever or at least weaken the connexion between the two countries, proposals are made to 'settle the land question,' as it is termed, by large advances from the British treasury, or by money raised on the credit of the British taxpayer, to enable the Irish

* Froude's 'English in Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 223.

Government to buy out the existing proprietors of land, for the purpose of assigning it to the tenants now in occupation on easy terms. This scheme appears to have met with some favour from statesmen of both parties, some of them being willing to relieve the landlords from their embarrassments at the public expense, and others, of course, ready to receive any money which may be voted by the British Parliament for Irish purposes. A sum of five millions was actually applied to this purpose in the last session of Parliament, which would enable an Irish tenant to buy his holding with the capital advanced to him on easy terms by the State. We shall not now discuss the merits of such a transfer of land, if it could be made, though we believe it would only give birth to a nation of paupers. But in the interests of the taxpayers of Great Britain we can conceive nothing more unjust and extravagant than that this country should be asked to make large advances to Ireland at the very time when the supreme control of the Imperial Parliament is called in question. It is evident that the security we might possess would be extinguished by the erection of a legislature in Dublin holding the revenues and taxation of Ireland in its power, and we should have no means of enforcing payment of the interest but by a declaration of war. But it is not so much a financial as a political question.

The avowed object of the Nationalist party is to ruin and exterminate the class which they describe as 'landlords;' and in the event of their obtaining supreme power the first use of it they announce is the extinction of 'landlordism.' In other words, one class or party of Irishmen avows its direct and mortal hostility to a large and eminent body of their countrymen, which could only be accounted for by the supposition that the landlords of Ireland are aliens, or that property in land is a crime. But who are these landlords? A small number of Englishmen and some of the City Companies are possessed of Irish estates, which no doubt they would willingly part with at a low valuation, but which are in fact acknowledged to be the best-managed estates in the country.* Are the Butlers, the Fitzgeralds, the Beresfords,

* We have endeavoured to ascertain the number of members of the British aristocracy who possess considerable estates in Ireland, and from the information we have received we believe that it does not exceed two or three dozen persons. It is stated in that excellent compendium of official returns, the 'Statesman's Year-Book for 1886,' that the number of owners of land in Ireland is 68,748, but of these 36,114 own less than one acre. The number of separate holdings in Ireland

the Ponsonbys, the Plunkets, the Boyles, and the Bourkes, and a hundred other of the historic families of Ireland, less Irish than the associates of Mr. Parnell or the members of the National League? Is the Duke of Leinster to be bought out? Yet these are the great proprietors of Irish land who are to be dispossessed of lands they have held for centuries, and which connect them by the closest ties with their native country. Are they aliens? Are they Saxons? No; but they are for the most part Protestants, and they are, one and all, opposed to the autonomy of the Celtic race.

Again, there is a lower class of landholders. More than fifty millions sterling have been expended in the last forty years in the purchase of encumbered estates under the orders of the Court, secured by a Parliamentary title. Are these investors or purchasers, who brought capital to the relief of ruined families, and enabled them to pay their debts, to be regarded as the enemies of Ireland and of society? Are they to be deprived of the income from their property? They may be comparatively small and inconsiderable capitalists, but the greater is their need of the just returns of their land; and in fact they have suffered more than any other class from this agitation, because there is but one step between their present condition and total ruin. These, too, are emphatically the opponents of Home Rule, because they know that it would annihilate all credit and shake the very principles of property to their foundation in Ireland, where they are already openly violated and assailed.

Where, then, is the line to be drawn between those owners of land who are to be expropriated and those who are not? The rights of property are precisely the same for the small proprietor farming his own land and for the owners of thousands of acres. If the measure of expropriation were compulsory, it would act with intolerable injustice on the purchasers and proprietors of land; if it were not compulsory, the owners of land who should decline to accept the terms offered by the State would be subjected to merciless persecution to compel them to relinquish their property.

Such measures cannot be taken without prejudice to the rights of those who have advanced money on Irish landed

in 1884 was 565,254, in the hands of 520,724 occupiers. So that a fund raised for the expropriation of the owners of land would have to be distributed amongst a very large number of persons belonging to a single class of the population, without any advantage to the rest of the community, but rather to their detriment.

security on the ground that they were protected by the laws of a common country. The great English insurance offices are the largest holders of these mortgages, and even the charities of Ireland have been aided by advances made on their possessions. To place them beyond the reach of English law by abolishing the right of appeal to England, and subject all the rights and liberties of the community and its creditors to the discretion of a Nationalist assembly and Nationalist courts of justice, would be to reduce their value to an enormous extent, and to inflict on the owners of this property a loss amounting to depredation. It is evident that the nature of the elements of the party which the Nationalists have called into existence, and which alone they represent, would compel them to pass extreme measures, even against their own interest and judgement, just as James II. was compelled to sanction the measures of the extreme Catholic party which he disapproved.

To us it appears to be a demonstrable truth, that the object contemplated by the purchase of the land of Ireland at the cost of the State is, in itself, a bad and mischievous object, which could be of advantage to no one but the landlords themselves, and of doubtful advantage even to them, and that the means by which such a revolution could be accomplished would be onerous and unjust to the people of Great Britain, and, in point of security for the capital advanced, ridiculous. The Irish proprietors, driven from their homes, their lands, their duties and their rights, would be degraded into pensioners on a public fund, and deprived of all that gives dignity, utility, and happiness to their existence. Never before was a scheme seriously devised to expel from the position they occupy in their native land the only class of men who are fitted by their education, character, and position to play a useful and honourable part in it. It savours of the folly and fury of the French Revolution.

And what would the tenants or occupiers of land gain by it? They would be bound to pay the rent of their holdings to the State, instead of to their former landlords. Rent would be collected by revenue officers with as much regularity as the taxes. We should hear no more of 'hanging gale,' of large remissions, of accumulated arrears. That might be an advantage, but not to the tenant; it matters little to a man to whom his rent is due when his object is to pay no rent at all. The Irish Exchequer, if there were such an institution, could not exist if the rents representing the interest on this enormous capital were not paid to the day;

and it must enforce its dues with far greater rigour than any landlord in Ireland. The consequence would be either increased pressure on the rural population or bankruptcy. The State would be in no condition to advance capital, to encourage and assist improvements, or to perform any of the duties attached to the ownership of land, and consequently the husbandry of the country and the condition of the peasantry would rapidly decline. These, we believe, would be the natural and inevitable consequences of the expropriation of the landlords. A people holding land without capital to cultivate it would degenerate into a horde of savages.

But if this operation affords but a faint prospect of benefiting the people of Ireland, the means by which it is to be accomplished are still more objectionable to ourselves, for they are to throw the risk attending so enormous and onerous a speculation on the people of Great Britain. It really savours of judicial madness to place in the hands of an Irish Executive a fund sufficient to purchase the soil of Ireland—to raise and advance a sum equal to the debt of a nation upon the security of a people which, *ex hypothesi*, has no credit—to place such resources within the powers of men notorious for jobbery and versed in all the arts of fraud, who regard the most binding contracts as mere idle words; to do this at a time when the law is powerless, and to accept the promise of the political leaders of the present hour, who may be swept away to-morrow, and who have no powers whatever to bind their successors. But this, it seems, is what the Parliament of this country is to be invited to do. We cannot conceive that human folly and gullibility are so great as to endorse such a proposal.

Nor is it unworthy of notice that the expropriation of the landed interest would complete the destruction of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland. The voluntary contributions by which that Church is chiefly supported are paid in great measure by the present landowners; they would cease with the transfer of the land to Catholic tenants; the landowners themselves would quit the country; and the fund of four millions still remaining from the property of the Irish Church has been chiefly invested in mortgages, which would become a very doubtful security. The Roman Catholics are perfectly aware of the destructive character of these measures, which would leave the game in their hands.

We arrive at the question asked by Mr. Maguire, himself an Irishman and a Catholic, What is England's duty to

Ireland? The answer is a simple one; *it is to govern Ireland.* 'The question *how*,' says our pamphleteer, 'is for the Government of the day. That is to say, make the farmers pay their debts and put down seditionmongers, lay and clerical. There is no nostrum for the Irish difficulty; the remedies are, consistent enforcement of the laws and the promotion of education.' There is no such thing as governing by the instruments of anarchy; and until the authority of the law is restored, the nation is living under the vilest form of tyranny and oppression. Without law there is no order and no freedom. During the French Revolution of 1848, one Caussidière, a Red Republican of that day, succeeded in installing himself at the Préfecture de Police, where he defied the Provisional Government, and in that capacity he succeeded in restoring comparative tranquillity in the streets of Paris. Being asked the method he adopted to attain this end, he replied, 'Je fais de l'ordre avec du désordre'—he used a wild band of Montagnards to put down disturbance. That appears to be the receipt which Mr. Morley, who is fond of French examples, has adopted. He is seeking to put down crime by an alliance with criminals, and to restore the law with the aid of the lawless. That is not our conception of the duty of England to Ireland. The Irish nation as a civilised community looks to England and not to revolutionary agents or revolutionary expedients to govern her. She requires protection from her worst enemies, who are bred on her own soil, for it must be observed that the present deplorable condition of Ireland is due to no act or deed of the British Parliament. England has laboured for many years, by wise and tolerant laws, by large grants of money, and by every measure of social and political reform that could be devised, to ameliorate the condition of the people of Ireland. If she has failed, it is by no fault of her own. The failure is due to the pernicious agitation which has desolated Ireland, to the spirit of hostility and hatred which leads the Irish to inflict unnumbered wrongs and outrages, not on us, but on their own countrymen, and to the fatal influence of a clergy which shares and stimulates the worst passions of the people. These are the evils which it is the duty of England to subdue, by whatever means the magnitude of the danger may require. The task is less difficult than it looks, for its success would be hailed as the deliverance, not the subjugation, of the country. But it demands courage, resolution, and a manly determination to surrender no jot or tittle of

the authority of the Crown and the rights of the empire to a band of conspirators.

It does not fall within our province to criticise the shifting politics of the day, nor do we care to enter upon the personal and party questions which are affected by this great controversy. These matters are very ably discussed by the daily and weekly press, and will be determined by the House of Commons. The foregoing remarks therefore are not addressed to the particular measures for the government of Ireland which are contemplated by the Ministry, but rather to the general principles upon which any measure designed to establish the legislative and administrative independence of Ireland must be framed. Our aim has been to show on historical and legal grounds that, whatever be the means employed, the object itself of such a policy is incompatible with the first principles of the Constitution, and is alike condemned by the experience of the past and the probable result in the future. A measure which tends to disturb the union of these kingdoms is a retrograde measure, dictated by weakness and despair—a humiliating confession on the part of the Ministers of the Crown of their inability to maintain in Ireland the just authority of the law, and a virtual surrender to the authors of these troubles. We trust that it will be defeated, not only by the pride and dignity of the British Parliament, but by a sense of duty to Ireland and of justice to the United Kingdom; for, however it may be advocated by specious oratory and aided by mercenary allies, no such scheme can be maintained at all in opposition to the fundamental principles of public liberty, of private rights, and of the Constitution of these realms.

INDEX.

A

- Afghanistan*, English and Russian relations with, 1—delimitations of the frontier, 4—the Penjdeh controversy, 7—policy of Abdurrahman, 11—probable outcome of the boundary settlement, 17—approaching end of the ‘buffer’ system, 21—internal condition of Afghanistan, 22—neutrality of the country an essential principle of our frontier policy, 23—our present relations with Kabul, 23—improvement in our position on the frontier, 25.
- Astronomy*, review of works by Miss Clerke and Professor Ball on, 372—Schwabe’s sun-spot observations, 374—Sir W. Herschel’s idea of the sun, 375—measurement of sun-spots, 376—the spectroscope, 377—rotation of the sun, 378—the sun an orb of fire, 379—solar photographs, 381—the solar chromosphere, 382—heat of the sun, 383—magnitude of the sun, 385—the sun’s distance, 386—discoveries of planets, 388—observations upon Venus, the Moon, and Mars, 390—Jupiter, 391—the nebular hypothesis of planetary evolution, 393—comets and meteors, 395—star groups and nebulae, 398—modern methods of research, 398—distance of the stars, 403—star movements, 404—Darwin’s tidal theory, 404.

B

- Bagwell, Richard*, his work on Ireland under the Tudors reviewed, 436.
- Ball, Robert Stawell*, his *Story of the Heavens* reviewed, 402.
- Beaconsfield, Earl of*, review of his letters to his sister, 499—his confidence in his powers, 500—welcomed in society as a coming man, 501—his early parliamentary career, 502—his relations to Peel, 504—his first literary successes, 505—introduction to his future wife, 505—his friendship with Bulwer, 507—his success in society, 508—friendship with Lord Lyndhurst, 509—his own version of his maiden speech, 510—Sheil’s opinion of the speech, 511—he gains the ear of the House, 512—his pictures of public men, 514—marriage and wedding tour, 515—entertained by French royalty, 516—his aristocratic tastes, 518—his successful rivalry with Mr. Gladstone for the leadership of the Conservative party, 519—secret of his political success, 521.
- Boleyn, Anne*, review of M. Paul Friedmann’s work on, 54—M. Friedmann’s estimate of Cranmer, 57—Anne’s influence with the king, 60—accusations against More examined, 61—Chapuis’ story of Anne’s plot against Catharine, 62—result to Anne of the death of Catharine, 65—arrest, trial, and execution of Anne, 66—attitude of Pope

Paul III. towards the king after the arrest of Anne, 69—grounds of the nullification of Anne's marriage, 70.

C

Cappon, James, his memoir of Victor Hugo reviewed, 119.

Cathedral Chapters, royal commissions affecting, 165—relations of chapters to the bishops, 168—precedence of archdeacons, 172—jurisdiction over the cathedral fabric, 173—discords between bishops and chapters, 175—relations between dean and chapter, 178—legitimate position and influence of the bishop, 181—chancellors, 184—a word for the deans, 185—deans as bishops' suffragans, 188—chapters not essential to a genuine bishopric, 191—preservation of cathedral fabrics, 192.

Central Asia. See *Afghanistan*.

Chipiez, C. See *Perrot, G.*

Clerke, Agnes M., review of her *History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century*, 372.

Condé, the Princes of, review of the Duc d'Aumale's continuation of the history of, 521—(1) Henry of Condé, 524—heads a rising of Huguenots, 526—imprisoned in the Bastille, 527—defeated by the Huguenots, 528—distrusted by Richelieu, 529—again defeated by Huguenots, 530—his unsuccessful siege of Dôle, 532—beaten by the Spaniards, 534—the Duc d'Aumale's estimate of him, 535—(2) the Duc d'Enghien, son of Henry, his birth and childhood, 536—made governor of Burgundy, 539—praised by Richelieu, 540—marriage to Richelieu's niece, 541—watches by the Cardinal's sick bed, 543—placed in command of the army of the north, 546—defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy, 548—his victorious siege of Thionville, 552—storms the Schönberg, 554—captures Philipsbourg, 557—victory at Nördlingen, 558—estimate of his military genius, 561.

Coptic Churches. See *Egypt*.

Courthope, W. J., his work on the Liberal Movement in English Literature reviewed, 466.

D

D'Aumale, Duc, review of his *History of the Princes of the House of Condé*, 521.

Doebner, Dr. R., his memoirs of Mary II., Queen of England, reviewed, 345.

E

Egypt, review of Mr. Butler's work on the Ancient Coptic churches of, 26—Coptic ritual and architecture, 27—neglect of art treasures, 29—desert convents, 30—Roman fortress at Old Cairo, 30—the Dair of Abu's-Sifain, 33—the Convent of the Maidens, 34—religious beliefs of modern Copts, 35—legends, 36—relation of Coptic Christian worship to ancient Egyptian religion, 37—Coptic ecclesiastical art, 38—absence of exterior ornamentation of churches, 42—church interiors, 43—general plan of Coptic churches, 45—their orientation, 46—Coptic use of three altars, 47—ecclesiastical vestments,

48—the Eucharist and baptism, 51—language and literature of the Copts, 53.

Election, the General, and its results discussed, 272.

F

Fraser, Bishop, of Manchester, his 'Charges' reviewed, 293—his childhood and education, 295—work as a country parson, 296—reports as a royal commissioner on education, 297—and on agricultural employments of women and children, 298—appointed to the see of Manchester, 298—views on Church reform, 299—address at the Social Science Congress, 301—episcopal labours, 301—relations with Dissenters, 304—views on Public Worship Regulation Act, 305—Manchester and Salford Mission, 306—his treatment of materialism and unbelief, 308—his vote for the Burials Act, 309—advocates Church Reform, 310—the Miles Platting ritual case, 311—views on various Church questions, 313—his last days, 314—estimate of his character, 316.

Friedmann, Paul, his work on Anne Boleyn reviewed, 54.

Froude, J. A., his 'Oceana, or England and her Colonies,' reviewed, 405.

G

Ganneau, Clermont—, his work on Phœnicia reviewed, 193.

Gold, its influence upon trade and social well-being, 230—addition to the world's stock of the precious metals since 1848, 235—consequent changes in the value of money, 239—monetary scarcity between 1810 and 1830, 241—results of the Californian and Australian discoveries, 243—prices as affected by condition of trade, 245—by American paper-currency, 246—by the demonetisation of silver, 247—amount of the precious metals in use as money, 251—relation of prices to the Bank rate, 255—monetary dearth injures capital, 258—and agriculture, 259—and the whole community, 261.

H

Hugo, Victor, review of Mr. Cappon's work on, 119—his boyhood, 124—his early literary productions, 127—becomes the leader of the Romanticists, 128—his unique position in his own country, 130—his versatility, 131—his revolt against the *ancien régime* of the stage, 133—his plays, 134—novels, 141—poetry, 151—character of his genius, 163.

I

Ireland, review of pamphlets by Dr. Maguire and Mr. Reid upon, 562—disasters of Home Rule, 562—Sydney Smith's opinion, 563—division of the Liberal party on the question, 564—What is Home Rule? 565—the National League not representative of the nation, 567—Irish rebellions fostered by foreign support, 570—two former experiments of Irish independence, 571—'Grattan's Parliament,' 576—the colonial legislatures not analogous to the Irish Parliament of 1782, 581—effect of Home Rule on our foreign relations, 582—

failure of the 1782 Parliament to ensure prosperity and good government, 583—objects of the Nationalists, 585—consequences of the expropriation of landlords, 588—England's duty, 589.

Ireland under the Tudors, review of Mr. Bagwell's work on, 436—old Celtic tribal system, 443—Henry VII.'s introduction of English law, 444—change in the land tenure under Henry VIII., 445—inter-tribal wars and native oppression, 447—effects of a firm policy, 448—the Irish ecclesiastical system monastic, not episcopal, 449—conflicts between English and Irish ecclesiastics, 451—suppression of the monasteries, 451—Elizabeth's scheme for national education, 455—effects of the Tudor policy, 456—wars of religion, 458—peculiarities of the Irish character, 459—the Roman Catholic clergy and Irish morality, 463—lessons derived from the retrospect, 464.

L

Limited Liability Companies, conversion of private businesses into, 72—capital invested in, 74—larger safeguards necessary in their working, 75—single ship companies, 80—'touting shipowners,' 81—personal liability of directors necessary, 86.

M

Madagascar, the French in, review of works by M. R. Sallens and Captain Oliver on, 87—first French settlement in Madagascar, 88—its abandonment, 92—new expedition for a settlement in the island, 95—end of its leader's romantic career, 99—the French compelled by the English to withdraw from the trading ports, 101—the slave-trade abolished, 103—recent French claims examined, 108—growth of Christianity in the island, 113—French treaties with the Sakalavas, 115—settlement of the dispute, 117.

Maguire, Thomas, his pamphlet on England's duty to Ireland reviewed, 562.

Maine, Sir Henry Sumner, his *Essays on Popular Government* reviewed, 266.

Mary II., Queen of England, review of Dr. Doebner's memoirs of, 345—recently discovered autobiography, 345—her religious views, 348—estrangement from her relatives, 350—grief at the struggle between husband and father, 350—her politic reception of the Elector Frederick III., at the Hague, 351—arrives in England, 353—her feelings on becoming queen, 354—strained relations with her sister Anne, 355—her administration of affairs during her husband's absence, 358—her anxiety for the Church, 363—her private sorrows, 364—political troubles of her last days, 369.

O

Oceana, review of Mr. Froude's work on, 405—voyage to the Australasian colonies, 406—call at Capetown, 409—Port Adelaide, 410—Melbourne, 411—society in Victoria, 412—Ballarat and Sandhurst, 413—the Governor's country seat, 414—the vine industry, 414—the future of Victoria, 415—Young Australia, 416—New South

Wales and the Soudan contingent, 417—Auckland, 417—colonial wages and expenses, 418—wonders of New Zealand, 418—Sir George Grey, 419—rural life in New Zealand, 420—condition of trade, 421—the colonial political system, 422—Australian finance, 423—party contests, 425—crowding in towns, 426—closer union of the members of 'Oceana' discussed, 428—difficulties of federation, 432—Australian desire for an Imperial navy, 433—necessity of colonial reforms, 435.

Oliver, Capt., his work on the French dispute in Madagascar reviewed, 87.

P

Palestine, the Natural History of, review of Dr. Tristram's work on, 317—occurrence of Ethiopian and Indian types among the prevailing Palæarctic fauna and flora, 319—tropical animals and plants of the Dead Sea region, 323—the 'coney,' 326—domestic and wild asses, 327—boar and roebuck, 327—the oryx, 328—the reēm, or 'unicorn,' 329—the felidæ, 330—hyænas, jackals, wolves, and foxes, 331—the pariah dog, 331—Persian greyhound, Syrian bear, and mole-rat, 332—porcupines and bats, 333—birds of prey, 334—African darter and wood-pigeon, 337—snakes, 337—crocodiles, 339—peculiar fishes of the Lake of Galilee, 340—some Biblical trees and flowers, 341—the 'Rose of Sharon,' 342.

Perrot, G., and C. Chipiez, their History of Phœnician art reviewed, 193.

Phœnicia, review of works by MM. Perrot and Chipiez and M. Clermont-Ganneau, 193—early maritime enterprises of the Phœnicians, 193—Tyrian purple dye, 199—alphabetic writing invented, 200—inscribed monuments, 200—Phœnician architecture, 202—temples, 204—coins, 206—tombs, 210—metallurgy, 213—ivory carving, 218—engraved gems, 220—jewellery, 222—porcelain, 224—ceramic art, 225—sculpture, 227—true genius of the Phœnician race, 229.

Poetry, Modern, review of works by Lord Tennyson and Mr. Courthope, 466—definitions of 'poetry,' 466—influence of poetry upon national character, 467—alleged stagnation and decay in the poetic art in modern times, 468—'Liberal' and 'Conservative' as applied to poetry, 469—the poets of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries compared, 472—literary types of the eighteenth century, 474—Wordsworth's poetical theory, 477—Coleridge and Keats, 481—Lord Tennyson, 484—secret of his power, 486—his 'Tiresias and other Poems,' 489—nature of the charm of his narrative poetry, 497.

Popular Government, review of Essays by Sir Henry Sumner Maine on, 266—perils of universal suffrage, 266—ephemeral duration of democratic governments, 267—influence of social conditions, 268—party feeling in England as compared with France and America, 269—hopes for the future of popular government derived from the last elections, 271.

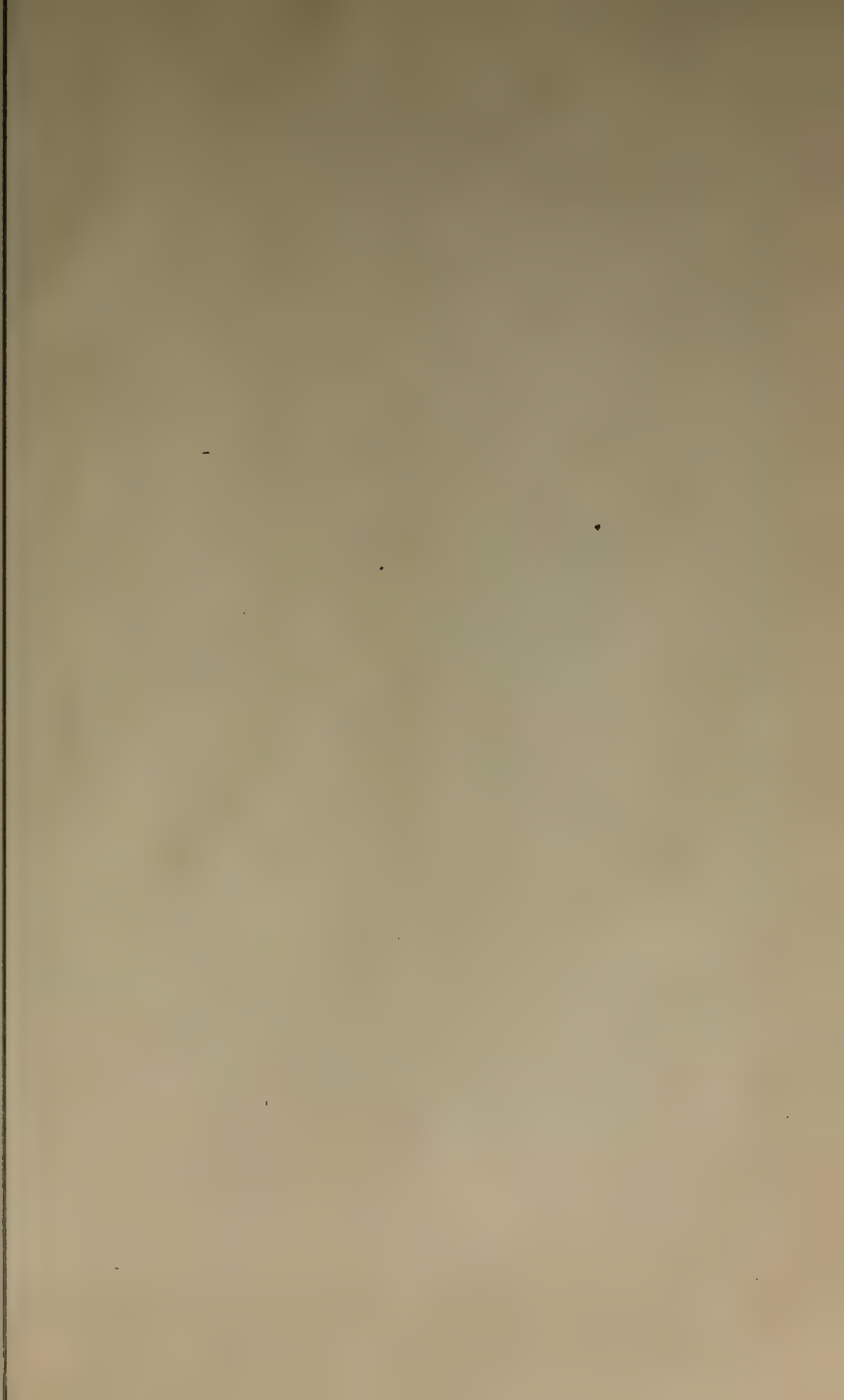
S

Saillens, R., his work on the French in Madagascar reviewed, 87.
Southampton Harbour, bar at entrance of the Test, 291.

T

Tennyson, Lord, his 'Tiresias and other Poems' reviewed, 466.
Tristram, Rev. Dr., his work on the Fauna and Flora of Palestine reviewed, 317.

END OF VOL. CLXIII.



**University of Toronto
Library**

**DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET**

**Acme Library Card Pocket
LOWE-MARTIN CO. LIMITED**

